

AN
INSTITUTION
OF
General History:
OR THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD.

The FOURTH PART.

CONTAINING

The Original and Kingdoms of the *Hevuli, Goths, Lombards and Franks* in *Italy*; the Affairs of *Britain*; the Original of the *Saxons, Angles and Jutes*, their *Heptarchy*; the Monarchy of the *English Saxons*, that of the *Danes*, with its end in restoring of the *English Saxon* Line down to that of *William the Norman*, with the *Polity, Customs, Laws and Language* then in use.

AND ALSO

That of the *Constantinopolitan Roman Empire*, from the Promotion of *Nicephorus* to the Death of *Constantine Ducas XII. A. D. MLXVII.* being the Year after the Conquest of this Nation by Duke *William the Norman*.

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L O N D O N,
Printed for the Author's Widow by *Miles Flesher.* MDCLXXXV.

T O

The High and Mighty P R I N C E

JAMES II.

K I N G of *Great Britain, France and Ireland,*
Defender of the Faith, &c.

G R E A T S I R,

AMONG the Crowds of Loyal Counties and Corporations that Address themselves unto Your M A J E S T Y, vouchsafe to permit a desolate Widow to approach into Your Sacred Prefence to Congratulate Your Happy and most Just Possession of the Throne of these Kingdoms, by laying a small Present at Your Royal Feet.

Which is due to Your M A J E S T Y by a double Title, both by right of Succession to our late Gracious Sovereign, by whose Royal Bounty this Work was encouraged; and also by designment of the Authour, who intended, had not his Death prevented it, to have Dedicated this Book *To His Royal Highness JAMES the Duke of York*, which I now most humbly offer *To the Sacred Majesty of King JAMES the Second.*

Whom I beseech the King of Kings long to preserve beloved of all his Subjects, dreaded by all his Enemies, and renowned to all Posterity in the History of Future Ages.

So prayeth with due Reverence

Your Majesty's most Loyal Subject

Mary Howel.

THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
R E A D E R

Giving an Account of this VOLUME.

W H I C H contains the History of the Kingdom of the Heruli in Italy to the Conquering thereof by the Goths, then their Original and Kingdom to the Destruction and Ruine thereof by Narfes the Roman General and the coming in of the Lombards, with the Original and Kingdom of them down to the Conquering of it by Charles King of the Franks, who Governed there, and was Crowned Emperour by Leo Bishop of Rome : Next the Affairs of Britain from the departure of the Romans out of the Island to the Destruction thereof, and forcing the Inhabitants into the Mountainous places by the Picts, Scots and Saxons : the Original of the Saxons, Angles and Jutes that seized on this Land, their Heptarchy, which was united in the Monarchy of the English Saxons, and carried on till Conquered by the Danes, their Original and Kingdom here to its end, in restoring of the English Saxon Line to the end thereof, being Conquered by Duke William the Norman, giving an Account of the Polity, Customs, Laws and Language then in use, taken from the Original Tongue, with other critical Remarks suitable to the nature and usefulness of such an Undertaking.

With the Constantinopolitan Roman Affairs from the Deposing of Irene and Promotion of Nicephorus (where the Third Part ends) to the Death of Constantine Ducas XII. Ann. Dom. MLXVII. being the year after the Conquest of Duke William the Norman, setting forth the several Actions, Polities, Laws and things of Moment during

The Preface to the Reader.

ring the Reign of each Emperour, with such Kingdoms as fell off from the Roman power and protection, and those that started up to the terrour of it and all its Neighbours, all linked together in such manner and method as never was yet Extant, being the Labour and Study left under his own hand in Writing by the Author, whereof we have been Eye-witnesses,

H. London.

Tho. Roffen.

Sy. Patrick, D. D.

Will. Denton, M. D.

Rich. Afhfeild, Gent.

A N

A N INSTITUTION OF General History: OR The History of the World.

The Fourth Part.

BOOK I.

Of such Kingdoms and Principalities as were Founded by Barbarous Nations in the Late Roman Provinces now contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdoms of the Heruli, Goths, Lombards and Franks Erected in Italy.

SECT. I.

The Kingdom of the Heruli in Italy,

The Space of Eighteen years.

Odacer King I.
of Italy and
Rome.

ODACER King of the *Heruli* and *Turcilingi* having, as we have formerly shewn, Conquered and destroyed *Orestes*, and deposed *Augustulus* his Son, became Master of *Italy*, and of *Rome*, formerly the Mistress of the World, which hereby was also degraded, together with *Augustulus*, the Imperial Diadem being plucked from her Head, and the Robe torn from about her Shoulders. The Conquerour viewing the Remains of her Ancient Majesty, and contemplating the Lines of that Beauty wherein she had surpassed all Rivals, as much as the Light of the Moon doth that of the obscure and twinkling Stars, was confounded and amazed, could scarcely believe what he had done, or where he was; and conscious of the Extravagancy of his own Fortune, as well as of the vicissitude of humane Affairs in general,

Sect. I.

Seet. I. neral, durst not, it seems, be so bold as to take up and assume the Imperial Ensigns which now lay at his Feet, but contented himself with an Inferiour Dignity. Thinking the Imperial Robe now to be threadbare or infected with some deleterious Quality, which of late had suffered none to wear it long, though he might have chosen another, which by its newness might have been both warm and safe, yet he onely changed the Imperial for Royal, the Title of Emperour for the more modest and less envied one of *King of Italy*, refusing utterly all Ensigns of Royal Majesty. The Ancient Lady in her great affliction was pleased to see this humility in a barbarous Robber, comforted her self with the good Fortune of her Daughter, which still in the East retained her Imperial Dignity; she purposed to remove lower down towards the River, and quit those seven Hills on which she had been so much and so often expost to Northern Blasts, and she had thoughts of taking another Courfe, which should be honourable as well as the former, gain her more applause and more suitable to her Age, and the Gravity of her present Aspect, to change the Title of Prince for that of Priest, and the Imperial Diadem for a Pontifical Miter.

Takes Courfe to secure his Interest.

He fixes his Seat at Ravenna.

He puts to death Brachisus.

He makes Basilus Consul.

2. Our new King of *Italy* as he thought to establish a new Kingdom, which should call him Founder, so of fixing the Seat thereof at some new Place, and of building a new City which he intended to call after his own Name *Odoacer*. But either finding the Vanity of this Project, or being diverted from it by greater Cares, he took other Courfes, for securing his Interest. The *Goths* which had been called into *Italy* by *Valentinian*, to defend the Countrey against the *Hunnes*, he endeavoured to oblige by bestowing on them those Lands which formerly, but ineffectually, had been promised them. He granted to *Eurich*, King of the *Visigoths*, that part of *Gall* lying betwixt the *Alpes* and the River *Rhodanus*, and onely remaining under the Authority of the *Romans*. With *Gundobade* King of the *Burgundians* he made a League and Alliance. On the *Italians* he laid Taxes and Impositions sufficient to maintain an Army against foreign Invasions. Then to prevent intestine broils, he deprived the *Roman* Senate of its ancient Authority, and took away at first the use of *Consuls*, that he might diminish the *Roman* Spirit and Courage, by abolishing such Rites as put them in mind of the great Performances of their Ancestours. As to other matters, he retained the old Names and Offices of Magistracy, and maintained the Church in its ancient Rights and Immunities. When he had done these things, and as he thought laid lasting Foundations of his new Dominion, he left *Rome* to the Government of *Basilus* the Prefect and *Patritian*, and removed his Court to *Ravenna*. There he had not been long settled, when *Zeno* the Emperour, hearing how his matters succeeded, envied his good Fortune, grudged him his new Possessions, and utterly refused to own, acknowledge or ratifie his Kingly Title to *Italy*. Such therefore was the Reverence as yet born to the Imperial Name, that this got him the Repute of an Usurper, a Tyrant and an unlawfull Prince; which made him enter into new Councils for strengthening himself, and add Fear and Awe to that Love which hitherto he had especially desired to gain from his Subjects. For an Example of terrour he put to death at *Ravenna* *Brachisus* a *Comes*, who some say spurned against his Government. Hereby it was perceived that he knew his measures, and understood how to manage his Affairs, and thereupon he began both to be feared and respected at home and abroad; inasmuch that *Genferich* King of the *Vandals* in *Africa* desired his Friendship, and to obtain it granted *Sicily* to him to be held in Tribute.

3. *Odoacer*, as we said, refused to name any *Consul* for the West, and it happened for several years that sometime one single one was created in the East, and sometime there was none at all. The *Italians* resented it, that by the willfulness of their present Master, they should be deprived of that highest Office of Magistracy and Honour, and therefore to please them, he preferred *Basilus* the Prefect to that Name and Dignity, which he also executed without a Colleague, in the year of our Lord CCCCLXXX, in the seventh of the Emperour *Zeno*, and the fifth of *Odoacer*. Now was it five years since *Julius Nepos*, being deposed from the Empire of the West, lived quietly in *Dalmatia* by the knowledge and approbation of *Odoacer*, who wished him all repose and security imaginable. But at this time *Vintor* and *Ovida*, who had the Title of *Comites*, bearing him malice, circumvented him at his Countrey-house, set upon him and murdered him. *Odoacer* whether acted by generosity of Nature, or by Jealousie, and apprehension of so evil an Example, took it in great Disdain, and the year following, for which he named *Placidius* Consul, sent some Forces against them, and having

Vide Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio.

He put Ovida to death for the Murder of Julius Nepos.

Odoacer conquers the Rugi.

Theodorich purporeth to conquer him.

Two several opinions as to the Inducement.

His Army mutines.

having easily overcome them put *Ovida* to death. This fame year the Inhabitants of *Liguria* complained to him by *Epiphanius Bishop of Pavia*, that *Pelagius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* had doubled the Impositions upon the Countrey. By the Intercession of the said Bishop they obtained a Relaxation, and this Prelate having bestowed much cost and pains in repairing the Churches formerly ruined in his City by the Wars, obtained also of *Odoacer* a Remission of Tributes for five years, as an encouragement to the Citizens to rebuild their Private-Houses.

4. After this, *Odoacer* found an occasion for employing his Arms, and it was against the *Rugi* a Northern People. He did it with such success, as we are told, that he took Prisoner *Phæbas* their King, together with his Wife, and led them in triumph to *Rome*; but *Frederick* their Son made his Escape, and went to *Theodorich* King of the *Ostrogoths*, who then lay in *Mæfia*, and by this time had his thoughts so much upon *Odoacer* and *Italy*, that he presently shewed they were very serious and active. This *Theodorich* had been some time in *Zeno's* Court at *Constantinople*, and was, it's said, highly honoured by him, inasmuch that he made him *Consul*, and not long after he took a resolution to invade *Italy*. But as to the Inducement there are two different Assertions. The one is of those who affirm that *Zeno* had always a great Kindness for *Theodorich*, and freely granted *Italy* to him to reign there, after he should have driven out the *Heruli* with *Odoacer* their King. The other makes *Theodorich* to have been ingratefull towards the Emperour, from whom he endeavoured to wrest the Empire of the East, to have brought into danger the City of *Constantinople* by Fire, and burnt many other Places. Having misfed of his Aims there, he turned himself upon *Italy*, envying the prosperous Estate of *Odoacer*, who had lately overthrown the *Rugi*. From what *Euagrius* writes, one may guess that *Zeno* was not always his friend; but what should be the occasion is uncertain. *Euthathius* an Historian it seems laid the blame upon the Emperour, and *Marcellinus* on *Theodorich*. The Writers that were his Countrymen will have him sent by the liking, well wishes, and encouragement of *Zeno*: we shall present the Reader with the Story clothed with such Circumstances as we find it.

5. Whilst *Theodorich* therefore solaced himself with the Pleasures of *Zeno's* Court, his *Ostrogoths* lived at a quite different Rate, being by a League tied up from making any Depredations in the *Roman* Dominions; and not sufficiently provided for by the pay which the Emperour had agreed to give them. They curse the League, cry out against their King's Alliance, and to *Constantinople* they send Messengers, who with tears in their Eyes complained to him of the Poverty and Necessities to which they were reduced, and desire him to quit those pleasures wherein he had intangled himself, and, if he regarded his own Interest, and their Preservation, to return to them with speed; for else they must enter into some new Courfe, and seek out other Habitations. Now say the *Gothick* Historians, and those that follow them, *Theodorich* moved herewith betook himself presently to *Zeno*, to whom he laid open the sad Estate of his Countrymen, and told him that seeing *Italy* was overrun by the *Tarcingi* and *Rugi*, and *Rome* the late Mistress of the World, and ancient Seat of the Empire, was now inflavied to the *Heruli*; if he pleased to give him order to redeem and recover it out of their Hands, he would do his utmost endeavour, and therein employ his kills and indigent *Ostrogoths*. If he should accomplish his Designs, the Honour and Renown would belong, as due, to his imperial Majesty; and if he miscarried, he would be rid of so many Spendiaries, and save his money in his Coffers. This *Zeno* heard with Trouble, being very unwilling to part with him, but as well to give him content, as in Compliance with the publick Interest, he gave him leave, and dismissed him with great presents, to his designed Expedition.

6. Thus writes *Jordanus* the *Goth* from the relation of *Cassiodorus*; or out of respect to his Countrymen, and such as follow him. But *Sigonius*, all relations considered, closeth with that of *Marcellinus*, that *Theodorich* now satiated with the Honours and Favours heaped upon him, consented to the Petition of his Countrymen, and returning into *Mæfia* made war upon the Emperour, whilst his men were fresh, and their appetites were sharpened by the prevalent Power of necessity, and expectation. He marched as far as *Constantinople* and *Melanthis*, and wasting the Countrey round about returned to *Novæ* a Town of *Mæfia*, from which he had set forth. At this time *Odoacer*, being told that *Frederick* the Son of *Phæbas*, or *Feleteus*, King of the *Rugi*, was after his flight returned home into his own Countrey, sent *Omulus* his Brother with a strong party of men against him. Hereupon *Frederick* not able to endure the shock retired to *Novæ*, and made his

Sect. I.

Odoacer re-
moves the Ru-
gi into Italy.

application to *Theodorich*. *Omulus* easily conquered the *Rugi*, whom he constrained to pass into *Italy*, and then the *Lombards* under Conduct of *Gundach* their King seized on their Country. *Zeno* all this while, as *Sigonius* tells you, was highly sensible of the Affront done him by *Theodorich*, but prudently considered there was no dealing roughly with such a Spirit; and therefore in the year when *Dinamius* and *Siphodius* were *Consuls*, or the CCCLXXXVIII of Our Lord, he wrote to him most loving Letters, and kindly invited him to return to Court. *Theodorich*, if thou wilt look into it, Reader, notwithstanding all the Mischief he had done, closed with his invitation, went to *Constantinople*, and there excused his Misdemeanours by that necessity to which his *Goths* had been reduced. *Zeno* was as ready to give as he was to ask Pardon, and to grant him any other thing for the employment of his Men, and the raising of his own Fortunes. Animated by this Reception, he moved the Conquest of *Italy* to him, using such Arguments as we formerly mentioned, inculcating that it would be more seemly, that he his faithful Servant, and his Son, should possess that Country; than *Odoacer* keep the Senate and Common-wealth in slavery. *Zeno* to free *Illyricum* from the *Goths* was very willing he should try his Fortune, and by an Authentick Writing passed *Italy* over to him, bestowed on him a sacred Cap, and recommending to him the *Roman* Senate and People gave him leave to depart and begin his Journey.

Theodorich o-
verthrows
the *Gepides*
and *Bulgars*.

7. *Theodorich* and his *Goths* were ready for their march, when an unexpected Accident diverted them, and for some time retarded their Expedition. *Transila* King of the *Gepides*, and *Busa* of the *Bulgars* either jealous of his growing greatness, or solicited by *Odoacer*, who desired to remove the danger from his own Doors, endeavour'd to crush his Design by falling upon him on a sudden, when he little expected such Treachery. Yet was he not at all daunted with the great danger which impended, but boldly attacking them when they were divided, in one engagement overthrew *Transila*, and in another battel defeated the *Bulgars*, a sort of People newly come out of *Scythia*. Animated by his Success as an Omen of his future Grandeur, with greater vigour he prepared for his *Italian* voyage, and when all things were ready, set forth from *Mesia* in the middle of Winter, in the Consulship of *Probinus*, and *Eusebius* in the CCCLXXXIX year of Our Lord, as is evident from the *Chronicon* of *Cassiodorus* who lived at this time, though *Sigonius* casts this Expedition into the following year. From *Mesia* the whole Multitude of *Ostrogoths* removed with their Wives, Children and Baggage, and travelling through *Syrmium* and *Pannonia*, came by Land to the Borders of *Italy*, for they had no Ships to transport them in the nearest passage. Proceeding as far as the River *Sontius* which runs not far from *Aquileia*, they there made a haul and incamped, because of the convenience of pasture. Here *Odoacer* presented himself on the farther side, resolving to stop their progress, and for that purpose he secured the Bridge, where at this day is seen a Town called *Gorizia*. But notwithstanding all he could do, *Theodorich* forced his way over, and presently giving him battel drove him back into his Camp, which to storm he made all Preparations. *Odoacer* perceiving his Intentions, and that he was unable to maintain it, quitted the place, and taking advantage retired to *Verona*, for there was no Fort nor Garrison near at hand; the Desolations made by *Attila* not being yet repaired. Whilst he was thus employed in defending his Borders against the *Goths*, *Gundobade* the King of the *Burgundians*, pretending he was circumvented in a League made with him, took the Advantage now offered, and invading *Liguria* and *Emilia*, wasted and plundered the Country; then hearing of *Theodorich* his Success and Progress, he hastily retreated with his Booty into *Burgundy*.

Defeats him
again, and
takes *Verona*.

A third time.

8. *Theodorich* having taken order for securing the Borders, as he saw agreeable to his own Interest, followed *Odoacer*, and laid down before *Verona*. *Odoacer* had by this time rallied his dispersed Forces, and recruited them so with new Levies, that seeming to himself as able to grapple with him as before, he came out of the Town and gave him battel; wherein he was again overthrown with great slaughter of his Men, and forced to betake himself to his heels; and a great number of his Soldiers, which escaped the Fight, took the River *Adthesis* in desperation and haste, and were swallowed by the Floods. *Verona* was quickly delivered by the trembling Citizens to the Conquerour, who made no stay in the Town; but still pursued *Odoacer*, and near the River *Abdua* forced him the third time to engage, with the same Success as formerly. *Odoacer* in so great Straits yet comforted himself a little in the City of *Rome*, of which if he continued Master, he hoped he might maintain his Reputation, and better endure the shock

of

Sect. I.

Odoacer kept
out of *Rome*.

of Fortune, which he would fain believe could not be lasting, it was so violent and severe. He resolved therefore to hasten thither, but when he came he found the Gates fast locked and bolted, and the Walls manned against him, the Senate and People some think having intimation of the Emperour's pleasure concerning *Theodorich*. Inraged at this Repulse, he burnt and demolished as much of the Suburbs as the time would give him leave, and then made for *Ravenna* as his last Refuge. This City also one *Libitina* kept for *Theodorich*, and lay incamped before it for that purpose. But *Odoacer* acted by the indignation as well as extreme Necessity of his Affairs, resolved to drive him from his Post, and after a sharp conflict, wherein many perished on both sides, he slew *Libitina*, and took both his Camp and *Ravenna*, which he entered on the tenth of July. Here he labours to fortify himself, when in the mean time *Theodorich* marches to *Milan*, which having got into his hands without much trouble, a great part of the *Italian* Soldiers there came to wait on him as the true and rightful Lord of *Italy*. Amongst others was *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Pavia*, whom he received with great respect.

Theodorich
takes *Milan*.

9. Here when he seemed to have conquered the greatest Difficulties, and to have arrived almost at the pitch of his good Fortune, an untowardly Accident plucked him by the sleeve, and put him in mind of the Inconstancy of humane Affairs. For his *Italians*, who so lately came to acknowledge him for their Prince and Sovereign, perwaded by one *Tufa* a man of *Consular* Dignity, revolted again to *Odoacer*; which struck him with great terror and amazement, and caused him to quit *Milan*, in the fidelity and strength whereof he could not so much rely, and go to *Pavia*, where he thought he could better secure himself and his Friends. *Odoacer* takes the opportunity, and sits down before the Town. *Epiphanius* the Bishop labours all he can to compose the Difference, and procure such Prisoners to be restored as were taken on both sides, without Ranfome. Now whether by his Ghostly Counsel *Odoacer* was moved, or rather discouraged by the Valour and Success of the *Goths* whom Heaven seemed to favour, he raised his Siege and marched back to *Ravenna*. *Theodorich* spirited afresh by so unexpected a Retreat, resolved not to trifle in that manner with his Fortune; and slight his opportunities, but leaving the Women and Baggage at *Pavia* followed the Enemy to *Ravenna*, which he blocked up in three several Places, not being well able for the situation to get up and storm it. For the City lying two Furlongs distance from the Sea is hardly accessible on any part: the Haven full of Rocks and Shallows, the ground about it fenny and waterish, as well by the flowing in of the Sea, as Rivers taking their Course thorough it. Therefore *Theodorich* took up one Post at *Pinetus* three Miles from the Town, placed another Party at *Palatiolum*, and had a third Guard at the Bridge of *Candidianus*, waiting for such opportunities as the Siege should produce. *Odoacer* perceiving he was over matched in Valour and Conduct, if not in numbers, was unwilling to make any Sallies, yet constrained to do something for his Reputation, he issued out, and fell upon the Party lying at the Bridge, where he was so warmly received, that he found it expedient to make a quick retreat into the City. *Theodorich* foreseeing, that the Siege was likely to be drawn out in length, would not spend all his time in so lazy an employment, but leaving sufficient Guards to maintain his Posts, marched to other Towns possessed by the Enemy, became Master of them, and having taken *Ariminum*, improved the Advantage offered him thereby of stopping all Provisions from being carried by Sea to *Ravenna*. These things got him such Reputation, that *Gundamund* King of *Africa*, (the Successour of *Huneric* that *Arian* Persecutor who was eaten up of worms) sent Ambassadors, made peace with him, and left off wasting *Sicily*, which he had invaded.

Takes *Ariminum*
and o-
ther Cities.

10. The Siege was carried on very gently; few considerable Acts of Hostility intervening, only light skirmishes which the Besieged made to exercise his men, and tire out the Enemy, till *Theodorich* returned from his Expedition against the other Cities. Having taken them all, *Casarea* excepted, which *Odoacer* had furnished with a very strong Garrison, he returned to his former Post at *Palatiolum*, on the twenty ninth of August, and removing his Family thither from *Ticinum* or *Pavia* vigorously renewed the Siege. Hereby *Odoacer* was so strained for want of Provisions, that having made many ineffectual Sallies, at last, armed by Necessity and Desperation, in the silence of the Night he led out his whole Army, which *Theodorich* was not so negligent as not to perceive, and therefore drew his Forces together, and made himself ready to receive him. Here evidently appeared what influence Necessity and Passions have upon humane Actions. Such as formerly were

SECT. I.

were not able to receive a charge from the *Goths*, now bow them all down before them, and compelled him who had been wont to give them the chase to take him to his heels, and fly again towards his Camp. Hither when he came, his Mother presented her self in the Gate with intention to stop him, asked him whither he was going, and told him there was no place of safety for him, except he should take up her Clothes, and receive him into that part from whence he was brought forth into the World; with these words he was both ashamed and irritated to such a Degree, that rallying as many of his Men as he could get together, he charged the Enemy with such violence, that he drove him back into the Town, and reinforced the Siege as strong as ever.

But he reinforces the Siege.

An Agreement that they shall reign together.

Odoacer slain.

11. Now were all the Difficulties and Hardships, which usually attend a tedious League, renewed both to those without and them within: in the City great sterility bordering upon extreme Famine, in the Camp weariness and Impatience contracted by so many fruitless labours and skirmishes. The Bishops felt not to interpose their Endeavours for an amicable composition; through their Intercession Messages are sent from both sides, and at length, at the desire of *Theodorich*, *Odoacer* consents that he shall reign with him in equal Authority and Power as King also of *Italy*. Hereupon on the twenty seventh of *February* the Siege is raised, and *Theodorich* entering *Ravenna* lived friendly and peaceably with *Odoacer* his Collegue for some little time. But then he grew weary of that Fellowship, of which the Throne is wont to be impatient, and having invited him to a Feast, when he demanded his share consigned to him by the League, pretending some Conspiracy against his own Person, he caused him to be slain together with his Son and the Principals of his Friends, about seventeen years after the Deposing of *Augustulus*, A. D. CCCCXCIII. *Procopius* plainly writes that he was treacherously slain, but *Cassiodorus* and *Jordanus* seem to make it more than a pretence of *Theodorich*. Nay the *former says that *Odoacer* did really plot against his life, and the † latter barely relates that he put him to death. But the one was in great favour with him, and executed the place of Secretary in his Court, though a sober and grave Writer; and the other being a *Goth*, and his Countryman might be cautious of saying any thing which might reflect upon his Nation. But *Odoacer* so died, and *Theodorich* easily made himself Master of *Italy*, whose Government we are now to relate. But so far as the *Goths* made now, and had made such a noise and bustle in the World, had done such things, made such Conquests and founded several Kingdoms, its highly requisite that we premise something concerning the Original and first Motions of this People, taking in also those of other Northern Nations in the way as they fitly present themselves. For out of the North they swarmed like so many *Vultures*, *Kites* and other *Birds of Prey*, fell upon the *Eagle*, and after fore bickering, having spoiled him of his Western Plumes, at length outed him of the *Nest* it self, and so held it and the Regions about it, till a Cock of generous breed, though also of Northern extraction, cleared *Italy* and other Countries of them, and trimming himself with the Western Plumes, set up, and was owned, for a Western *Eagle*.

* Hoc Conf. (i. e. Albinus) Theodorichus Revertens in ceteris Odoacerem multum super se habuisse intererat. † Procopius hac luce pri- vavit.

SECT. II.

SECT. II.

The Original of the Goths and other Barbarous Nations, that invaded and seized Italy.

1. THE Northern Clime out of which these *Goths* and others derived their Sect. II. Descent, who invaded the Southwestern Parts of the Roman Empire, was that Tract of ground which the Ancients thought an Island, but since has been found to be a Peninsula, known by the Names of *Scandinavia*, *Scandia*, *Scanza*, *Scanzia* and *Scantia*, because the Inhabitants made use of high and steep Rocks in the Room of Castles which they called *Scanzen*, to which the Word being added which signifies Land, thence came that of *Scandinavia*. The *Greeks* called it *Baltia* from the inward Sea, for an Irruption of the Sea it signifies; and *Procopius* thought it to be *Thule*. It's a great space of ground compassed on the North, and the East by the Sea; and the *Botnick* Bay and the *Baltick* Sea fence it on the West and South; as also by Rivers which pour themselves out into the *Botnick* Bay, and the *Russian* or *white* Sea.

From Scandia the Goths and other Nations issued.

Vide Grotii Prolegomena in Histor. Gothorum, Vandalorum, &c.

2. *Tacitus* placeth two Kingdoms in this Tract, viz. of the *Sueones* and the *Sittones*. The former are also variously called *Suiones*, *Suehanti* and *Suehidi*, by our English Writers *Suedi* and *Suehedi*, by others *Suithone*, *homines Suetici*, and *Sueci* worth of all. The *Sueones* or *Suehi* were so called as laborious and getting their livings by the sweat of their brows; and the *Sittones*, on the contrary, from a sitting sedentary or idle Course of Life. The Kingdoms were divided by the Mountain *Seno* so named from the seven Hills; and the Country of the *Sittones* was called *Norwegia* or *Nordwege* because situate to the North. After *Tacitus* his time other Nations might pierce themselves into *Scanzia*, as did the *Heruli* and *Rugi*, and afterwards the *Dani* who had been a Colony of the *Suedi*, but retained and possessed themselves of part of the Country not long before *Justinian's* time, *Procopius* and *Jornandes* being the most ancient Writers that mention them, and the latter saying that they drove the *Heruli* out of the Seats which they had possessed in *Scanzia*. Now besides the *Sueones* and *Sittones*, several other People are found to have been Inhabitants of *Scanzia*, as the *Goths* from their Habitations Eastward and Westward, carried the Names of *Ostrogoths* and *Westrogoths*, by the Latines corruptly called *Visigoths*. They had the Name of *Goten* or *Guten*, which signifies *Good*, from Strangers for their great humanity to all such as they entertained. That the *Goths* inhabited *Scanzia* is evident from all sorts of Writers and other Testimonies, and there had their Name, as other People for their inhumanity to Strangers received contrary appellations, as the *Zuadi* *Witti* and *Thaifali*. Of the *Goths* other Nations descended, or were the same with them, and from some Accidents received other Names as the *Longobards*, and *Wandals*. And these Names they took after the Migrations of those *Scanzian* Nations which they made far and wide, and thereby made themselves so considerable as to be known both by their old and new Names, and much more by the Effects of their victorious Arms.

Ostrogoths and Westrogoths.

3. For their first Motion or Expedition we are in the dark, and as in the Originals of all Nations, some truth is involved in many and great Fictions and Poetical Romances, so we may probably conjecture in this of theirs. One story we are to mention, because a late learned and ingenious Writer hath taken much pains to make it probable. And it hangs upon this hinge of Truth, that the *Goths* or *Getes* in most ancient times out of *Scandia* made Inroads not only into the *Chersonesus*, the Islands of the *Baltick* Sea and the more Northern Parts of *Germany*, but into several Parts both of the *Asian* and *European Sarmatia* and *Scythia*, whence driving out the Inhabitants they there seated themselves, as well as in *Thrace* and several other Provinces. Upon this Foundation the Northern Writers raise particular stories, which we cannot tell how to call false as to the main of them, but are very Romantic in their Circumstances. As into other Regions, they say the *Goths* pierced (in very old time it must be) into that Part of the *Asian Scythia* where there was a City afterward called by them *Afgard*, the

Sheringham in Disceptat. de Origine Gentis Anglorum.

A Colony out
of Scandinavia
to Asgardia.

the Inhabitants whereof *Asgardiani* are by some thought the same with those whom the *Greeks* knew by the Name of *Aspurgiani*, both sorts of Authors placing them near to the Lake *Mæotis*, where the River *Tanais* with great fury empties himself into it. Some think *Ptolemy* the Geographer called the City by the very Name of *Asgard* or *Afgard*. The Country in which it stood was in a peculiar way called *Asia* by *Strabo*, and the People *Asiei* and *Afgotæ* by other Writers, being also called *Turcæ* whom *Mela* makes the same with the *Tyrsgætæ*, those whom at present we call *Turks*, having long time after entered into those quarters after they were defeated by the *Goths*, upon their return back into *Europe*. These *Aspurgiani* had their Kings, the Dominions of whom extended to the farther Mountains of *Scythia* within *Imaus*, where the *Aufones*, *Syebi* and *Iota* inhabited, whom *Strabo* comprehends under the very Name of *Aspurgiani*.

Woden.

Wonderfull
things said of
him.

4. Of this *Asgardia* or *Aspurgia* in process of time King one *Obbin*, who had many other Names, according to the several *Gothick* Dialects, but that whereby he is commonly known is *Woden*, from which the third day of the week is called *Wodensday*. Now most wonderful things are said of this *Woden*, no more Famous and Romantick stories being told of any *Heroe*. What wonderful Power he had in *Magick* in transforming himself and other things, is not fit here to be related; his ways of enchanting were peculiar. Of his Government fine things are told; as also his Acts and Conquests in the Eastern and Northern Parts are celebrated, he being said to be Lord of that part of *Scythia* lying toward the South. At what time the *Romans* grew terrible to the World, by his *Magick* knowing that he and his Posterity should for a long time Reign in the Northern Parts of the World, he committed to his two Brothers *Ve* and *Velir*, the Government of *Asgardia*, and went into *Russia*, whence he proceeded into *Saxony*, and thence into *Gothia Suetica* or *Suehland*. The Prince of this Country was one *Gylva*, by whose consent he and his followers planted there. Here, by his Incantments, Rhimes and Songs, he did such incredible things, that his Name became famous and reached all Countries, and afterward the *Suedi* and other Northern Nations sacrificed to him and his twelve Assistants, which he chose to keep him in Magical Rites and Government, and wickedly paid to him their Duty and Devotion which was due to the Lord of Heaven and Earth alone.

What Judge-
ment is to be
made of his
Story.

5. Now to make a Judgment of this Story, it is very probable that some famous Man or Men there was of this Name, which indeed became wonderfully revered by the Northern and other German Nations. These Countries, as is observed and is sufficiently evident, have been much given to *Magick* and Incantments, Charms and Tricks, many Monuments of their ancient Places of Burial, with their *Runic* Inscriptions sufficiently testifying enough of this matter at this very day. That some of the *Goths* were called *Turcæ* we hear, and it is not improbable, that in this return out of those *Scythian* Quarters some retained this Name, though the reason of it was in the dark. For in the County of *Lincoln* upon the River *Trent*, a few Miles from *Gainsborough*, there is a Town now called *Torkley*, which the *Saxons* in their Language knew by the Name of *Turkefegga* or the Island of *Turks*. In the Northern Countries many places bear the Name of *Woden*. It is not utterly to be neglected, that the Removals and Travels of the *Goths*, out of the more Northern Parts into *Germany*, and the adjacent Islands are said farther to be made out, both by the Inscriptions in *Runic* Characters, which are extant both in the said Islands and in *Sueden*, as well as by the Annals of these Quarters. Moreover great Pillars were in *Sueden* not long since to be seen, which the Inscriptions upon them manifested to have been erected by them in Memory of their Worthies, which had lost their Lives in *Greece*, *Thrace* or other places. It is believed by some that from *Woden*, and his Companions who were *Scythians*, *Suedia* came to be called *Nova Scythia*, and the Inhabitants of the *Cherfonesus* or the *Cimbri* to be termed by the *Greeks*, *Celto-sythæ*, being first known to them by the Name of *Cimmerii*, and why by this: but that because they were first in *Scythia* called *Cimmerii*, and into *Germany* and those parts travelled from the *Bosphorus Cimmerius*.

6. To be sure the People inhabiting *Scandia*, had those of the same Names with themselves, living in the *Scythian* Regions, and which must necessarily be deduced from the same Original. That those three severally denominated People which invaded and conquered this our Island were of *Scandian* Original, none can doubt, viz. the *Jutes*, *Gutes* or *Getae* (the same with the *Goths*) the *Angli* and *Saxons*; and from *Ptolemy* the Geographer it appears, that in *Scythia* or *Cimmeria* there were three several People which were known by these very Names. He

speaks

speaks of *Iota* lying upon the Sea of the *Rhiminii*. Of the *Saxones* under the *Mas-jean* and *Alan* Mountains. And though by name he mentions not the *Angles*, yet the *Suebi* he doth, or *Suevi*, part of which Nation the *Angli* are rationally thought to have been, being so called from the *Angle* or Corner on which they seized in *Germany*. This is accounted no small Argument, that these People came into the Northern Parts of *Germany* at no other time, nor under any other Conduct than that of *Woden*, that before the time of his Expedition so such Names as these do occur in Northern Writers, but after they became famous, especially the *Saxoni*: In the *Sacogothick* Annals, those of *Norway* and *Denmark*, the memory of them flourishes; but amongst the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Writers the *Saxoni* are known as also the *Jutes* by the Name of *Cimbri*, though the *Suebi* by that of their own. In *Sarmatia*, and especially in *Livonia* are many Towns, the Names of which are *Saxon*. And for the Maritime Parts, they speak the Language there at this very day; the same which about *Pontus* and those Northern Quarters of *Asia*, was spoken even in the time of *Ovid*, the Poet, who being banished thither, became a Proficient in the Language of the *Getae*. Well, this might be when *Strabo* placeth the *Macropogones* or *Longbards* in *Cimmeria*, about *Syndica*, near to which *Woden* is said to have reigned in *Aspurgia*. In *Germany* there is *Trier*, in *Saxony* *Die Trier*, and such there were in *Scythia* also. The *Charti* also lived in *Germany*, not far from the *Suevi*, *Angli* and *Chamani*, and *Ptolemy* placeth them also in *Scythia* next the *Masagetes*, without the Mountains *Imai*.

7. To these things might be added, that the Humours, Manners and Inclinations of the *Gothick* Nations or *Cimbri*, did much suit with those of the *Asiatick* *Scythians*. And all considered, that there were migrations there can be little doubt, the same People being found at so great distance. Now whether first these Nations passed from *Scandia* into *Scythia*, or out of *Scythia* into *Scandia*, may be some question; but it seems not difficult to be resolved, that setting aside the first planting of the World, they first went from *Scandia*; because the vast Tracts of that Country *Germany*, and the Islands speaking that Language, challenge the other sorts of People of the *Asiatick* *Scythia* to have been their Colonies, for they were but few in number in comparison of their Neighbours, who spake in Language and lived far differently from them. Admit then as possible, that such a man as *Woden* there might be, it would be of consequence, if we had any light concerning his return into *Scandia*. A Tradition there was amongst the *Saxons*, that they came by Sea into *Germany*, but it is urged that no Footsteps of any other Invasion or Migration is to be found; but this of *Woden*. Some make it to have happened four and twenty Years before the Birth of Christ, about the time that *Pompey* wasted *Syria*; but if *Woden* delivered *Denmark* to his Son *Skjold*, whence the Kings of that Country were anciently called *Skjoldinger*, this *Skjold*, according to the *Danish* Chronology, lived almost a thousand Years before *Pompey*; and accordingly *Woden* with his *Asiatics* must have preceded the *Danish* Kingdom, and to *Saxony*, *Suevia* and *Jutia* have given their proper Names. By this account *Woden* must have been ancienter than *Homæ*; but how will this consist with the Genealogies of our own English *Saxoni* Kings, the Founders of the seven Kingdoms here, all which are derived in descent from *Woden*? But *Hengist*, the first that came into *Britain*, arrived not till about COOCL Years after Christ's Birth, and he is said to have been but the *Athepos*, or Great Grandchild of *Woden*, as *Cædric*, the Founder of the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, the Tenth from him: Whereas by the former account, *Woden* must have preceded the Birth of our Saviour above a thousand Years.

Woden.

8. To dispatch therefore this Story of him, let us close with the opinion of them, who think that as amongst the *Greeks*, there were several there bore the Name of *Hercules*, but were all confounded together, and what was done by all was ascribed to one. It fell out in the same manner as to the matter of *Woden*. It's thought that there were three which bore this Name, all deified by Idolaters. The first, descended from *Saturn* and the *Trojan* Kings, called *Afianus*, and *Odin* his gaine or *Woden* the Ancient, who never came into *Europe*, but his Name and Rites were hither brought by others. The second of *Upsall*, to whom in *Sweden* was a Temple dedicated shining with Gold, who was also called *Afianus*, but a franger of the *Scythians*. The third was called *Mathwoden* or *Middlewoden*, of whom *Saxo Grammaticus* maketh mention, who, the other *Woden* being abroad, play'd tricks, and took occasion to feign himself a God, but after his return fled into *Phaonia*, and there was slain by the Inhabitants. Some produce a fourth *Woden*, who being beaten by *Pompey* out of *Asia* into the Northern Parts, taught

C

Sect. 2.

The Migrati-
ons of the
Goths.

the People the Arts and Laws of the *Asiatics*, and was therefore had in especial Honour. And yet this flight from the *Romans* is ascribed to him of *Utsall*, though they lived in far different Ages. Let us take then to leave this Story of *Wode*, with the Migrations into *Asia*, and back again out of that Country, and returning also to *Scandia*, take notice of these Motions of the *Gothick* Nations, which are warranted by unquestionable History, or probable at least.

9. It is not amiss to premise, that upon passing into other Countries, the same People got several Names; as either Strangers made terminations to their old ones, or as they observed something they thought most remarkable in them: According to the way of severally terminating words, and bringing them as near as can be to the *Genius* of a strange Language, the same *Goths* are in several Writers called *Guta*, *Gutones*, *Gothones*, *Gythones*, *Gutones* and *Guttonici*, as the same Country is termed *Guthia* and *Gudlandia*. And in like manner, the *Franci* and *Francones*, *Vasci* and *Vascones*, *Erissi* and *Frisonen*, *Suedi* and *Sucones* are the same. After the first migration of them North Eastward to the Lake of *Mæotis*, where even at this very day they retain both the Names. Manners and Language of *Goths*, as their Country that of *Gothia*, they seem to have sent out that Colony which planted it self between the Rivers *Albis* (by those *Goths* called *Gothelba*) and *Vistula*, where they preserved their Country Name. *Grotius* guesseth that above three Hundred years before our Saviour, they first went out of *Scandia*, *Godonavia* or *Gothland*; and coming into the Continent of *Germany*, drove out the *Olmirugi*, and there left a Colony which *Tacitus* calleth *Gothiones*. That the Islands adjoining they very anciently Peopled, there is no doubt, as also the Sea coasts, where the *Æstii* inhabited, who had this Name, and their Country that of *Æstia*, from lying Eastward from them. Hence he believes they made Incursions as far as *Mæotis*, and into *Dacia*, but when he cannot say; but that it was before the time of the *Antonini*. He saith he learns this from *Spartianus*, who in the Life of *Caracalla* writes that the *Goths* were called *Getae*, as many others also have hinted, because the nearness of the Name deceived the *Romans* (though *Geta* be a Name of *Thrace*, and *Goth* a German word) and the *Goths* held those places which anciently bore the Name of the *Getae*. Hence in the Reign of *Philip*, *Jornandes* brings them into *Mæsia* and *Thrace*, and it appears that from this time, Part of the *Goths* remained in *Mæsia*, who by *Jornandes* are called *Gothi Minoris*, and who receiving Letters from the *Greeks*, delivered them to the other *Gothick* Nations.

Their Invasi-
ons.

10. Amongst the *Roman* Writers, after *Spartianus*, he observes, that the first mention of the *Goths* is made by *Aurelius Victor* (published by *Schotus*), in the Reign of *Decius*, at what time out of *Dacia*, they poured out themselves into the neighbouring *Thrace*, being by *Zosimus* and *Zonares* called *Scythians*, as by their Original they well might, and did pass for such. In the time of *Aurelian* and *Gallienus* they proceeded farther, and wasted *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Pontus* and *Asia*, several particulars being related by divers Authors. From others it appears that *Claudius* being Emperor they fell upon *Marcianopolis* in *Mæsia*, and then wasted both *Macedonia* and *Illyricum*, besieging *Cassandria* and *Theffalonia*. Both *Maximian* and *Constantine* the Great received them into friendship and society, and the latter made use of them against the *Sarmatae*, and under *Theodosius* the younger, part of *Thrace* fell to their share. *Procopius* tells us that the *Goths*, called *Tetractica*, lived near to the shore and straits of *Mæotis*, and farther from them the *Goths* and *Vifgoths*, and all the other *Gothick* Nations anciently named *Scythians*, as all the other Nations of those Parts with some difference, in some of *Sarmatians*, *Melanclenians* and other Names. On the other side of the Lake lived the *Chimmerians* or *Flumens*, who it's said being periwaded by two young Men, that pursued a Stag, that the water was fordable (which they had not thought before) instantly took Arms and passed over. He adds that the *Vandals* were gone before and seated in *Africk*, and the *Vifgoths* were in *Spain*. And so they fell upon the *Goths*, who dwelt in the Champain, killed many and chased away the rest. Such as escaped passed the River *Ister*, with their Wives and Children into the *Roman* Territory, where they did much mischief. Afterward the Emperor planted them in a Country of *Thrace*, and sometimes they aided the *Romans* in quality of Confederates, receiving yearly Penfions, whereby it appears that the *Goths* (so *Procopius* observes) came not as Men conquered, but upon the Articles of a League. Sometimes also they made causeless War upon the *Romans*, till under *Theodorich* they removed into *Italy*.

11. Great

Ex hac igitur
Scanzia insula
guasi officina
Gronum, au-
cerit velut na-
gina nationum
cum Rege suo
nomine Beris,
Gothi quon-
dam memo-
ratur exsili-
Jornandi de
Rebus Getici.
c. 4.

Capitaneatus
Gothia dicitur
in publicis
monumentis,
vide Grotium
ubi prius ex-
celat Joffop-
us Barthele-
mili Veneri,
qui in illis
vixit Regis
vixit.

Hist. Gothie
lib. 4.

Sect. 2.

11. Great Mischiefs did the *Goths* bring to the *Roman* Provinces by their Invasions and Inroads; but the greatest mischief of all happened by the Empire, its opening it self to receive them. I mean when *Valens* received them into *Thrace*, as we have at large related in our second Part, in the year CCCLXXVI. Having by his leave passed the *Danube*, whither they were driven from their own Seats by the *Hunnes*, they presently turned head against their Entertainer, and afterward proved to many *Vipers* in the Bowels of the Provinces, still taking occasion to stir, and could not be quieted by any Seats or Entertainment given them, no though the greatest of them were preferred to the greatest place of Magistracy and Dignity, till they made themselves Leaders or Kings, and travelling Southward, at length seized upon the Provinces as Lords and Masters thereof. This the Reader may remember, from what hath been copiously related to him in this work, concerning their Motions in the time of *Honorius*, the Invasion of *Italy*, and taking of *Rome* by *Alarick*, their Actions in *Gall* and in *Spain*. It is to be observed that the Story told by *Procopius*, concerning the Deer being pursued by the young men, and (what thereupon happened) the Invasion of the Seats of the *Goths* by the *Hunnes*, and their flying to the *Danube*, is by c. 24. 25. *Jornandes* made the same with their flight thither in the Reign of *Valens*, whom they petitioned to be received within the *Roman* Pale, what ever *Procopius* talk of the *Vandals* being now seated in *Africk*, and the *Vifgoths* in *Spain*. It is also farther to be taken notice of, that the Migrations out of *Scandia* were in more ancient times, and that those irruptions which brought ruin to the *Roman* Provinces, and gave beginnings to the Principalities erected by these Barbarous Nations therein, were from the Eastern quarters. *Jornandes* distinguisheth thus of their Habitations: Those that abode in the first part of *Scythia* by *Mæotis*, are known to have had *Filimer* for their King; they that inhabited in the second soil of *Dacia*, *Thracia* and *Mæsia* had *Zamolxes*, whom most Writers of Annals testify to have been a wonderfully learned Philosopher. Besides this he had formerly spoken of their planting in that part of *Scythia*, which bordered on the Sea of *Pontus*. But now at the time that they grew so terrible to the Empire, after that of *Valens*, they began to be known to the World, by the afterward terrible Names of *Vifgoths* and *Ostrogoths*.

12. They were known indeed more by these Names, after their parting into several Quarters of the Empire, but the Names were much ancienter. And that from their situation of West and East, they were first called *Westrogoths* and *Ostrogoths* in their own Country is most probable, and *Grotius* concludes it from *Jornandes* his Description of *Scandia* (who therein indeed mentions the *Ostrogoths* though not the other,) and from *Papiscus*, who about the time of *Claudius* makes mention of the *Aufrogoths*, with whom the *Ostrogoths* are the same. They were joined together till the Reign of *Ermarick*, and that of *Valens*, the Emperor; but then the *Vifgoths* or *Western Goths* departed from the *Ostrogoths*, and frightened by the *Hunnes*, asked *Valens* leave to pass the *Danube*. And the *Western Goths* (corruptly called *Wifgoths* and *Vifgoths*) they were who being received, and treated ill as they pretended contrary to the Agreement defeated and killed *Valens*. After this they seized on *Thrace* and *Dacia Ripensis*, not by a precarious Right, but by way of Dominion, and even in the time of *Gratian*. Afterward a part of them under Conduct of *Fridigerus* invaded *Theffaly* and *Achaia*, and another part led by *Alatheus*, and *Safrack* fell into *Pannonia*, and compelled *Theodosius* (son of *Adamas*) to make a Peace. This Peace being not lasting, *Alarick* their King having wasted *Thrace* and *Greece*, after *Radagaisus* invaded *Italy* through *Pannonia*, as we have shewn at large, and first after the *Galli Senones* took *Rome* in the time of *Florianus*. He that succeeded *Athabese* did the like, and presently invaded *Gall*, which was forsaken by the *Vandals*. There the *Western Goths* settled a Dominion, and afterward transferred it over the Mountains into *Spain*, where they also erected a Kingdom. Of which Dominion and Kingdom we must treat particularly, and therefore here must leave the *Westrogoths* for a time.

13. The *Ostrogoths* seem to have been the more considerable Party, the race of the ancient Kings, obeyed by both sorts till this Decection, proceeding from them, and namely the Family of the *Amali*, so much celebrated among them. *Amalarius* (to pass by some other Kings more ancient, the Names of whom are to be found in *Jornandes*) was the Son of *Angis*, and it seems so eminent as to give a Name to his Successors. He was the Father of *Iarnas*, and *Iarnas* of *Ostrogotha*, who in the Reign of *Philip* the Emperor with his *Ostrogoths* (*Jornandes* yet *Æti*, Latinus knowing not, whether from him or their situation they received this Name,) for that

The Kings and
Progresses of
the *Ostrogoths*.

Amal.
Iarnas.
Ostrogotha.

Whence came
the Names of
Ostrogoths and
Westrogoths.

The Progress
of the *Westro-*
goths.

Amal.
Iarnas.
Ostrogotha.

Westrogothia
confinis est
Provincia Da-
narum qua
Scania dicitur,
a qua ferunt
dictum septem
perennis usque
ad Civitatem
Gothorum
magnam Scy-
vax. Deinde
Ostrogothia
proceditur
juxta mare
ad Balbi-
cam dicitur
usque ad Byr-
thensium
Gronum. Epe-
legmenii.

Secl. 2. that being Confederates of the Empire their Stipends were not paid them, passed the *Danube*, wasted *Mæsa* and *Thrace*, and forced *Marcianopolis* to compound with him, and redeem it self. The Nation of the *Gepidæ* seeing him thus victorious envied him this good Fortune, and made war upon their Kinsmen, as *Jornandes*, calls them, though by the word *Patrules*, and how they came to be their Kinsmen he tells you, he saith, in short if you ask the question. He puts his Reader in mind, that at the beginning of his Book, he shewed how the *Goths* proceeded out of the Island *Scanzia* with *Berick* their King, transported onely in three Ships to the Bank of the hither Ocean. Of these three Vessels, one, as often happens, sailing slower than the rest, gave Name to the People; (which landed in an Island of the River *Vistula*, and afterward proceeded farther) for in their Language *Slow* is signified by *Gepanta*. Hence came it to pass that by little and little, and corruptly it came to stick to them by way of reproach. For the *Gepidæ* without doubt derive their Original from the Stock of the *Goths*; but because, as was said, *Gepanta* signifieth something slow and sluggish, the Nickname of the *Gepidæ* thence arose, which I dare not believe, and flatter lie, to be the falsest thing that is. For they are of a slow humour and disposition, and more heavy as to motion of the Body. Such is the Relation of *Jornandes* concerning the Name and Original of the *Gepidæ*. He agrees with *Procopius* herein, who declaring which were the greatest and most famous of the *Gothick* Nations, reckons the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Visigoths* and *Gepadæ*. He adds, that anciently they were called *Sarmatians* and *Melanchleuians*; that they varied all in Names, and nothing else, being all fair bodied with yellow hair, tall and with good faces; that they had the same Laws, Customs and Religion, being all *Arians*, and all spake the *Gothick* Language. He supposes them to have been anciently one Nation, and their Names to have been distinguished afterward by their several Princes. Formerly, he saith, this People inhabited about the *Danube*; then the *Gepadæ* held the Places about *Singdon* and *Sirmium* on both sides the River, where they were when he wrote his History.

14. There are other Testimonies sufficient to prove, that the *Gepidæ* were a *Gothobalkanian* Nation. They also as we have seen, invaded and wasted the *Roman* Empire. They were once Associates with the *Romans*, but joined with the *Lombards* and broke Truces, after which they made great furs in the World till they were overcome, and in a manner destroyed by the *Lombards*, in the time of *Alboin*, who married *Rosamunda* the Daughter of *Centimund* their King. But to return to our former Story: *Fasfida* the King of the *Gepidæ* being puffed up with the good Success he had against the *Burgundians*, whom he almost destroyed, broke the League with the *Goths* his Kinsmen. He sent to *Ostrogotha*, to whom both the *Ostrogoths* and *Visigoths* were subject, to tell him, that he was too much straitened in room, and he must give the *Gepidæ* Land, or prepare for War. He answered he should be sorry to make War upon his Kindred, but he would part with no Land, and thereupon a bloody Battel was fought, wherein the *Gepidæ* were shamefully beaten, and the *Goths* contenting themselves with Victory, moved not during the Reign of *Ostrogotha*. After his death, *Cnina* divided them into two Armies, and sending one into *Mæsa*, with the other consisting of seventy thousand Men, he himself fell on *Eufesum* or *Nona*; whence being removed by *Gallus*, a Captain, he went to *Nicopolis* a City *Trajan* had built upon overthrowing the *Sarmatæ*, near the River *Ister*. But *Decius* the Emperour marching towards him, he removed into the Parts of *Hæmonia* near adjoining, purposing for *Philippolis*. *Decius* intended to pursue him, and resting his Men at *Berræza*, *Cnina* with his *Goths*, fell like a Thunderbolt upon him, and forced him to fly into *Mæsa*. *Cnina* having long besieged *Philippolis*, at length got the Governour *Priscus* to join with him, and pursued *Decius*; where *Gallus* being Captain of the Limit had recruited his Army. And they came to an engagement, wherein first the Son of *Decius*, and afterward the Emperour himself was slain, and ended his Life and Reign together.

15. After this the *Goths* invaded *Asia*, where having burnt the Temple of *Diæna* at *Ephebus*, and demolished *Chalcedon*; they retired into *Thrace*, and wasted that Country. They assisted *Maximian* the Emperour against the *Partians*, and *Constantine* the Great against *Licinius*, forty thousand of them serving under him, who continued in the *Roman* Army by the Name of *Federati*. These things they did under the Conduct of their Kings *Ararick* and *Aurick*, after whom came *Giberick* a notable Person. He overthrew the *Wandals* his Neighbours with *Vissimar* their King, who was defended of the Race of the *Aldingi*, renowned amongst them. Such of the *Wandals* as remained after the Overthrow, begged *Pannonia*

Mæd Gepanta
pro Gepanta
hunc legimus
est enim Ge-
pæ Germani
is qui morant
fecit. Grot.

Vandal, lib. 1.
ad initium.

Ararick, lo-
more polius.
Ararick, re-
tissate polius.
Hæst-Dier-
gen, clu in

Hermanarick.

The Original
of the Heruli.

of *Constantine* the Emperour, to whose Succession they were obedient forty years, till being invited by *Stilico* they fell upon *Gall*, but settled not therein. *Giberick* being dead, after some time *Hermanarick* was King, one descended of the most noble family of the *Amali*. He conquered so many Northern Nations, that by some he was compared to *Alexander* the Great. Having subdued many (the Names of whom *Jornandes* gives us, but might have as well suppressed them; so strange they are) he could not omit the *Heruli*, but needs must fall on them also. The Historian tells us from a far better Authour, *Ablanhus* whose work hath miscarried, that this Nation of the *Heruli*, dwelling near the Fens of *Meotis* in waterish places, had its Name from them, which by the *Greeks* are called *Hebe*: a People, he adds, by how much more swift and agile, so much more abundantly proud; for there was then no Nation, which chose not its light armed Soldiers out of them. But formerly in the same work *Jornandes* writes, that they were driven out of their Seats by the *Dani*, which Seats were in *Scanzia*, for of the Inhabitants thereof he speaks in that Chapter. With him *Procopius* agrees, that they inhabited formerly beyond the River *Ister*, serving many Gods, and holding it no impiety to appease them with humane Sacrifices. He adds, that they had Laws different from other Men, when Men were grown aged or sick, they were not to live; but intreat their Kindred to put them out of the World. The Kindred made a Pile of wood and set the Man on the Top, and sent one who was a stranger to him in blood to dispatch him, then set they the Pile on fire, and the flame being done gathered up his bones and buried them. When one of the *Heruli* died, his Wife (if he would be thought virtuous) was to strangle her self over her Husband's Tomb; otherwise she was esteemed infamous, and an Enemy to her Husband's Kindred.

16. In time they over-topped the bordering Barbarians in Populoufness and Power, and vanquished them in fight one by one, foraged their Countries, and kept them under. They subdued the *Lombards* being Christians, and made them pay Tribute either out of Covetousness or Vainglory, it being a thing not used by the Barbarians in these Parts. In the Reign of *Anastafius*, having none left to subdue, they remained quiet for three years, but for that reviling and provoking their King *Rodulph*, he made an unjust War upon the *Lombards*, not charging them with the breach of Treaties or any other Pretence. The issue was that many of the *Heruli* were slain with their King, and the rest flying were almost all cut in pieces. Upon this they left their Country, and passing through all the Land beyond the River *Ister*, fate down in the Country of the *Rugi* who had left it, and were gone with the *Goths* into *Italy*. But the Land being waste they removed to the *Gepidæ*, who at first permitted them to plant by them, but afterwards wronged and abused them, which moved them to pass *Ister*, to dwell by the *Romans* there. *Anastafius* received them, and afterward when they committed wicked Acts, he killed most of them, sending an Army, and would have destroyed them all, but their Leaders begged their Lives, and to be taken for Auxiliaries and Servants of the Empire, and so some escaped alive; yet neither aided nor served the *Romans*. *Justinian* coming to the Empire, gave them a fertile Country and Goods, made them also his Associates, and persuaded them to be Christians; upon which they grew civiler, and applying themselves to the Laws of Christianity, served the *Romans* as Auxiliaries. But still, saith *Procopius*, they are false to us and covetous, not thinking it any shame to wrong their Neighbours. They use impious Mixtures with Men and Beasts, being indeed the wickedest of all Men and Wretches, wretchedly to perish: Some of them continued the League with us, and the rest revolted upon this Occasion. To shew the savageness of their Nature, they killed *Ocho* their King suddenly; without alledging any thing, but that they would no more be under a King.

17. And indeed their King before had onely the Name, otherwise little advantage above a private Man. All fate at meat with him, and piteous Affronts upon him, the *Heruli* being the most indifereet and lightest Men alive. But this foul fact they instantly repented, finding no possibility to live without Governours and Generals. After much consultation they resolved to send for one of the Blood Royal, from the Island of *Tule*. For the *Heruli* being overthrown by the *Lombards*, and leaving their Native soil, some dwelt in *Illyricum*, but others past not the River *Ister*, but thought it better to plant in the uttermost borders of the habitable World. These conducted by many of the Blood Royal, passed through the Nations of the *Slani*, a large desert Country, the *Varri*, and those of the *Danes* (the Barbarians using no violence against them) and coming to

Secl. 2.
Judicio pub-
lico. Giberick
Domi polius.
Here exercitum
Hermanarick
milit.
Mælisibus
polius.

C. 3.

De Bello Goth.
lib. 2.

lib. 2.

Their Wick-
edness.

Cnina.

Ararick
Ararick
Giberick

Sect. 2.

the Ocean, and getting shipping arrived at the Island *Thule*, where they staid. Thus writes *Procopius* of the *Heruli*, who by *Thule* means the Peninsula of *Scandia*, which he calls ten times bigger than *Britannia*, faith most of it was waste, but in that which was inhabited, were feared thirteen populous Nations, and over every Nation was a King. Amongst them the *Herulians* wanderers planted themselves; and those who continued amongst the *Romans*, having murdered their King, sent some of their chief Men to the Island of *Thule*, to bring over one of the Blood Royal if they could find any there. From amongst many they brought one, who dying by the way of sickness, they went back and brought another named *Todasius*, accompanied with his Brother *Aordas*, and two hundred *Heruli*. They being long upon their Journey, the *Heruli* about *Singedon*, conceiving it might be inconvenient to introduce a King from *Thule* without *Julianus*'s consent, sent to the Emperour to *Constantinople* to give them what King he pleased. He sent them *Swartnas* one of their Nation, who had long lived at *Constantinople*, and him at first they received joyfully, adored him as King, and obeyed him in the usual Directions. But within few days hearing of the coming of the Ambassadors from *Thule*, they revolted from *Swartnas* (who had commanded them to goe out and kill them) to the New Comers, and he was forced to fly back to *Constantinople*. The Emperour set himself to restore him, and thereupon the *Heruli* revolted to the *Gepidae*. So much writes *Procopius* of this People, of whom we often speak in the Course of our History upon occasion. It seems they lived beyond the River *Aster*, and afterward some of them passed into *Scandia*, from which possibly also they descended amongst other *Gothick* Nations; for amongst *Gothick* Nations *Procopius* reckons also the *Scirri* and *Alani*, amongst whom he puts *Odoacer*, as one of them, and faith he was of the Lifeguard to the Emperour; and him other Authours call King of the *Heruli*, who invading *Italy* were we suppose more Civiliz'd, than those of whom *Procopius* writes.

The Original
of the *Hunnes*
according to
Jornandes.

18. Well! upon the *Heruli*, *Hermanarick* King of the *Ostrogoths* made war, and though their swiftness prevailed against other Nations; yet it submitted to the slowness and stability of the *Goths*, and they served *Hermanarick* amongst other Nations. After them he subdued the *Veneti* who became his Servants, though afterward in the time of *Jornandes*, because of the Sins of his Age they rag'd every where, being, though sprung from one Root, germinated into three Names of *Veneti*, *Aules* and *Sclani*. By his prudential valour he conquered the *Astri*, who inhabited on the longest bank of the *German Ocean*, and as if it had been effected by his own Labours, he commanded also the Nations, both of *Scythia* and *Germany*. Not very long after, as he relates from *Orosius*, the Nation of the *Hunnes* rag'd against the *Goths* with more than bitter fury; and to be revenged on them for that and their other Pranks, he gives you an account of their Original also, as he found it related by Antiquity. *Filimer* King of the *Goths* the Son of *Gandarick* the Great, being their fifth Prince after their going out from the Island of *Scanzia*, having with his People entered into the *Scythian* Territories, found amongst them certain Witches, which in his Countrey Language he called *Alfornunne*, and having them suspected he thrust them away from his Company, and compelled them to depart into the Wilderness far from his Army. Unclean Spirits seeing these Women wandering in the Desert lay with them, and procreated this most furious brood, which at first continued in the Fenns small and inconsiderable, as it were a kind of Men, neither known by any other word than that which signified an Image of Mankind. From *Prifcus* the Historian, he adds, that in the Fenn of *Maotis*, this Cruel Nation possessed the farther Bank being expert in hunting and no other labour, onely when it grew into Multitudes, with Frauds and Rapines it disturbed the neighbouring Nations.

19. Concerning the Original of the *Hunnes* we must leave *Jornandes* to himself, but concerning their Seats his Relation is confirmed by other Writers. *Procopius* tells us, that the two Straits of Mount *Caucasus*, which let in the *Hunish* Nations upon the *Romans* and *Persians*, were called the one *Tzar*, and the other the *Caspian Gates*. That the Countrey extending from Mount *Caucasus* to the *Caspian*, the *Alani* held, subject to none, but as Confederates they served the *Persians* against the *Romans* and all the World. That under Mount *Caucasus* dwell the *Gabrian Hunnes*, and some other *Hunish* Nations; and hence they said issued the *Amazons*, and made a Camp at *Themiscyrus* by the River of *Themidon*, near where in his Days stood the City of *Amisus*. But now faith he are left no *Amazons* in the Countries about Mount *Caucasus*. *Strabo*, he adds, and some others have made

De Bello Goth.
lib. 1. init.

The Occasion
of feigning
Amazons.

made much discourse about them, but they seem to speak most truly, who Sect. 2.
think that there was never any such Manly Race of Women; nor that Nature in Mount *Caucasus* onely swerved from its sacred Laws, but that the Barbarians of these Parts making an Expedition against *Asia*, brought their Wives along with them, whom they left in a Camp near *Themidon*. That they themselves overrunning much of *Asia* were to be encountered and defeated, that none escaped to the Camp; and that there their Wives being sorely put to it by the fear of the People adjoining, and by want of Victuals, took on them Countenances of Men, and armed themselves with the Furniture left by their Husbands, and with the same performed some commendable Actions, compelled by necessity, till they were all slain. This is his opinion, and that the *Amazons* were Wives that went to war with their Husbands, the Experiment whereof, he faith, happened in his own time. And commonly the additions which descend to Posterity, are the Images of those which were before. For the *Hunnes*, in their Inroad upon the *Romans*, often coming to a Battel wherein some of them were slain, and the *Romans* searching the dead Bodies, have found Women amongst them. Other Armies of Women were never, neither infesting *Asia* nor *Europe*. Neither was it ever heard that the *Caucasian* Mountains had all their Men wasted at any time. Afterward, speaking of several other Nations, he subjoins that beyond the *Sagini*, were many *Hunish* People in a Countrey called *Eulysia*, possessed by these Barbarians in the maritime and in-land Parts thereof to the Lake *Maotis*, and the River *Tanais*, which disembogues into the said Lake, and the Lake into the *Euxine* Sea. Anciently the Inhabitants were called *Cimmerii*, but in his time *Viturgurians*. But the Reader may remember how we have already spoken much of the *Viturgurian* and *Caturgarian Hunnes*, from the same *Procopius*, who gives another Character of the *Hunnes* in general than *Jornandes* doth; for speaking of the *Autes* and *Sclani* amongst other things, he faith that they were remote from knavish Craft and Malice, being like to the *Hunnes* in this very Innocence also. At length they drove out the *Lombards*, and planted themselves in *Pannonia*. But let us hear what other dreadful things *Jornandes* relates in his Account of the War betwixt them and the *Goths*.

Jornandes his
Description of
an *Hunne*.

20. They being Hunters, some of them exercising themselves this way on the farther Bank of *Maotis* found a Deer, and pursued her, as was said, before to the farther side; for here he brings in that Story. Having by this means discovered the way into *Scythia*, they fell like thunder upon several People he mentions, the Names of whom are hard to be understood, and amongst others they subdued the *Alani* equal to them in Valour and Skill but unlike, as to Humanity, Course of Life and Shape. For whereas possibly they could not by force have mastered them, having affrighted and astonished them by the Terror of their Countenances, they scared them into flight. They were fearfully black to look on, but carried upon their Shoulders a deformed Lump (if it be fit to call it so) and no face which had rather little pricks or holes than any Lights or Eyes. Their ugly aspect betrayed the boldness of their minds, who were cruel against their own Children, the first day they came into the World. For they cut and mangled the Cheeks of their Sons, that before they should receive the Nourishment of Milk, they might be constrained to endure the pain of a wound. Hence they grew old and beardless, and became youths without Comelines, their faces being so furrowed with the Knife, that the scars hindered the growth of Hairs. They were little in shape, but active and nimble, and Excellent Horsemen, broad shouldered and fit for shooting and casting of darts; they had strong Necks, and proudly they bore them. In humane shape they lived in beastly Cruelty.

21. The *Gates* at the sight of a People the most active of all others, and the Controller of Nations were afraid, and consulted with their King how to be freed from them. *Hermanarick* though Conquerour of many Nations, yet when he deliberated concerning the coming of the *Hunnes*, was deceived by the treacherous *Roxolani*, who took occasion to shew their falseness, though they served him amongst others. Punishing one *Saniolk* a Woman of that Nation, her two Brothers *Sarus* and *Amnius*, to revenge her death, gave him a wound in the side of which he languished; and thereat *Balamir* King of the *Hunnes* taking advantage moved against him. With thought of this and the anguish of his wound, as also old Age, he was overcome, and died in the hundred and tenth Year of his Age. The *Vistigoths* now had left their fellows, though formerly they had been joined with the *Ostrogoths*, and against them the *Hunnes* prevailed upon his death,

Hist. Goth.
lib. 4.

Sect. 2.

Winithar.

Hunimund.

Theodismond.

The Ostrogoths have Pannonia assigned them.

The Goths Minores.

Their Brothers and Kings, Walemir, Theodemir, Widemir.

death, who were seated in the Eastern Coast and called *Ostrogoths*, the *Vifigoths* being by the leave of *Valens* gone over the *Danube*, and received within the *Roman* Pale. The *Ostrogoths* after their departure continued in the same place subject to the *Hunnes*, and were governed by *Winithar* of the Posterity of *Amalus*, who imitating the Valour of his Grandfather *Ataulf*, though inferior in felicity to *Hermanarick*, fought prosperously against the *Auræ*, and at first against the *Hunnes*, though *Sigismund* another great Man would not break his Faith, but joined with them. But in the third Engagement *Winithar* was slain, and *Balamber*, King of the *Hunnes*, kept under the *Goths* in quietness, yet so as by his Consent they had full a *Regulus* of their own. After *Winithar* they were governed by *Hunimund*, the Son of the most potent *Hermanarick*, who fought prosperously against the *Suevi*, and was succeeded by his Son *Theodismond*. He obtained a great Victory against the *Gepideæ*, and is said to have been killed by a fall of his Horse. He died in the flower of his Age, and the *Goths* so lamented him, that for the space of forty Years they had no King in his place, his Kinsman *Wandalar* the Brother's Son of *Hermanarick* was famous for his three Sons defended of the Race of the *Amali*, viz. *Walamir*, *Theodemir* and *Widemir*, who loved each other with Brotherly affection. But they were subject to the Commands of *Attila* King of the *Hunnes*, and neither they nor any *Scythian* Nation could be freed from his Dominion, but by his death so much desired by all Nations in common, and by the *Romans* too, a death which was as profitable as his life, had been wonderful.

22. After his Death his numerous, or as *Jornandes* calls them, innumerable Sons, fell out about his Conquests, and lost them all, being overthrown by *Ardarick* the King of the *Gepideæ* in *Pannonia*. For *Ellac* the Eldest was slain, and the rest after the Defeat fled to the shore of *Pontus*, where the *Goths* had formerly lived. Many Nations were joyfull to be freed from so grievous a Yoke, and several of them were kindly received by *Marcian* the Emperor, and had Countries distributed amongst them. The *Gepideæ* had the Seats of the *Hunnes*, and being Masters of all *Dacia*, required no more of the Empire but Peace and yearly Presents, as valiant and deserving Men; which he willingly granted, and which continued to be paid till the time of the Historian. The *Goths* seeing that the *Gepideæ* challenged the Territories of the *Hunnes*, and that the *Hunnes* also kept their ancient Seats, chose rather to ask Territories of the *Roman* Empire, than to endanger themselves by invading those of others, and received *Pannonia*, which being stretched out in a long Champian had on the East *Mæsia* Superior, on the South *Dalmatia*, on the West *Noneum* and the *Danube* on the North. The Countrey was adorned with many Cities, of which the Chief was *Sirmis*, and the last *Vindomina*. The *Sauromatæ* or *Sarmatæ*, the *Cemendri* and some of the *Hunnes* sate down in grounds assigned them at the Castle *Martena*. The *Sciri*, *Satagaris* and others of the *Alans* with their Captain *Candax* received *Scythia* the less and the inferior *Mæsia*, the Notary of which *Candax* the Grandfather of *Jornandes* was; and *Guntgases* the Son of his Grandfather's Sister was his *Magister Militum*, being defended also of the *Amali*. And he tells us that he himself though unlearned, had been a Notary before his Conversion. The *Rugi* obtained *Scandipolis*. Of the Sons of *Attila* remaining, one planted in the utmost Part of the *Lesser Scythia*, and two others in *Dacia Ripensis*. And many of the *Hunnes* every where put themselves into the *Roman* soil. There were other *Goths*, who, as he faith, were called *Minores* or the *Lesser*, a vast People who had *Vulstas* for their Bishop and Primate, who was said to instruct them in good Letters, and in this time of the Writer they were in *Mæsia*, inhabiting *Eucopitana*.

23. We have now brought the *Ostrogoths* into *Pannonia*, and there *Jornandes* tells us that such as were subject to *Walemir*, and his two Brothers *Theodemir* and *Widemir*, though the Places of their Habitation were divided, yet their Councils were united. But the Sons of *Attila* now regarded them as so many Slaves run away, and came on purpose to look after them. They fell upon *Walemir* alone, his Brothers knowing nothing of it, but he gave them such Entertainment that few of those that attacked him escaped with their lives, but *Hunimund* Captain of the *Suevi* passing on to harass *Dalmatia*, made bold with some of the Herds of Cattel belonging to the *Goths*, *Suevia* being Neighbour to *Dalmatia* and not far from *Pannonia*, especially that Part where the *Goths* then resided. *Theodemir*, the Brother of *Walemir*, thought this was not to be endured, not so much for the Cattel, as lest the *Suevi* should thence take heart, and grow more insolent; therefore he waylaid them by night, and taking them napping by so unexpected an Attack so mastered them, that *Hunimund* he took Prisoner, and such as esca-

Winithar's Posterity.

Hunimund's Posterity.

CHAP. I.

And other Barbarous Nations which invaded Italy.

17

Sect. 2.

Walemir slain.

Theodemir doth wonders.

Widemir dies.

Theodemir dies.

ped the Sword he made Servants to the *Goths*. Yet he was so mercifull as to pardon what was past, and being reconciled to the *Suevi* adopted their King for his Son, and sent him home with them. But *Hunimund* was so ungratefull, as forgetting the paternal obligation, he stirred up the *Sciri* who lived above the *Danube* to join with him, to take up Arms and invade the *Goths*, with whom they had lived in Peace. The *Goths* looking on both as Friends were surprized with the War, but compelled by necessity, betook themselves to their Weapons and revenged the Injury. They had the misfortune to lose *Walemir* their King, who in the Battle riding hard to animate his Men, his Horse fell, and the Rider, being cast to the ground, was slain by the Lances of the Enemy. But to revenge his Death and themselves, they managed the Fight with that earnestness, that almost all the *Sciri* were cut off.

25. *Hunimund* and *Alarick* Kings of the *Suevi* fearing what might be the effect of this Success, rallied the remainders of the *Sciri*, and with the assistance of the *Sarmatæ*, *Gepideæ* and *Rugi*, made War upon the *Goths*. *Walemir* being dead they betook themselves to his Brother *Theodemir* as their Head, who calling to his assistance his Brother *Widemir*, gave Battle to the Confederates and obtained a notable Victory, killing ten thousand of them upon the place. To be revenged on the *Suevi*, in the Winter he passed a Foot Army over the *Danube* upon the Ice, and fell suddenly into their Territories, which on the East had for nearest Neighbours the *Barbari*, on the West the *Franks*, the *Burgundians* on the South, and the *Thuringi* on the North. With the *Suevi* the *Alemanni* were Confederate and joined, but *Theodemir* overthrew, wasted and almost subdued them both, and then he returned into *Pannonia* where he joyfully received his Son *Theodorich*, whom the Emperor *Leo* had sent from *Constantinople* with great Gifts. This *Theodorich*, being now in the eighteenth year of his Age, got together of his Father's Guard and such as loved him, almost six thousand Men, and without his Father's knowledge, passing the *Danube*, fell upon *Babai* King of the *Sarmatæ*, who was grown proud for a Victory he had got over *Camundus* a Captain of the *Romans*, killed him, and plundering his House, and getting what other booty he could, returned with Victory. Then fell he upon *Singidunum*, a City which the *Sarmatæ* had seized, and getting it into his hands, restored it not to the *Romans*, but kept it in his own Dominion.

26. The neighbouring Nations were now so wasted that no more booty remained to be got, and the *Goths* being inured to War were so distressed in Peace, that they wanted both Cloaths and Victuals. With a great noise they all flocked to their King *Theodemir*, and prayed him to lead them out into what Quarter he pleased. He sent for his Brother, and casting lots appointed him to go into that part of *Italy* where *Glycerius* acted as Emperor, and he himself as the stronger would march against the stronger Empire, or that of the East. *Widemir* presently invaded *Italy* and died, leaving for his Successor *Widemir* his Son, whom with Gifts *Glycerius* perfwaded to quit that Countrey, and going into *Gall* there to join himself with the *Vifigoths* his kinsmen; and with them he made up one Body, and so they held *Gall* and *Spain* that no other prevailed against them. *Theodemir* the elder Brother passed the River *Savo*, and threatened to make War upon the *Sarmatæ* and others if they molested him in his passage; and none daring to oppose him, he took *Nassius* the chief City of *Thyrricum*, and sent his Son and other Captains to other places, who became Masters of *Ulpiana*, with *Heraclia* and *Larissa*. *Theodemir* yet was not content with this prosperous estate of himself and his Son, but leaving *Nassius* with a Garrison went and laid Siege to *Theffalencia*, wherein he inclosed *Clarissus* a *Patritian* sent thither by the Emperor with an Army. *Clarissus* seeing himself unable to grapple with him, sent to him, and by Gifts procured him to remove the Siege. Now was a League made betwixt the *Romans* and him, whereby he had given up to him places to plant his *Goths* in, of hard Names; as, *Ceropelle*, *Europa*, *Mediana*, *Petina*, *Bercum*, and others called *Simm*. There the *Goths* with their King lived in quietness; but not long; for *Theodemir* fell deadly sick in the City *Cerræ*, and having called to him the *Goths*, and appointed *Theodorich* his Son to succeed him, departed this world.

27. The Emperor *Zeno* understanding that *Theodorich* was King over his Nation was well pleased with it, and sending for him to *Constantinople*, held him in great esteem amongst the chief Nobles of his Court. After some time *Jornandes* tells us farther, that he adopted him for his Son in way of Arms, or to increase his Martial honour, gave him a Triumph in the City at his own charge, and made him Ordinary Consul, which was esteemed the chiefest Good, and the first Digni-

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ty in the world; and not only did he doe this, but erected also a Statue to the fame of so great a Man before his Palace. *Theodorich* thus enjoyed plenty and all good things, but knowing his *Goths* in *Illyricum* to be ill at ease, he chose rather to get his Living by labour according to the custome of his Nation, than to enjoy the good things of the *Romans* in idleness, when in the mean time his Countrey men fared meanly. He applied himself therefore to the Emperour; and humbly desiring liberty to speak, demanded what reason there was why the Western Parts, which had been subject to his Predecessour, should now lie under the tyranny of the King of the *Turcilingi* and *Rugi*. He prayed him to fend him and his Nation thither, and thereby to rid himself of so great charge; and if by God's assistance he should succeed in his Enterprize, the Glory would be his. He told him it was better that he being his Servant and his Son, if he overcame should hold that Kingdom as by his Gift, than that one whom he knew not should under the yoke of a Tyrant oppress his Senate and part of the Commonwealth with a slavish Captivity. If he overcame he would hold it as his Gift, and as by his Favour; and if he miscarried, the Emperour should lose nothing but be a gainer by the bargain, being delivered from such expence as he was at. The Emperour hearing this, though he was sorry to part with him, yet would not displease him but granted his Request, commending to him the *Roman* Senate and People. Hereupon *Theodorich* departed to his *Goths*, and led them into *Italy*, as we have formerly shewn; where besieging *Odoacer* in *Ravenna*, he so straitned him, as this same Author writes, that he begged pardon, which first he granted him, and afterward deprived him of Life. And in the third year after his Invasion of *Italy*, having privately advised with the Emperour *Zeno*, laying off the Habit of his Nation, he took Regal Ornaments, as one who reigned over both *Goths* and *Romans*.

Theodorich becomes Master of Italy.

The Habit of a Goth.

The *Wandals* of the same origin, with the *Goths*.

28. Thus we have seen the Original of the *Goths*, and have drawn down their story to their coming to found Kingdoms in the *Roman* Empire. Concerning their Manners and Dispositions they had their Name from being Good as it imports, and *Grotius* hath taken some pains to prove that so they continued when in great power. Of this in the course of our History we have seen something, and more are to see e'er we have done with them. For their awkward Habit take it as *Sidonius Apollinaris* describes it. "They are red with Saffron, they are shod with high Shoes made of Hair which reach up to their Ankle-bones: Their Knees, Thighs and Legs are without any covering: Their Garment high and strait, of divers colours, scarcely reaching to the Hamm stretched out: Their Sleeves omit cover the tops of their Arms: Their Cuffs green, with a red Welt: Their Belts hang on their Shoulders: Their Ears are covered with wreaths of Locks: they use hooked Lances and missile Hatchets. Here we cannot but take notice that the *Wandals* and *Longobards*, or *Lombards*, were of the same Original with the *Goths*. *Procopius* saith expressly that they were *Gothick* Nations as well as the *Gepidae*, and he had reason to be instructed in their descent, being acquainted with *Gelonir* their King, and the Nobles brought Prisoners to *Constantinople*. He tells us the Language of the *Wandals* was *Gothick*, and doubts not but that they were anciently one People, distinguished in Names, but agreeing in Original and Manners. He relates that together with the *Goths* they came out of their ancient Country to the Fen of *Maotia*. *Jornandes* reckoning up the People of *Scandia* mentions the *Vinniloth*, which as *Grotius* observes, signifies the Possession of the *Winili*, for so they are also called; and *Winili*, by some Authors. *Wandal* signifies a Wanderer, who continues not in one place; and so they seem indeed for some reason to have had the Name: and not only they, but other people in *Germany* and elsewhere might be so called also for the same reason: but no where means those *Wandals* who for some time held *Spain* and *Africa*, as we have largely seen, and were subdued by *Belisarius*.

29. Of those that were originally of *Scandia*, part as was said in old time fate down with the *Goths* at the Fen of *Maotia*. Of them who invaded *Spain* and *Africa* the Ancestours in the space of a year came from the Ocean where they inhabited, into *Dacia* so much vexed by Incomers. *Jornandes* saith these *Wandals* were called *Asdingi*. They came into *Dacia* in the Reign of *Aurelius Antoninus* the Emperour. In the time of *Aurelian* they inhabited at the *Danube*, and making a League with the *Romans*, promised them Succours. *Constantine* gave them part of *Pannonia*, and hence they poured out themselves into *Gall*, when *Maximian* was Emperour. Thence they proceeded into *Spain*, such of them as were called *Silingi* into *Betica*, and the rest into *Gallacia* and the neighbouring Regions, *Godigischi* being their King. *Gontharis* succeeded him, who subdued the *Alani* that then were potent in *Spain*. To *Gontharis* succeeded *Gowrick* commonly called *Genferick* the

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the Conquerour of *Africa*, who confirmed his possession thereof by a League with *Valentinian* the Emperour. What things he did, and how far he reigned, the Reader may remember, as also what was done by, and happened to, his Successours out of that account we have given of them in our Second Part; for there being little of consequence concerning them, but what also involved the Affairs of the *Romans*, we thought it not fit to make a particular History of, that their Kingdom in *Africa*, which was soon again reduced by *Justinian*. Now we shall only add concerning them farther what *Grotius* hints, that some memory of the Dominion of the *Wandals* in *Spain* is still preserved in the Name of *Andalusia*, which anciently was *Wandalosia*, and in the *Wandalick* Tongue was *Wandaloth*.

And the *Longobards*.

30. As there might be several People which had the Name of *Wandals*, from their changing of Seats and Habitations, so also in *Germany* and elsewhere, others to whom that of *Longobards* was given, from the length of their Beards. But those who made such a noise in the Empire, and seated themselves in *Italy*, from whom *Lombardy* still is so called, were of *Scandia* also, descended from the *Gepidae*, of whom, if *Grotius* observe right, first mention is made in the time of *Theodosius*, by *Prosper Aquitanus*. From *Procopius* it appears, that with the *Gepidae* their Parents, they had Seats on this side the *Danube*. *Paulus Warnotridus* writes that they were called first *Winili* before they had the Name of *Longobardi*. In the sixth year of *Justin* the Emperour the *Gepidae* were utterly crushed by them, and their Kingdom came to an end. By these same *Longobards* was the Son-in-law of *Justin* and *Pandarus* overthrown. After *Tiberius* had succeeded *Justin* they came into *Italy* and made *Amarick* King over them. What progress their Arms made there in the times of *Tiberius* and *Mauritius* we have seen already, and how they founded a Kingdom, and that they held all *Italy*, in a manner, except *Rome* and *Ravenna*, and continued their Dominion for two hundred years. God willing, we are to see in the particular History of their Kingdom. But the *Goths* were their Predecessours therein, and their Kingdom first is to have place; for we have brought already *Theodorich* into *Italy*, and there placed him on the Throne of *Odoacer*.

SECT. III.

The Kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy.

The Space of Sixty years.

1. *Odoacer* being dead, *Theodorich* easily made himself Master of *Italy*; which done, *Dalmatia* and *Rhetia*; formerly in the Hands of his Enemy, submitted also themselves to his Power. *Sicily* was something stubborn and unwilling to acknowledge her new Lord; but by the means of *Cassiodorus* his Lieutenant he brought her into subjection peaceably and without bloodshed. There remained now only one Rub to be removed, and that had been laid in his way by the rashness and folly of his own Men, who being left in *Pavia*, upon notice of his Success at *Ravenna*, transported with the News, flew out of that City to congratulate with him; which the *Rugi*, who had served *Odoacer* perceiving, took the advantage, and seizing on the Town, plundered it with all the Country adjoining. But the Stars of *Theodorich* were too powerful to suffer him to miscarry in this adventure, and make shipwreck of his Fortunes in the very Haven; therefore leading his Army down to *Pavia*, within a few months he easily reduced it, used his Victory with moderation, and by the sequel of his Actions shewed, that though War seemed to be his Masterpiece, yet he delighted not in it for its self, but used it as a means to procure a firm and lasting Peace. Sheathing then his Sword and taking the Sceptre, he first endeavoured to confirm his Estate, by Leagues and Alliances with his Neighbour Princes. In the first place with the Emperour, who readily admitted of his Friendship and Society; then with *Clodovee* King of the *Franks*, whose Daughter *Audofleda* he desired and obtained in Marri-

Vide Sigonium de Occidentali Imperio. l. 16.

Theodorich succeeds in Pavia.

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He made very little alteration on in the Government.

2. Indeed the greatest alteration which *Theodorich* made in *Italy* seems the waving of the Imperial Title, and settling and continuing that which *Odoacer* had begun and assumed before him. Otherwise the same form of Government, and the several sorts of Magistrates he left as he found them: viz. the *Senate, Consuls, Patritians, Præfatus Prætorio, Prefect of the City, Quæstor, Comes Largitionum, Comes Rerum privatarum, Domesticorum, the Magistri Militum, Equitum* and others, as is evident from the forms of their Commissions, wherein the Nature of their Offices is expressed, and fuller and better than any other Author now extant, (as the Reader may perceive by what he hath already perused in our Second Part,) to be seen amongst the *varia Epistole of Cassiodorus*. These Offices with others he ordinarily conferred on *Romans*. Suits and Controversies arising in the Provinces, if amongst *Goths* he would have determined by *Goths*, if amongst *Romans* by *Romans*, and if betwixt a *Goth* and a *Roman* by those of both Nations, sent down into the Country for that purpose; all which he oversaw himself, and administered Justice with all Severity and Impartiality. To such *Heralds* and other Barbarous People, as being brought in by *Odoacer*, desired to continue in the Country he assigned new Seats and Possessions, giving those they had formerly enjoyed to the *Goths* his Countrymen. Those *Italians* who had kept their Faith once given to *Odoacer* immutable he not only pardoned, but some of them he promoted to the greatest Honours. Indeed such as broke Faith to himself by revolting he abhorred, and according to the *Roman Law* took from them the Power of making Testaments. What Tributes *Odoacer* had imposed he still required, and laid a new Imposition upon the People called *As publicus*, which yet he would remit to such as any Calamity had rendered insolvent, or as he saw occasion. Following the Example of the late Emperours, and *Odoacer*, he made *Ravenna* the Seat of his Kingdom, to which having now a Title not only by Conquest, but by the Gift of the Emperour, as is said, and the Consent and Choice of the Senate, he laid aside his own Country Habit, and assumed the Purple with other Ensigns of Royalty; to accommodate himself to the Humour of the *Italians*, and remove that prejudice which different Habits and Fashions might beget in the fancies of the People. And though in his Opinion he was an *Arian*, he not only not troubled but favoured the Orthodox, striving every way to gratify them as he did indeed all his Subjects; as well by the former Methods of Conduct, as by releasing Prisoners, redeeming Captives, and other Acts of Clemency and Bounty; whereby all manner of ways he obliged his People, and obtained their Love and hearty affection.

He obliges all his Subjects.

Some Errors.

3. But as humane Councils are imperfect and uncertain, even as all sublunary Affairs are subject to change and perpetual Inconstancy, that he was deficient in his Measures, appeared quickly in one or two particulars. The *Burgundians* having invaded *Liguria*, had thence led away Captive all the Inhabitants, and thereupon the Country lay altogether waste, and remained in a desolate Condition. He had taken, as formerly was said, the Benefit of the Law from such as had revolted from him, who being very considerable not only for their Number, but Interest and Relations, it made a great disturbance, discomposed the Affairs as well of his Friends as others, and much discouraged the People in all Places. At the Solicitation of *Laurentius Bishop of Milan*, and *Epiphanius of Pavia*, he published a general Pardon, and thereby seasonably applied a Remedy to one of the Distempers, and because there was no Course to be taken, for replanting of *Liguria* out of *Italy* it self, which the Wars had so much exhausted, he resolved rather to have empty Coffers than to suffer that Country to lye desolate, to be both an Eye-fore, and obnoxious to the Attempts of any Enemy. He sent *Epiphanius* whose Vertues he knew to be much admired by the King of the

the *Burgundians* on an Embassy to him, furnished with money for redemption of the Captives, and he being very welcome improved the advantage afforded by his Reputation to such an height, that by his Christian Eloquent and Fatherly Exhortations, he persuaded *Gundobade* to release the Prisoners without Ransome. The King alleged that it was quite contrary to his Interest, both as a Prince and as a Soldier, and granted his request with this restriction, that such as had been taken in Fight should pay their Ransome to those that took them, lest he should disoblige and utterly discourage his Souldiers, by remitting what was their due and not his, and taking from them the price of their Lives and Fortunes. Upon publication of the King's pleasure, so great multitudes returned home, that the Towns of *Gall* seemed to be unpeopled. Out of the Territories of *Lugdunum* or *Lyons* alone in one day departed four hundred men, and out of those of *Saxony*, and the places adjacent, so many in all as made up the number six thousand. Toward the sum that was to be paid for the redemption of such as had been taken by private Souldiers, *Swagria* a Woman of great sanctity, and *Avitus* Bishop of *Vienna* contributed: how many these were could not be computed, because many of them fled away. Also in his way homeward, *Epiphanius* took the City of *Geneva*, whither *Godegisil*, imitating the King his Brother, dismissed such as were in his power; with which stream as it were, the former great current being enlarged, filled all the ways leading into *Italy*. *Epiphanius* returned in the Head of them as in a glorious Triumph, and coming to *Theodorich* obtained a relief of the necessities of his Captives, especially those of the better sort. All which *Enodius*, an eye witness and fellow Traveller, hath related in the Life of that Bishop.

Theodorich goes to Rome.

4. But long is it since we heard any thing of *Rome*, formerly the Stage of the greatest Triumphs, as well as the Seat of Council, and the School of Policy. Now at length arriving at the D. year of our Lord, the Eighth of the Emperour *Anastafius*, and the Eighth of *Theodorich*, an Idea and Resemblance of the former Triumphs presents it self unto us; an Image of its ancient splendour, and that infinite concourse of people which of old from every Nation flocked unto her, when yet all the received were but her own Citizens and Domesticks. The thing that draws us thither is a Journey of *Theodorich* himself, whom we cannot but follow in this kind of Pilgrimage undertaken to pay his Devoirs of Admiration to that Queen of Cities, of which he had often heard, read much, but had never had the contentment to see her. All *Italy* at the news of this Progress seemed to be moved, and ambitiously ready to encourage that zealous respect he bore to the ancient Seat of its Empire and Majesty. There seemed to be a contention betwixt those that inhabited in and about *Ravenna* and such as lived at *Rome*, whether they should bring, or these should fetch their King to the City. With a most splendid Train, and such an appearance as of a long time had not been seen, he made his Entry, and was received with incredible joy and applause of the Citizens, who omitted nothing wherein they could do him honour. At the Court he was welcomed by an eloquent Oration, made by *Bosius* the most eloquent Scholar and Orator of this Age, to which he answered in a very obliging Speech, professing his study and endeavours for advancement of the Dignity and all possible advantages of the Senate. Thence proceeding into the *Circus*, as far as the place called *Palma Aurea*, he spake most lovingly to the People; which done, he entertained the Senators at a triumphal kind of Feast, and gave a Largess of Corn to the Commoners. Several days he spent in viewing the Antiquities of the City, with which his eyes could not be fatiated, professing that the *Forum of Trajan* alone, though to one that saw it every day, could appear no less than a miracle, and that when he had mounted the *Capitol*, he saw all humane wit and policy surmounted. He took especial notice of, and commended the admirable Fabrick of the Baths, and the wholesomeness of the Waters. He grieved to see the ruins of the Buildings, but chiefly of the Walls, to the repairing of which he contributed great sums of money. Neither did his care extend to *Rome* alone; to all the Cities of *Italy* his munificence reached, wherein he took order for building strong Castles, and stately Palaces; and to this end wrote his Letters to all his Subjects to suffer Stones to be gathered out of their Fields, and to preserve old Marbles which had formerly been used in decayed Houses. He seemed so far ravished with the remains of the Majesty of old *Rome*, that he said it was a peculiar crime, for any one who could fix his habitation there, to be long absent. Yet his Affairs calling him away he returned to *Ravenna*, having much quieted the stirs raised about the election of a *Roman* Bishop, which, joyned with his great desire to see the place, had called him thither.

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Ans.
Em
vad
Sea

5. In the mean time *Theodislaus* the Emperor, ordering his matters quite contrary to the Maxims of *Theodorich*, had the quite contrary fortune, being as much hated as the other was beloved by his Subjects. Whether out of envy to the King, or bearing him a grudge for holding from him *Pannonia*, which he claimed as belonging to the Eastern Empire, he took occasion to quarrel with him; and as *Marcellinus* hints, in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, sent out a Fleet to Sea, with orders to waste the coasts of *Italy*. To balance his power the better, he encouraged *Clodove* King of the *Franks* in his Attempts against the *Goths*, and the more to court him designed him Consul for the said year, of which honour it's said he would not accept. As for *Theodorich*, not only his demeanor towards his Subjects, but his rules and methods of waging War were diametrically opposite to those of the Emperor. His custom was to be present himself in Expeditions, except some notable matter hindered; and to purchase Peace not with Gold and Silver, but with Steel and Wood, his Sword and Bow. The *Bulgari*, whom *Anastasius* had bought off from waiving his Dominions, having nothing else to do, passed out of *Thrace* into *Pannonia*, which waiving and haraſing at their pleasure, they seized on the City *Sirmium*. *Theodorich* having notice could not goe in person against them, the Affairs of *Italy* and *Gall* requiring his stay at home, and his Eye to be upon the motions of the *Franks* and the *Burgundians*; but to preserve the place of his Nativity, and keep the War from his own doors, rather than out of any respect to the Emperor, whose lands were now full with the *Perſian* War, he sent *Petza* a Comes with considerable Forces, who the year following very happily finished the War, recovering both *Sirmium* out of the hands of the *Bulgari*, and the whole Province. Having so happily dispatched this War he relieved *Mundus*, whom *Sabinianus* had besieged in a certain Castle in *Illyricum*. *Theodorich* gave the government of *Pannonia* to *Coleſſeus* a Comes, a Copy of whose Commiſſion *Caffiodorus* preserved, and is still extant amongst his various Epistles; from which the Reader may perceive what the power was which those Governours exercised, extending both to matters of War and Peace, and that the Governor with a Sword was the mark and badge of their Office. After this Commiſſion follows a Letter directed to all Barbarians and Romans inhabiting *Pannonia*, acquainting them that he had made *Coleſſeus* their Governour, and requiring them to take notice of and obey him as such.

*Theodrich re-
duceth Panno-
nia.*

Makes Colossus Governour.

Sends *Theudas*
to protect
Spain.

6. There being a quarrel betwixt *Alarick* King of the *Vifigoths* in *Gall*, and *Clodovee* King of the *Franks*, and both of them being his near Allies, he omitted no arguments to perfwade them to take up the matter, denouncing War in a manner to the aggravation, and promising relief to the oppreffed, as is to be feen in his Letters collected by *Caffiodorus*. As it uſually happens in ſuch a caſe, he who was leaſt in fault, and moſt unfit to decide the controverſie by force of Arms gladly accepted the mediation, but he who had more reaſon to be confident, rather upon the ſtrength of his Sword than the goodneſs of his Cauſe, made Excuſes, framed Delays, and in conclusion utterly refuſed to be concluded by Arbitration. *Theodoric* addreſſes himſelf to the *Burgundian* King, as alſo to thoſe who commanded the *Herul* and *Thuringi* then inhabiting near the *Alpes*, and invites them to join with him in the Mediation, uſing Arguments drawn from the Exigency of their own Affairs, which would not be a little endangered by ſuch Succeſs as the *Frank* promiſed to himſelf. But while theſe Neighbour Princes thus think of Mediation and Balancing, *Clodovee* reſolves not to looſe his opportunity but paſſing the *Loire* begins the War, and in a great and bloody Battel deprives *Alarick* both of Life and Kingdom, whoſe Son *Amalarick*, things being in ſo deſperate a Condition, withdrew himſelf into *Spain*, there to expect when an opportunity of recovering his Eſtate ſhould be preſented by better Fortune. *Theodoric* pitying the Condition of the Youth ſent *Theudas*, an Officer of his own, to take care of him, and reſolved if he could not recover thoſe Cities of *Gall*, which were already loſt, to prevent the Progreſs of *Clodovee*, and ſecure the reſt which ſtill remained in the Power of the *Goths*.

7. To this purpose he published his Proclamation, that the *Offspring* his Subjects should be ready by the latter End of June to begin their Journey, clawing them with such Expressions as these, *There is no need of persuading Gods Faithfull ones, acquainting them with the thing, which is rather a Pleasure, a Mirth, and a Feast, the Confulship of Venantius and Celer, or the DVIII. Year of our Lord, his Army, under Command of Hitha and Cemes, passing the Alpes raised the Siege before Carcass, relieved Arles, and taking in Tolouse, Orange and Marfeiller, left that Part of the Country lying upon the Rhone in the Hands of Glodone, from whom Theodorich was now*

Lib. 3. Ep. 23.
Commiffam
tibi provinci-
am armis pro-
tege, jure com-
pone. Profe-
rius initiatuſ
auſpiciis ad
Sirmienſem
Patmoniam
quondam ſe-
dem Gothorum
proſciſcere Il-
luſtris Cingu-
li Dignitate
precinctuſ.
Vid. Ep. Var.
lib. 3. Ep. 1,
2, 3, 4.

*Significanda
magis sunt Go-
this quam sua-
denda certa-
mina.*

able to recover it. Sending many Thousands of Prisoners to *Ravenna*, he seized on such as he recovered, to the use of *Amarlick* his Nephew, placing Governors where he saw occasion as well in *Gallas* in *Spain*, which was divided betwixt the said *Amarlick* and *Gislerick*. But while he thus buſied himſelf in *Gall*, *Romanus* the *Comes Domesticonum*, and *Rufficus* a *Comes Scholæ*, with and hundred armed Ships and as many Flyboats, wherein were aboard Eight Thousand Soldiers, invaded the Coaſts of *Italy*, as was formerly hinted, and having attacked *Tarentum* to no purpoſe, got good booty and ſo retired; whether ſent on purpoſe, or on their own accord, *Signinus* accounts it uncertain, though *Marcellinus* wrote that they were ſent by *Anaſtaſius*, and it doth not ſeem probable that Robbers and Pirates ſhould put to Sea with ſo great a Power without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Prince. *Theodorick* having little or no Diviſion given him hereby, the Year following hired a great Number of *Gepida* to reinforce his Garrisons in *Gall*, and took ſpecial care that in their Paſſage through *Liguria*, and the Countrey of the *Veneri*, they ſhould do no injury to the Inhabitants. To this purpoſe he directed his Letters yet extant to *Veranus Saio* to fee them keep good Order in their March, and wrote to the Army it ſelf, acquainting them that he was once minded to give them Proviſions for their Journey in *Specie*, but afterwards conſidering that Victuals either might not conveniently be had, or elfe ſpoiled by the way, he had now ordered them three *Solidi* in Gold by the week; a ſmall Allowance one would think, or elfe his Forces were not very numerous.

**Sends Gepids
into Gall.**

He pardoned
the Tax due
in the third
Indiction to
the Inhabi-
tants of the
Castian Alpes

Several Opinions about the Original and Number of Indictments

would think, or elte his Forces were not very numerous.

8. *Theodorich* having allowed his *Gepida* three *Solidi* a Week for their Pa-
fage, gravely, and like a Prince that was folicitous for the good of his People,
admonithed them by Letters to carry themfelves moderately, and as became
thofe that fought for the Safety of all *Italy*. But they meafuring Decency by
Convenience alone, and accuftomed to Depredations, could not keep their Hands
from pillaging the Inhabitants of the *Cottian* Alpes in their way, which Mifde-
meanour touched the King as near as if he in his own Perfon had been the Suffe-
rer. And as a prudent Prince who ought to neglect his Profit for the time, rather
than utterly to loofe his Revenue, he cauteh his Letters to be written to
Fauftus the *Præpoſitus*, or *Præfeſtus Prætorio* (to whom he giveth the Title of
Illuſtris Magnificentiſſima tua) wherein he lets him know that he remitted to the
faid Inhabitants of the *Alpes Cottie* the publick Money payable in the third In-
diction. He compares the Army to a River, which though it doe much good
flowing in its own peculiar Chanel, yet enlargeth its Paſſage and doeth much
Mifchief, when it riſeth beyond its due Proportion, bearing down all before
it. By the third Indiction is meant the third Year in fifteen, according to which
Number the Emperours computed the times, after that the reckoning by the
Olympiads came to be obſolete. Who began this Computation is uncertain. It's
commonly aſcribed to *Conſtantine* the Great; but *Cædrenus* will have it invented by
Theodoſius. Of thofe who father it on *Conſtantine*, *Panninius* fetcheth the Original
of the Indictions from his Victory over *Maxentius*, *Joſeph Scaliger* from his Ex-
hibition of his *Munera Quinquennialia* to the time of his *Vicenſialia*, thinks the
Number of fifteen was invented. *Baronius* affirms that there is no reckoning of
Years by the Indictions to be found before the ſeventh Year of *Conſtantine*, wherein he
overcame *Maxentius*; that *Cæſariſſus*, who writes of all manner of Suppurations, ſaith
nothing of them, nor do any Eccleſiaſtical Monuments till the fitting of the *Roman*
Council under *Julius* the Succellor of *Syveſter*; but from the Greek *Faſti* it an-
nually appears that from the ſaid ſeventh Year of *Conſtantine*, and the Conſulſhip
of himſelf, and *Licinius*, the Indictions began to be reckoned in the Calendar.

Providentiſſi-
mi Principis
eſſe. Caffiod.
variar. lib. 4.
cap. 36.

Quem ad
An. 312.

[F. 41.]

9. Now for better understanding this matter it is to be considered, that the Inditions were famous for two things, *viz.* the Payment of Tribute or the Ordinary Tax, and the Supputation of Years or Diffinition of times. In respect of the first, they seem of a much earlier Date than the times of *Constantine*, and introduced by *Augustus Cæsar*, who, as *Dion Cassius* witnesseth, a little before Our Saviour's Birth began a Recription or Tax; first of such as lived in *Italy*, and were worth *Ducenaria Sesteritia*, omitting then such as were not so rich or inhabited the Provinces, for fear of Insurrections. From which shortly after being delivered by the settlement of his Affairs, when his Treasury was now very low, he imposed the Tax upon all the World. Perceiving that Commotions might hereupon be raised, several Persons were sent away into several Provinces to look to the Peace, amongst the rest *Sulpicius Crænenus* was taken from his Attendance upon *Cæsar*, and dispatched into *Syria*, *M. Lollius* being appointed Governour to young *Cæsar*, in his room. That in this sense Inditions were not of a much later date, appears from

of *Quem vide ad*
e *An. 312.*

S. 1562 l. 10r.

3. Sect. 3. from *Julianus* and *Paulus* the Lawyers, from what they answer concerning Lands obnoxious to this Indiction or Payment. But what sort of Payment this was or how it was sated, whether by Poll or a Tax upon the Estate, hath been doubted. It's most probably conjectured that it was levied both ways, at first, a certain Estate in Land and a certain Age (though various at several times) being required of those that paid it. For the Chief Collectour took notice of all Persons who were to pay and who not, and at what time they had already begun or were to begin to pay, registering their Names. The *Syrians*, as appears from *D. l. 2. de Cent. D. l. p. 1.* were obliged to pay Tribute, the Males at fourteen and the Females at *señu.* twelve Years of Age, or the time of Puberty. Afterward, the way of payment by Poll called *Capitatio*, came to be more distinguish'd from the Land Tax called *Jugatio*, and that in the time of *D. l. p. 1.*

10. Granting then that the Indictions, as they noted or imposed Payment of Money, were before the time of *Constantine*, yet that so anciently they were made use of for Supputation of times doth not any where appear. But how should they come to comprize the Period of fifteen Years, or so many together to be called the first, second, third Indiction and so forward, till the fifteenth be reckoned, and then to begin again? Some with *Scaliger* guesses the reason to have been, because *Constantine* reckoned from his *Quinquennialia* to his *Vicennalia*. Others, as *Paulus Petavius*, because Men being not sated of old, till they were fourteen Years old complete, the Sex or Tax could not be laid or estimated but for fifteen Years at most, those who should be taxed at the next fifteenth Year being yet unborn. And *Baro-Vide Baro.* *nius* cannot possibly (he saith) assign any other reason than this, that whereas sixteen Years were formerly required for a Soldier to serve before he could challenge a Million, Freedom from the *Capitatio*, or the Privilege of the *Emeriti*, *Constantine*, who had much kindness as he himself professeth for the *Veterane* Soldiers, cut this term shorter by one Year, and appointed fifteen for their Service. That all these fifteen Years should be reckoned by so many Indictions thence probably came to pass, because of every of these Years *Annona indicabatur*, Provisions either in *Specie* or in Money were imposed and laid upon the Provinces by Rescript or Edict of the Prince, and so they were called Indictions *ab indicando*; care being taken by several Laws, that before the beginning of the Indiction, true and Authentick Breves should be made for prevention of Fraud and Cheating in the Collectours. Hence this Indiction came to be called *Distributio* and *Fuño*. *Baronius* farther conjectureth, that the Reason why the Indictions began on the twenty fourth of September was, because that then Harvest being every where got in, the Emperours were wont at that time to *indict, impose or lay the Taxes upon the several Provinces*. But *Petavius* affirms that the beginning of an Indiction was the same with that of a Year, and that thereupon the Romans computed their Indictions from after the Winter Solstice, but the Greeks from the first new Moon after the Autumnal Equinoctial, who having not their Months fixed as had the Romans but moveable, and their first Month beginning with the first New Moon after the Autumnal Equinoctial, which most commonly happened on the twenty fourth of September, it came to pass that the Roman Indiction had a divers Epocha from that of the Greeks. The Emperours that succeeded *Constantine* followed the Greek Account, as also did their Subjects; but the Bishops of Rome always observed their own, and still retain, we are told, their ancient Custom. The Indictions were so notable, and the Supputation by them, that it was very convenient to make this Digression upon them. But of their beginning diversly in divers Countries we have spoken in our second Part; Let us return to the Kingdom and Government of *Theodoric*.

Felix made Consul with Secundinus.

11. For the Year following or the DXI. of Our Lord, in the fourth Indiction, *Theodoric* to oblige the Countrey of *Gall*, and reward the Virtue of *Felix* a deserving Person of that Nation, joined him in the Consulship with *Secundinus*, who was named for the East. Concerning this Person he wrote an Epistle Commendatory to *Anastasi* the Emperour, still extant, for his approbation, together with another directed to *Felix* himself, both Commonitory and in way of Commision. Herein he commends him for his frugality, which had enabled him to undergo the Expences of the Dignity to which he doth also encourage him, they being great. For the same Year and the same fourth Indiction he made *Ar-golicus* Prefect of the City, that he might, as he tells him in his Patent, succeed to his Father's Honours, bidding him consider how great a matter it was in the beginning of his Preferments to have gray-headed Rome committed to his Government, and charging him to carry himself so justly, modestly and generously, that he might no way disgrace his Employment, but maintain his Dignity amongst fo many

Cassid. var. l. Ep. 1. Fulgionis Anas-tasio Imp. Theodoricus, l. i. d. Ep. 2.

Cassid. var. l. 3. Ep. 11.

many grave and understanding Persons as the Roman Senate afforded. In another his little he commands him to give all furtherance to one *John*, with whom he had agreed for cleansing the common Sewers of the City of Rome, concerning the prodigious Magnificence of which he spends many words, affirming that they exceeded even the Miracles of other Cities. In a third he orders him to give leave to *Paulinus* a Patritian to re-edifie the publick Store-houses, which were fallen down for Age and want of Care, that they might be preferred for the use of Posterity. About the same time he wrote to the Senate of Rome, and having assured the Fathers, that as he took care for redressing all grievances, especially such as concerned their City, so he could not but mind them of several Omissions, which by Information of divers well meaning Persons were come to his knowledge. As that the waters of the *Formæ* were now made use of to turn Mills and to water Gardens; that the slaves appointed by Princes to that service were seized and employed by private Men, and that Brads and Lead which had made *Eternal Jones* King of *Thessaly*, and *Midas* King of *Phrygia* their first Inventours, being employed by adorning the Walls, were pilfered away and imbezelled. He tells them therefore that he had sent one *John*, (probably the same with the other) to have information, concerning these matters, and bids them join with him, to promote that for which they of their own accord ought to have petitioned.

12. Being now much intent upon Acts of Charity and Publick Works, as he had before been kind to the *Græcians* and *Pontonates*, he remitted the Tribute of this fourth Indiction to the Inhabitants of *Arles*, who endured the penalty of that glorious siege as he expresseth it, and with them to all in *Gall* under his Power, giving many reasons to *Gemellus* to whom the Order is directed, for his dealing so favourably with that People; but chiefly this, that rather the Equity of their Cause, than good Nature induced him to do so. About this same time he sent one *Matadas* a Comes, to protect and defend those of *Marcellus* from all Acts of Violence and Oppression, commanding them to receive and obey him in such Capacity. The year following foreseeing in what danger Italy might be through the many Excursions and Depredations made by the Northern Nations, and considering how he himself had shewn the way, to any that would invade these Quarters, he caused the Caille of *Veruca* situate upon the River *Arles* to be fortified. Moreover at this time, as *Sigonius* will have it, he married his Sister *Anastafreda* to *Trafamund* the *Pandal* King of *Africk*, as also his Neice to *Hermimfred* King of the *Thuringi*. And taking notice of *Symmachus* a Patritian, how excellent an Architect he was, and how industrious he had been in adorning the Suburbs of Rome, with private Buildings, he thence takes occasion to persuade him to imbrace a more Noble Subject of his Abilities, in repairing the Ancient Theatre, which through Age, the consumer of all things, was so much decayed. In the Letter the King, or rather *Cassiodorus*, fell into a Rapture, when he considers the force of time, which one would have thought, should sooner have worn out Mountains than so strong and admirable a Fabrick. Having admired its arched Roofs, he falls into a Discourse of the Original of Theatres, because he hath to do with a Learned Man. He tells him that when of old, Countrymen in Festivals were wont to sacrifice in their Groves to several Deities, the *Athenians* first brought up this Country practice into the City, calling that a Theatre in the Greek Language, which may be expressed in Latin by the word *Visorium*, as which at a distance, and without any impediment might be seen by the People. The Front hereof was called *Sæna*, from the darkest shade of the Grove, where, at the Spring, Shepherds were wont to sing their Songs to several tunes. In those times flourished Musick and Sage Sentences of those most prudent Ages, but afterwards this honest Discipline, avoiding the Conversation of naughty Persons out of Modesty, retired.

13. Thence he comes to shew both whence the Tragedy and Comedy received their Names, to speak of the *Muses*, the *Mimus* and *Pantomimus*, wherein we must not follow him, and at length tells *Symmachus*, that whether it should be thought fit to underprop the Fabrick or repair it by new Buildings, the Expence should be out of his Chamber, both that the Architect might be renowned for so good a work, and Antiquity seem decently repaired in his own time. And thus we thought fit to insert, that the Reader may see the generous Humour of *Theodoric*, and the Learning of *Cassiodorus* though a little affected, whose style is not so much barbarous as was the time, wherein Latin through long continuance, which altereth all things, and much more through the mixture of foreign and ex-

3. Sect. 3. Ibid. lib. 9. Ep. 32. & 40. Ep. 34. Cassid. Var. l. 4. Ep. 51.

Theodoric's res-pends the Senate at Rome.

Doeth several Acts of Charity.

The Original of Theatres.

Sect. 3. tick words, if we look at the true idiom and phrase, was quite changed from it self, and acknowledged its vassalage and subjection to the barbarous Northern Nations as well as the Cities and the Country it self. And hereof this learned and worthy person was so sensible, that in his Preface to his Epistles he both acknowledges it, and deprecates the disdain and indignation of his Reader. This same year so fruitfull in acts of Clemency and Magnificence, *Theodorich* did still more good in remitting to the Inhabitants of *Campania* the Tribute they were wont to pay, and this he did in consideration of the loss they had sustained by the eruption of the Hill *Vesuvius*. Concerning this there is a Letter or Order extant directed to *Fauslus* the Prefect, wherein he tells him that the *Campanians* having received this damage had petitioned him to that effect. That he was ready to grant their request, if he could be rightly informed of the accident, and how to judge of the particular damages done thereby. He commands him to send some person of approved fidelity into the Territories of *Nola*, or *Naples*, to survey the Grounds, and take an estimate of the loss, that he might know how to make a proportionable allowance out of the Tribute.

14. Then doth he tell the History, and recount the sad circumstances and effects of the usual Eruptions. He premiseth that the Country, left it should enjoy perfect felicity, was continually alarmed with that calamity, yet was it not so terrible as else it would have been, because it gave fair warning of the impending and approaching mischief. For such strugglings and motions there were within, that Vapours breaking out with a mighty noise terrified all round about the place. The Air, saith he, is all thickened and darkened with that sooty Exhalation, so that it gives notice of its rising to all *Italy*. Ashes thoroughly calced fire throughout the great Sea, and terrene Clouds being gathered, it rains drops of Dust in the transmarine Provinces: it being then clearly discovered how much *Campania* it self suffers when the mischief is felt in another part of the World. You might there behold, as it were, Rivers of Dust to run along the ground, and dry Sand to flow with fervent violence, as if it had been liquid streams. You would be amazed to see the plain Fields swell as high as the tops of Trees, and those Meadows sadly wasted with hot Embers which lately by their pleasant greenness allured the Eye. That everlasting Furnace belcheth forth purple but barren Sand, which though adust with continual burnings, yet cauleth to take Root and fructify those several Seeds or Stalks it receiveth, and with great celerity repaireth what it had formerly wasted. What strange Exception is this to the general rule and course of Nature, that one Mountain should roar to such a degree, that so many parts of the World should be terrified by the change of the Air; and that so it should cast about its own substance that yet it should receive no loss nor diminution! It bedews the Regions far and near with Dust; vomits out heaps upon the Neighbourhood, and yet this Mountain, exhausted by so many and so great evacuations, continues to be an Hill for so many Ages. Who would believe so great pieces of Earth, lying in the plain, should have bubbled up out of so profound depths, and no otherwise than as light Chaff spit or blown out of the Mountain's mouth? Elsewhere great Mountains burn privately, and in their own place; here almost the whole World must know of the matter. Wherefore seeing that the Inhabitants are not to be credited in a thing which may be attestable by the Universe, let your prudence make choice of a man who may both reherse them, and prevent all fraudulent and surreptitious dealings. Thus doth *Cassiodorus* though in an odd sort of Latine elegantly describe and paint out to the life all the Accidents of this Eruption, which, and that deservedly, makes *Baronius* *Ad Ann. 471*. reprehend *John Bodin* for taxing *Procopius* of lightness and inconsideration, in that he writes how the Ashes of another Eruption flew as far as *Constantinople*.

A Description of *Vesuvius*.

15. This too famous *Vesuvius* takes its rise from a pleasant and open Champion (being made or nourished of Earthquakes and Burnings) where the pleasant *Selenus* empties its Waters into the bosome of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, and that in the lower part of *Campania* the *Happy*, a Country never sufficiently commended for its admirable fertility, in which respect *Pliny* calls it the place of perpetual contention betwixt *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, and by *Merala* it is styled the Paradise of *Italy*. This Mountain, or Hill rather, elevates its self for about four miles, its highest top not being one mile perpendicular from the Sea, in compass about twenty four, so separated from all other Hills as if it scorned their conjunction and alliance, or rather they were afraid of it as a dangerous Neighbour. The skirts of it are beset with fruitfull Vines, beautiful Flowers, and wholesome Herbs, all over but where it looks upon the East, which side being either originally, or through

Cassiod. Var. lib. 4. Ep. 50.

through the accession of this new adventitious Earth, more steep than the other, bears onely wild Trees and brutish manner. On the top it is divided, or rather uncompassed with another hollow Hill, shaped in the figure of an Half Moon, from which it is parted but with a small Valley or Plain called the *Atrium*, it being probable that anciently it was all united in its self, and plain and even, as both *Strabo* describes it and *Dion Cassius* witnesseth; in process of time this division being made by Stone and Ashes, which it vomited out of its own Bowels. From this Plain, as well the one as the other of those highest Ridges, is barren, naked, and all covered with Ashes and broken Stones, which continually row downward, which makes it very difficult to climb up, so high, as to come to the prospect of the ancient *Vorago* or Hole, although there grows Broom, which affords some shelter against the Torrent, and here and there causeth better footing.

Of the Country about it.

16. At this day the Mountain is uncompassed with a well peopled Country, and noble and elegant Cities, adorned with rich and sumptuous Edifices, and in many places with large and stately Palaces, each whereof seems rather the Habitation of a King than the Pleasure-House of some private Nobleman; so rich are they in their Furniture, exquisite in their Fabrick and Workmanship, and deliciously seated amongst Gardens, Grotto's and Fountains. But as nothing is perfect in this World, but the best and most pleasant things subject to change and inconstancy, *Campania* the *Happy* is in this respect unfortunate, that it fosters so great a mischief in its own bosome, which Time, the finisher as well of miseries as pleasures, hath had no power to conquer and subdue. Whether this Fire find matter within the Bowels of the Mountain it self, or rather burning below in some inferior Valley makes onely a passage through it, and a vent for discharging the Vapours and Ashes which arise from the bituminous matter, Sulphur and other Minerals lying in the Country round about, and by its hot Fountains and otherwise giving arguments of terrestrial Fires, as *Seneca* was of opinion, it's not our work here to enquire. If we could tell the Reader when either the Eruptions of this Mountain or *Aetna* began, it would be more proper to our Design; but here we are destitute of Intelligence; for the inward cause having been the same in all Ages, many such Accidents may have happened before these Monuments of Antiquity received their Being, which communicate to us the most ancient Observations about this Country. It's scarcely worth the while to take notice what the pretended *Perseus* of *Annus* tells us, that in the last year but one of *Aratus* the Sixth, King of *Assyria*, *Italy* burnt for many days in three several places about the *Alpi*, *Cyneti* and *Vesuvio*, and that these places were by the *Jungens* called *Palestina*, that is, the burned Region.

Ep. 70. de Aet.

The several Eruptions when.

17. This is indeed agreeable to the Etymology of the word *Vesuvius*, signifying Fire or Spark, in the Greek Tongue, as a late Writer tells us, in which respect the *Vesici* in their ancient Speech called it *Vesbia*, which as those who are skilled in that Language affirm, is the same with Fire. Several others write of the Antiquity of these Fires proceeding from this Mountain, and whence the Country should be called *Campi Phlegreæ*, but when they first began, they do not take upon them to tell us. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo* seem to speak of them as having happened in times remote, such as they had heard and read of, and the Hole and Ashes onely demonstrated to the eye, that formerly such things had been. This perhaps was also the reason, why *Pliny* who was so diligent in reckoning up the several places of this nature, yet makes no mention of this though it was so near him, and his curiosity at length, to pry into the mysteries of so great a wonder, brought him to his end. But he intended onely to make mention of such as continually vomited forth their flames, which this *Vesuvius* doth not; and perhaps it might have smoked in his time, but because it did not much endanger the neighbouring Country he passed it over in silence. To be sure, *Tacitus*, describing the pleasantness of the Isle of *Capri*, the place of the sensual and voluptuous retirements of *Tiberius*, speaks of this Hill as not having formerly done that mischief, which it did afterward in the time of *Titus*. Hence Writers conclude, that before the time of *Tiberius* there happened no such burnings as to destroy the natural beauty of the Mountain, at least had not been so long a time as sufficed to the reparation of it. And this they inferre from a Verse of *Martial*, which seemeth to hint at some such thing.

18. *John Boccace* speaking of *Vesuvius*, tells how it broke out into flames before the reign of *Titus* in the time of *Nero*, having first sent forth a thick smoke, which ended at last in a shower of Ashes that filled all *Campania*, and the Sea it self. *Seneca* speaking of this very time, which fell in the LXXV. year of our Lord, in the

E 2

Confulship

Sect. 3.

Annal. l. 5. *Prospetabadi pulcherrimum sinum, autem quoniam ardens faciem loci coarctat.* * *Hic est pennisque viridis vesuvius ambr.* l. 1. epigr. 105.

Lib. di Mont.

Nat. l. 6. co. 3. 27.

Sect. 3. Consulfhip of *Regulus* and *Virginus*, and on the fifth of *February*, makes no mention at all of the burning out of that portentous Earthquake which ruined a great part of *Pompeia*, and much endamaged all the Countrey. It's fuppofed therefore that *Boccace* miftakes the Name of the Emperour, although the experience of modern times affureth us, that fuch Earthquakes are ordinarily accompanied with Eruptions of *Vefuvius*. But to be fure fixteen years after, about the year of our Lord LXXXI. in the time of *Titus*, happened fuch an one as could not be concealed; it's effect being fo fharpe, as made thofe that lived in that time both to feel and fpeak. Of this have written *Pliny junior*, *Suetonius*, *Zonaras*, *Orefius*, *Tacitus*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Statius*, *Silius Italicus*, *Martial*, *Aufonius*, *Eufebius*, and many others. So ftrange were the accidents, circumftances and effects of this Eruption, as cannot well be expreffed. *Suetonius* gives an Abstract of them, but *Xiphilin* the Epitomizer of *Dio* is more exprefs, who having firft defcribed the Mountain, and then the ordinary and common figns and effects of its conflagration, affirms that they were nothing in comparifon of what happened at this time.

The dreadful
out in the time
of *Titus*.

19. Before the Eruption a great number of men of unfual bignefs, fuch as *Gigants*, they faid, were feen to wander about the Hill, the Countrey and neighbouring Cities, both by day and night. After followed a very great drought, and prefently fo dreadful Earthquakes, that the tops of Mountains became level to the adjoining Grounds. Then were heard fubterraneous founds, like to Thunder and the bellowing of Beafis, the Sea roared, the Heavens made a noife, and great crackings and ruifhings were heard, as if the Mountains had all fallen together. Then firft of all began mighty Stones to be caft up to the top of the Hill, which being removed out of the way, fuch vaft quantities of Fire and Smoak burft out, that the Air was filled, and the Sun darkened no lefs than in the greateft Eclipse, the Day turning into Night, and Light into fo prodigious Darknefs. Hereupon the people, according to the fuperftitious humour of thofe times, thought the Giants were fallen out amongst themfelves, the rather becaufe the Image and representation of them were to be feen in the Smoak, and a noife of Trumpets feemed to be heard. Some thought the World now returned into its ancient Chaos, or was to be confumed by Fire; yet unwilling to die, and covetous of Life, when the whole World feemed to perilh with them. They ran out of their Houfes into the High-ways, out of the Ways into their Houfes; from Sea they hafted to the Land, and from the Land to the Sea, ftill imagining, according to the reffeis humour of mankind, that new things would be better than the prefent condition.

20. So vaft a quantity of Athes at length fell, that both Land and Sea, as well as formerly the Air, feemed therewith overwhelmed, which did great mifchief, not only to Men, their Fields and Cattel, but deftroyed in a manner all Fifh and Fowl. Two Cities, *Herculanum* and *Pompei* it covered, and buried therein the Inhabitants alive, as they were fitting in their Theatres. Nay fo incredible was the quantity, that it flew as far as *Aegypt*, and *Syria*, not to mention the nearer parts of *Africa*; as for *Rome* it fo thickened and darkened the Air there, that the Sun was thought to be eclipsed, to the ordinary fort, and the more underftanding were confounded at the accident, knowing nothing of what had happened in *Campania*: therefore they imagined that Nature was difolved, and that Heaven and Earth would come together. And although at *Rome* they were more feared than hurt for the prefent, yet afterwards a grievous Peftilence followed, as the dreadful Effect of fo difmal a Caufe. The beginning of this Eruption fell on the firft of *November*, about one a clock, in the firft year of *Titus* his Reign, as appears from an Epiftle of *Pliny junior*, wherein, fetting down the occafion and manner of the death of his Uncle (who wrote the Natural Hiftory, and going too near to pry, was choaked with the Smoak and Duft) he relembles the firft appearance of that huge and ftrange Cloud unto a Pine Tree, for to no other, he faith, he could fitly compare it, it feeming to have, as it were, a long Trunk, and Boughs fpredding out above it. Sometimes it appeared white, otherwhiles dusky and spotted, according to the mixed proportions of Earth and Athes. Reckoning up the feveral accidents which accompanied this Prodigy, amongst the reft he faith that the Pumice Stones flew about the Ears of men in the open Fields, yet having confulted together what to doe, they held it fafer during the Earthquake, when their Houfes tottered and reeled as if they had been drunken, to be without than within doors, arming their Heads with Pillows and Bolsters againft the blows they expected. In conclusion, fo dreadful was this Conflagration, as well in its felf as circumftances, that *Cloverius* affirms the Hill ever figneto have

have burned, and others that from this time it became forked or horned at the Top. Ecclefiaftical Writers make ufe of it to exprefs the Infernal Fire, and particularly our Learned Doctor *Jackson* upon the Creed affirms this burning of *Vefuvius* to have been as a Beacon to give warning to all Flefh, and from the admirable Conformity betwixt the Predictions of the Prophet *Joel* and the Narration of *Pliny*, he doubts not to fay that now was fulfilled that Prophecy, *will fhew Wonders in the Heavens, and on the Earth, Blood and Fire and Pillars of Smoak*, as alfo that this was the beginning of the terrible Day of the Lord foretold by the Prophet, wherewith the World was a long time fhaken by fits, as it were by a deadly fever, as may appear from the like Calamities in *Trojan's* time, recited by *Dion Caffius*.

Another in the
time of *Severus*.

Of *Dioclefian*.

Others.

21. The next Eruption of this fubterraneous Fire that is taken notice of, happened in the time of *Severus*; and as *Lycophthene* gueffed in the Year CCIII. and the tenth of that Emperour. The Hiftorian relates that now *Vefuvius* fhined with mighty flames, and roared with fo huge a Noife that the found reached as far as *Capua*; this being poffibly the time whereof *Galen* writes, that a great Quantity of Athes was carried from it as far as the Sea. The next breaking forth of this combuftible matter was in the time of *Dioclefian*, about the Year CCXCV. when it flew over all *Europe*, if *Maiolus* be to be credited, who writes that the Fire was extinguifhed by the Prayers of St. *Tauaricus*, who truly, feeing no other Authours make mention of this Eruption, we fhall not enquire. Of that which followed next after, and happened on the fixth of *November* in the Year CCCLXXI. many Authours have written. We are told that adjoining Towns and Regions were laid wafte by this burning, and that fuch a Fear and Conternation feized the People, that they betook themfelves for many Years to Supplications and Proceffions, that they might avert the Wrath of Almighty God. Befides what happened in this Year two other Eruptions are foken of in the CCCLXXII. and CCCLXXIII. of our Lord, which fome conjecture to have been one and the fame, and that it either continued or broke out at feveral times for fo long together. However the matter ftood in reference to time, moft dreadful were the Accidents of this, or thefe Conflagrations. *Marcellinus* affirms the day to have been turned into Night, and that all *Europe* was covered with the fmall duft which flew about in the Air, and the Inhabitants of *Conftantinople*, to prevent the like Judgment for the future, kept an Anniverfary day of Prayer and Supplication the fixth of *November*. This confirms what *Procopius* relates of the flying of the Athes as far as that City, for which he is raifly taxed by *Bodin*, though *Leo* the Emperour was ftuck with fuch Conternation, that he could not reft quiet in the Town, but went and journaled at *Mamantis*, and thefe Athes were blown into *Africa* as far as *Tripolis*, if not in the fame Year, in that which followed. The next Conflagration was that which gave occafion to this Difcourfe, and happened in the Days of *Theodoric*, which ten others have followed in fucceeding Ages. But the greateft by far as can be known was, that which fell out lately in the Year M. DCXXXI. on the fixteenth of *December*, the manner whereof and the dreadful Effects, are defcribed in the *Italian* Language by *Giovanni di Luca*, a Doctor of the Laws and Apoftolical Prototary as he is ftyled, who hath taken pains to collect out of Hiftory all the other Conflagrations mentioned. But we have made too long a Digreffion, which the remarkable- nefs of the Subject extorted.

Theodas Vic-
torious in
Spain.

22. *Spain* being now at this time held, and governed by the two feveral Interests of *Gifalarick* and *Amalarick*, the two *Gothick* Kings, the former it feems not content with his fhare, refolved to have all or none, and for that purpofe took Arms againft his young Neighbour. But his Designs were not fo deeply laid, nor his Preparations fo quick and furprizing, but *Theodas* the Governour or Protec-our of *Amalarick* eafily difcovered them, and was fo well provided, that he gave him Battel and a great Overthrow, and forced him to quit the Countrey. *Gifalarick* betook himfelf to *Trafamund* the *Pandal* King of *Africa*, who kindly entertained him, and jealous of the Power of *Theodoric* fupplied him with Money. This *Theodoric* much ftomached, and wrote a Letter to him, wherein he upbraided him with ingratitude; in that having been fo obliged by him he requited him by entertaining his Enemy. He had honoured him, by befotowing his own Sifter on him in Marriage; whereas he had given but his Daughters or Nieces to other Princes: which Sifter he extolls not to much for her high Birth and Quality, though the was defended of the Stock of *Amalus*, as the Excellency of her Mind, being a Woman equal to him her Husband in Prudence, and not fo considerable

Sect. 3.

Lit. i. c. 24.

Joel 2. 30.

De Prodigijs
l. 2.

L. i. Coll. 16.
p. 284.

Doctor di Leg-
gi, & Promu-
tario Apofto-
lico.
In Napoli per
Secundino
Romegolo.

Theod-hais,
*Populi impe-
ranti.*

Traf. Mund.
Conftantius os.

Sect. 3. considerable for her Royal Estate, as admirable for her rare Policy and Councils. He admonisheth him seriously to consider of the Injustice he had done; left the King of Italy should be provoked to do something, which might manifestly break that good understanding, and peace that had been formerly betwixt them; for as much as unlooked-for Injury, and the finding of Treachery where one expected Friendship and good Offices cannot be endured. He desires him to give heed, to what he had ordered his Ambassadors to say to him by word of mouth. *Gisalarick* (or *Gesaleck*) it seems by this Letter, having got what supply of Money he desired, was gone into other Countries to find out some good Advantage for recovery of his former and better Fortunes. Yet *Tresmannud* excused himself so plausibly, that he gave full and abundant satisfaction to *Theodorick*, which he expresseth in another Letter published by *Cassiodorus* next after the former, wherein is mentioned also a Present of Gold sent by the *Vandal* King. This *Theodorick* refuseth to accept, expressing what great delight he took in restoring it, and some Vanity, in setting forth his own Commendations for so doing, concluding with an Exhortation to his Brother-in-Law to be more cautious and exact for the time to come. In the mean time *Theudas*, by his order, governs all Spain in the Name of *Amalarick*.

23. The year of Our Lord DXV had M. *Aurelius Cassiodorus* Senatour for Consul, of whom we have already spoken, and by whose means and procurement we have discoursed so much other matters, especially of Italy, and the Western Provinces. To so high a Dignity he did not come *per saltum*, or leaping over the Heads of such as were far above him, through the wantonness of Fortune, but by degrees and as Vertues themselves are wont to increase, for so *Theodorick* his Master expresseth it in his Letter to the Senate. His first step in preferment was the *Comitatus privatarum*, which Office having managed prudently, innocently and without Corruption, he was advanced to the *Comitatus sacrarum Largitionum*. Having in this place also demeaned himself with such Moderation, that he shewed what was just and equal, both by his Example and Precepts under the former King, by *Theodorick* he was preferred to the Dignity of *Prætor*, in discharge of which Trust, having left a pattern of Modesty and Moderation to such as should come after, he came to be *Corrèdor* of the *Bruttii* and of *Lucania* his own Country. At length he arose to the Dignity of *Præfektus Prætorio*, as also the supreme Honours of a *Patritian* and Consul discharging the Office of Secretary still as appears by the Letter lately mentioned, wherein as well as in that which precedes it he is commended, though truly, for the greatness of his Family, the honourable Actions of his Ancestours, and his own Personal Vertues. But it was the Custome for Princes to extoll their Candidates, and blazon their Vertues and great Achievements to the Senate, that they might seem not to have conferred Dignities and Preferments, upon unfit and undeserving Persons.

24. About this time, it's uncertain what Year, *Theodorick* subdued the *Allemani*, and forced them to pay Tribute, as *Agathias* hath written, and appeareth from the Kings Letters directed to the Inhabitants of *Suevia*, wherein he lets them know that he had made one *Fridelade* their Governour, for restraining thefts and robberies wherewith they were much disturbed. Within a year after the Consulship of *Cassiodorus*, while he still cherished the Fortunes and Hopes of *Amalarick* his Nephew in Spain, he was informed that *Eutharick*, the Son of *Viterick* and Grandson of *Beremund*, lived in that Country. For *Beremund* the Son of *Thurismund* defended of the Family of *Amalus*, leaving *Scythia*, as *Jornandes* writes, went and lived in *Gall* with *Theodorick* the Succellour of *Vallia* King of the *Westrogoths*, by whom being honourably entertained, he left a Son called *Viterick*, who was Father to this *Eutharick*, a Person excellently qualified both in Body and Mind. *Theodorick* hearing him much commended was very desirous to see him, and when he had the satisfaction, glad he had found one who was both of his own line, and every way deserving his Alliance, he gave him in Marriage *Amalasuenta* his Daughter. Two or three Years after he made him Consul, and *Amalasius* the Emperour, to please and oblige the Old Man, presented him with the Robe called *Tunica palmata*, and adopted him as his honorary Son in the way of Arms. In the mean time *Hermingfrid*, King of the *Herni*, put to death his Brother *Berthar*, and after that calling *Theodorick* King of *Gall* to his assistance made an end of *Belderick* his other Brother; but when he had done his work, and *Theodorick* demanded part of the Country conquered according to the Articles of their Alliance, he refused to make good what he had engaged, and thereupon mortal and irreconcilable differences arose betwixt them.

25. Betwixt

25. Betwixt the Emperour *Justin* and *Theodorick*, there was maintained from the first a good Intelligence and Correspondence, as appears from mutual Offices of Kindness and Amity. *Justin* himself bearing the Title of Consul in his second Year, took *Eutharick* the Son-in-Law of *Theodorick* for his Colleague, and farther graced him by a titular Adoption, in a Letter shews, which afterward was written to the Emperour by *Atalarick* the Son of *Eutharick*, whom *Amalasuenta* his Wife bore the Year preceding his Consulship. Being designed Consul, *Eutharick* went to Rome, there to enter upon his Office, which before he approached he was met by all the Ranks and Degrees of the City, who strove by all means to do him Honour, as one whom they expected to see shortly upon the Throne. He on the other side omitted nothing to gain their good Opinion, discharging his Office with all possible Liberality and Magnificence; for some way or other he gratified the Senatours both *Goths* and *Romans*, and pleased the People with Shews on the Theatre, particularly with such wild Beasts procured out of *Africk*, as Rome had never seen till that time. Having done this at Rome he returned to *Ravenna* to his Father-in-Law, and there also strove to exceed himself in Liberality and obliging Actions. Some time after *Theodorick* was vexed in his mind by News received out of *Africk*, where the *Wandals* had imprisoned his Sister *Amalsfreda* after her Husband's Decease, and put all the *Goths* to death who went over with her upon the Account of the Alliance, under pretence of a Conspiracy. *Theodorick* having not sufficient strength at Sea for Invasion of *Africk*, could not revenge the Injury as he desired, and in the mean time *Hilderick* the King contracted a fast friendship with *Justinian*, Nephew to the Emperour, and who managed all Affairs in the Extreme Age of his Uncle.

26. Hitherto we have beheld *Theodorick* so to demean himself, that one might not fear to propound him as a pattern to other Princes, and his Actions as so many Copies for them to write after, such his prudent Conduct, his Valour, Magnificence, Bounty, and which Cemented all, his Justice, Equity and Moderation. Now we must see him degenerating from himself, and blurring those Lines of Government which he had so exactly drawn; so hard is it for Man that is placed on high, not to be giddy and intoxicated with Ease, and the Fumes of continual Pleasure. Yet had he shewn any discretion in the choice of a Subject, wherein to exercise the mutability of his humours, he had been the less unfortunate, because more excusable; but the hard Measure he made, falling upon one who deserved better than any of that Age wherein he lived, in this respect Fortune it seems ow'd, and paid him a very ill turn. This Person was *Boetius* a *Patritian* who had twice or thrice been Consul, and such a Man as one ought carefully to describe, lest we do him injury. Of so noble an Extract, that therein he excelled all his Contemporaries, deriving his Pedigree from *Mamilius Torquatus*, which of later times had been enobled more by *Anicius* his Great Grandfather, and others of that most potent and noble Houe, to behold the Power and Interest of which most Eminent Persons came into Italy; an Houe which so abounded with Wealth, that *Zosimus* the Historian envying the Greatness thereof, writes that this Family of *Anicii* possessed in a manner the Riches of all the *Romans*. In his younger years he studied at *Athens*, where the Profession of Philosophy had been restored, which as he neglected not in general, but searched into the depths of all Sects and Opinions, so especially he addicted himself to that of *Aristotle*, and therein spent most of those Eighteen years which he passed away in that University. The Name of that Philosopher, was formerly scarcely known to those that were merely skilled in *Latin*, as he himself saith; but he translated his works, and illustrated them with Commentaries in that Language, hereby sufficiently evincing that of all *Roman* wits, he best understood the Scale, and could fathom the Depths of the Peripatetic.

27. For the Reader must not think that the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, which in these later Ages hath obtained the Principality in the Schools, was always of such Reputation as we have seen it in our time. At the beginning of Christianity the Sect of the *Stoicks* much prevailed, but especially, the Opinions of *Plato*, which in the primitive times were of such Repute, that the greatest Rubs, the true Religion met with, were laid by those Prejudices that were thence received. For although much furtherance it received from such Philosophers as were converted, in refuting the Vanities and Impieties of *Paganism*, yet the great Writers against it were of that Sect, and both *Tertullian* and *Origen* of old complained, all or most of the Heresies which crept into the Church, took their Original from the Tenets of (this) Philosophy. Long was it e'er the Schools became

Peri-

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The progress of Peripatetic Philosophy.

Peripatetic, and Philosophy had ceased to be Pagan, e'er she forsook the Academy and the Porch. At length she courted *Aristotle* so much, that she made him ample amends for her former Neglects; and here, as formerly she had done much mischief as well as good in the School of *Plato*, so she endeavoured to obliterate the Opinions and Notions of *Aristotle* upon the Christian Faith, witness *Gilbert* or *Gilbert*, the Bishop of *Poitiers*, of whose Profession of Philosophy and the Heresie he thence sucked, let Ecclesiastical Writers speak. We shall only observe farther concerning this Subject, that the *Peripatetic* Philosophy was vehemently believed and promoted by the Schoolmen who found it most agreeable to their Quirks and Niceties, and possibly the real and essential Difference and Substantance it placeth betwixt Substances and their Qualities (upon which Doctrines some Novelty in the Church have been founded) was the great Reason it hath been advanced, not only above true Reason but the Holy Scriptures themselves. As much concerned are they to answer a text or place in the Philosopher, as in St. *Peter* or St. *Paul*; and Theology hath not only received its Model and Method but even Rules from him. So hath this Sect prevailed in later Ages, that from it Writers have received their Terms and Manners of Speech, which makes it necessary that young Students be therein first instructed and well grounded before they advance to other Exercises, and make any Attempts upon Experimental Philosophy, or Divinity it self.

28. But to return to *Boetius*, none draws his half fac'd Picture so much to the life, as he who afterward destroyed the Archetype, I mean *Theodoric* the King who gives him such Encomiums, and heaps such Commendations upon him, as the sense and apprehension thereof could only be obliterated by the power of Jealousie. He not only commends him for his skill in the Precepts of *Aristotle*, but for his perfections in all manner of Learning, whereof he makes him to great a Hellou, that he useth a word applicable to such Creatures, as upon which the Nourishment they have received hath been very well bestowed. The knowledge he ascribes to him is as well practical as speculative, and herein appeared his worth, that he was not content to be Learned alone; but would have others partake of that which made him so considerable. Therefore he taught to speak *Latin*, whatsoever Author was considerable amongst the *Greeks*; for instance *Pythagoras* the Mathematician, *Plato* the Astronomer, *Nicomachus* the Arithmetician, *Euclid* the Geometrician, *Plato* the Divine, *Aristotle* the Logician, and *Archimedes* the Mechanic, about whose Works the King, or *Cassiodorus* for him, spends many words, the effect of which is this that *Boetius* perfectly skilled in his Doctrine of Motions should make two Clocks, whereof one should explicate the Motion of the Spheres, and the other the Diurnal Course of the Sun, both which were to be presented to the King of the *Burgi*. Such is the Testimony given by one that turned his deadly Enemy, but this as we formerly termed it is but an half fac'd Picture, representing only an Idea of his Intellectuals, what he was for his Morals we must also discover, to present him in all his Proportions. First then as a means to make him good as knowing, to the former secular Learning he added the Knowledge of Theology and the Holy Scriptures, as appears from his Books concerning the Blessed Trinity, and against the Errors of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*.

29. What Influence this Knowledge of Christianity and true Philosophy had into his Life and Actions is sufficiently evident from his Management of Matters during his last Consulship, and the great hatred he contracted by his Impartial Justice, and defending private Persons from the Injuries and Oppressions of unreasonably Men how powerful soever. Such were *Conigallus* and *Triguila* the Master of the Kings Household, and other greedy and ravenous *Goths*, from the Claws of whom he rescued many miserable *Italians*, and to the great Indignation of such Monsters, protected his innocent Countreymen, as well from publick as private Impositions and Rapines. When during the Rage of a most cruel famine, a great Summ of Money was required of the Inhabitants of *Campania* for their utter undoing, he opposed the Project of the *Præfectus Prætorio* with such Zeal and Contancy even before the King, that it was quite dashed and laid aside. When the greedy Courtiers had already devoured the Estate of *Paulinus*, a Man of Consular Dignity, in hope and expectation, he refused it out of the Mouths of those greedy Leeches. *Albinus* a Person of the same Quality, he defended against the Accusations of *Cyprianus* the Informer, and by his Wit and Eloquence, protected him when the King accused him of High Treason, and referred his Trial to the whole Senate at *Verona*. Thus swimming against the stream he met with great opposition, both from King and Courtiers, and having iraged them by crossing their

Designs,

Designs, he was at length swallowed up in the Gulph of his Princes Jealousie and Indignation. Once out of his Office, in the succeeding Consulship of *Maximus*, he was accused by *Basilus*, *Opilio* and *Gaudentius*, of whom the first for no good deed had been dismissed the King's Service, and undertook this Employment to Banishment had taken Sanctuary, and thereupon were ordered by the King's Edict, if by a day prefixed they departed not from *Vienna*, to be stigmatized in the Forehead and then driven away. Yet the very same day did these Villains accuse *Boetius*, and their Accusation was admitted; which tended to this effect, that he had endeavoured to advance the Power and Interest of the Senate above that of the King, having hindered an Informer from bringing in an Impeachment of Treason against the Fathers: and Letters were forged to make out his Intentions and Aims to be for the Recovery of the Roman Liberty. *Theodoric* either privy to this Villany, or lightly giving credit to those corrupted Witnesses and feigned Crimes, rashly condemned this Innocent Man, and confiscating his Estate banished him to *Ticinum* or *Pavia*, where comforting himself as well as he could with his Philosophy, he made a Book concerning that Consolation, and committed to writing those passages for information of Posterity, as well as of the present Age.

30. Having imprisoned *Severinus Boetius* at *Pavia*, he caused *Symmachus* his Father-in-Law, and a Person of great Learning and other worth to be apprehended, committing them both to safe Custody, for they were not both committed at the same time, as some have thought, but *Symmachus* enjoyed his Liberty, whilst *Boetius* had too sad occasion to bewail his own Condition, and congratulate the Liberty of his Father-in-Law as he doth in his Book of *Consolations*. Not long after *Theodoric* caused them both to be beheaded, and if thou wilt believe, Reader, the Relation of *Martianus*, who wrote his Life, and received it as a Tradition from the Church of *Pavia*, *Boetius* after his Head was off, took it up with both his Hands, and being asked who it was that struck him, answered *The Ungodly*, and when he ing into the Neighbouring Church and kneeling down before the Altar, when he had received the Sacred Mysteries, he expired, and after his Death was honoured for a Saint. And why may not this Story be as true as what we find concerning St. *Denis*, which whatsoever will not believe may goe and see, if he please the Crosses erected in the several Places where he reitied himself with his Head in his Hand, betwixt *Paris* and the Town which now bears the Name of that Martyr. The very same is also told of our St. *Alban*, who was beheaded for his Religion as St. *Denis* was. But to fell this Noble Pair of Senators, surpassed by none other in any Indowment whatsoever, which renders Mortals both Excellent and Glorious. Concerning one of them we have already seen, what their great Enemy (as he proved) testified, and for *Symmachus*, the same Hand gives him large Commendations, true no doubt, because *Procopius* faith in few words the same things and more, although the reason the King gives in one of his Epistles, he does so solid as were the Buildings for which he so much extolls him, when he defers him to take upon him the Care of repairing the Theatre formerly mentioned. That he was well skilled in Theology appears from *Boetius* his dedicating his writings to him concerning the Trinity, wherein he makes him Judge and Censor of his Books; and that he was well seen in all the Sciences, from *Priscian* the Grammarian of *Cæsarea*, who taught about this time at *Constantinople*, and dedicated also to him the Book he wrote of Weights and Measures.

31. But concerning the Worth and Innocency of them both, there is one Testimony behind, and that is the too late Repentance of *Theodoric*, whose sorrow, as *Procopius* tells the story, was in its occasion and height full as remarkable as the Punishment had been unjust. Not many days after their Execution, when the King went to Supper, he had served up to his Table the Head of a Fish of an unusual bignets. This *Theodoric* (as he calls him, and by his right Name) fancies to be the Head of *Symmachus* lately put to death, who, as it were biting the nether Lip, seemed to threaten him in a gasty and cruel manner. Seized hereupon with Horror and Amazement, and falling into a Cold-sweat he hasted to his Chamber, and lying down upon his Bed commanded his Attendants to cover him with many Clothes. Then did he reveal the whole matter to *Elpidius* his Physician, lamenting the Sin he had committed against *Symmachus* and soon after died, this being the first and last wrong he ever did his Subjects, in pronouncing sentence thus against men without Examination. Thus *Procopius* both excuses and commends, censuring him for the Rashness and Injustice of the Fact, and yet herein exceedingly praising him, that the Fact was single, the whole Course of his Life and Government having been regulated and poised by Justice and Moderation. Though his putting those

His pretended Crime.

He is banished to Pavia.

Vide Cassiod. Var. lib. 1. Ep. penult. & Ep. 2. lib. 4.

Multa eruditio sine legum.

Beheaded together with Symmachus his Father-in-Law.

The Character of Symmachus.

Greek Authors translated by Boetius.

His Morals.

Vide Sigoniam de Orac. Imp. l. 16. Boetius de Consolatione.

Theodoric dies of Melancholy for having put them to death.

SECT. 3.

Antiquorum diligentiſſima ſimulatio, Memoriam nobiliſſimum inſinuat, &c. Cassiod. var. lib. 4. Ep. 51. Ex Prisciano Grammatico ſui noſtro tempore Conſtantiſſimo Doctore ſuſcepit, iſta collecta ſunt. Cassiod. de Originibus c. 12. pag. 101. ſo- rini operis im- preſſi Genevæ. Phil. Goth. lib. 1. ad initium.

Sect. 3. and in conclusion that *Belisarius* by order passed from *Sicily* into *Italy*. The Reader must also remember that he pressing upon the *Goths*, they chose for King one *Vitigis*, who caused *Theodatus* to be murdered. *Vitigis* drew the *Franks* to his Party, but made war, though valiant enough, unsuccessfully against *Belisarius*, who at length carried him and his Wife along with him to *Constantinople*. Into his Room was *Ildebalde* the Nephew of *Theudas* King of the *Westgoths*, and Governor of *Vérona* preferred, who killed *Vraas* the Sisters Son of *Vitigis*, and was himself killed by *Vilus* a *Gepida*. After him was made King one *Erarick*, by Birth a *Rugian*, and consequently of a *Gothick* Nation, a Man of good reputation amongst the *Barbarians*. He would for a good Reward have delivered up *Italy* to the Emperor, but after a short Reign of five Months was killed by the *Goths*, who chose *Totilas* to be their King. He proved a severe Scourge against the *Greeks*, then warring in *Italy*. He was the Brothers Son of *Ildebalde*, a Man very Warlike and Active, as we have described his Actions at large. He carried himself with much Gallantry and Justice. He took *Rome* more than once, wasted *Sicily*, and at length died of his wounds, after the Battel fought with *Narses*, received by an *Asbad* a *Gepida*. He Reigned eleven Years, and in him fortune shewed Fickleness and Inconstancy. The next and last King was *Teias* the Son of *Fridigern*, who did wonders in Battel against *Narses*, but was killed, and the Kingdom of the *Goths* in *Italy* received its period with him.

The Kingdom of the *Goths* cy and Conduct of *Narses*, that famous Eunuch, after it had continued some fifty nine Years. How this was done, hath been discoursed at large in our Account of the

Wars of *Justinian*, to which here we have nothing to add, little occurring concerning the later *Gothick* Kings, but in reference to the Wars of *Italy*, managed against them, chiefly by *Belisarius* and *Narses* the Officers of that Emperor. The *Goths* after the Death of *Teias* were headed by *Aligern* his Brother, but without the Title of King, and they strugled some time to no purpose, though they called in the *Franks* to their Assistance. Their Kingdom being destroyed, the Sovereignty and Command of *Italy* returned to *Justinian* the Emperor, who governed it by *Narses*, as a Province of the Eastern Empire. *Narses* having suppressed the *Goths* and driven out the *Franks*, set himself as to Actions of Piety and Religion, so to repairing Towns which had been demolished in War, to the restoring of Buildings both sacred and profane in *Rome*, and other places. But as of other things, so of these we have no particular Account, for the following Years are so barren of any History, that as *Sigonius* witnesseth, in all the Antiquities of *Italy* and the West, nothing is more rude and uncertain, our best guides *Procopius* and *Agathias* having taken their leave. But, from the overthrow of the *Gothick* Kingdom in *Italy*, which happened in the Year DLIII. to the coming in of the *Lombards*, or *Lombards*, which fell out in the DLXVIII. passed fourteen Years, all which time *Narses* seems to have governed, and spent it well, as we are told, in mending what had been marred by the former Wars. In these Wars that great mischief happened both to Places and Persons cannot be doubted. That those that were faithful to the Emperor suffered much may easily be conceived, and particularly we are told of the Family of the *Titones*. This Family flying their Countrey, lost all they had, leaving a great Estate, and when the *Goths* were driven out, it seems made their Application to *Justinian* to be restored to their Lands and Possessions. Now it was a Rule in Law, that a Prescription of thirty years was a sufficient Bar against any pretender, let the Estate be come by how it would, and this it seems was pleaded by such as had got into possession. But the Emperor taking the case into consideration, granted a Rescript of Privilege to the said *Titones*, which broke the Prescription; and this Rescript, being the only Monument of that dark time, *Cujacius* hath communicated to us, who received it as he tells us, from the most Learned and acute P. *Galeus* a *Spaniard*. It being a Rarity in several respects, we shall not conceal it from the Reader. To *Narses* it is directed thus.

37. ' *Flavius Justinian, Caesar, Imp. Alanicus, Gothicus, Wandalicus, Africanus, ever Augustus* to *Narses* the Patritian in *Italy*. With great anguish of mind we perceive, that our City of *Rome* having been in former times much emptied, hath continued long desert, and in a manner desolate, and that from it almost an infinite Number of Illustrious Families, have betaken themselves to divers Climates of the World, to shun the direfull Cruelty and savage madnes of the *Goths* and *Wandals*, amongst which the most Eminent and most Noble Family of the *Titones*, leaving the City in which it had happily flourished before for many Ages, in the glo-

Sect. 3. ous Equestrian Order, was forced to fly to foreign Nations. Namely out of that Family, above an hundred and twenty Persons passed over to the *Vindelici* and *Retii*, chusing rather valiantly to undergoe hard Exile, than enjoying at home with the Enemy of the *Roman* Empire their own goods, to live in filthy and dishonest slavery. Now we being desirous to obviate such Calamities and Miseries dispatched away the most glorious *Belisarius* the Patritian into *Italy* against the *Goths*, that by him we might free the City, and *Italy* it self, from so great Slavery, Captivity and Slaughter. And so it fell out, that in that Engagement which *Belisarius* had with *Vitigis* King of the *Goths*, and wherein he remained Victor, the King being taken Prisoner, the Strenuous, Valiant and Noble L. *Galbicus Titus*, valiantly discharging the Duty of a Tribune of Soldiers, died gloriously fighting, leaving three Sons, *Aulus Anduarius*, C. *Tabero*, and L. *Reucardus*, who all under thy Command in *Italy*, fought for us and the *Roman* Empire with the greatest Fidelity against our Enemies. Wherefore seeing that in a Prince there can be nothing more Clement, nothing more Decent, nothing more glorious to be wished for, than to have a respect for, and confer just and gratefull Favours on such, whose Parents, by fighting manfully for the Empire and their Countrey, most religiously died; and whereas those Brothers and their Progenitours were spoiled of their large Estate, by the wicked Enemies of the *Roman* Empire, which they enjoyed in the City, amongst the *Cenomani*, especially the *Insubres*, *Vercellenses*, *Taurini* and *Lugures*, for long spaces of time, We will, Command and require, as thou esteemest our favour, and art zealous for our Honour, that having made a diligent search, thou put them again into possession of their Estates, and goods of their Ancestours, having no regard at all to those by whom they are seized, and restore these Brothers to the City, their Honours and Dignities; and especially the Equestrian, in which they have flourished with great Commendation from their Great and Great great Grandfathers, and to place them again in their Houses, removing any that may detain them. For all those who from the beginning take Possession by force, and thereby lay unjust Foundations, do not acquire just Possession by the use of time, neither they who derive action from them; and we will not that such Occupiers be assisted by any Prescription, although of the longest time, from which we derogate, and by our fulness of Power will have Derogation made, that the said Brothers may serve us with the same Fidelity and Valour, which they have derived from their Parents. We will have therefore this our Pleasure, or rather just and deserved Restitution, inviolably observed under Penalty of an hundred pounds of Gold, and have commanded it to be strengthened by our Imperial Seal. From the City of *Constantinople* on the Ides of February, in the six and thirtieth Year of our Reign, in the Year of our Lord DLXV, signed *Justinian*, and underneath, *Procopius*. This is very remarkable, and little or nothing is there farther of *Italian* matters, till the coming of the *Lombards* into *Italy*; of the occasion thereof, and their progress till their settling therein a Kingdom, we have already discoursed amongst matters relating to the *Constantinopolitan* Empire.

A Rescript of Restitution granted to the Titones by Justinian.

Ob. lib. 10. c. 12.

S E C T. IV.

The Kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, from the Expiring of the Command of *Duces*; and the Promotion of *Authari* to be King, to the End of this Kingdom.

The Space of 206 Years.

SECT. 4. **T**HE Lombards having settled their Domination in Italy, were ten Years, as we have said in the History of the Empire, without a King and under *Duces* or Captains. But these ten Years expired, into the Dignity and Title of King they advanced *Authari* the Son of *Clepho* formerly mentioned, whom they surnamed *Flavius*, for the more grace of the matter, as *Paul* their Historian tells us, or to mollify the sound of his barbarous Name, with a surname familiar and easy, as others conjecture; for this of *Flavius* became afterward common to all their Kings. Now all the Great Men contributed half they had to the maintenance of his Port and Dignity. And this is to be admired in the Government of the Lombards, that there was no such thing amongst them as Violence and Oppression. No Treachery, no Compulsion was practised. No Man was deprived of what he had by Thefts or Robberies, but every one went about his business securely, without the least fear or apprehension of Danger. So *Paul* writes; but we remember that he himself was a Lombard, and speaks possibly in favour of his own Nation, so he doth when he commends and applauds for their Valour and Deportment, the Party which fought under *Narfes*, whereas *Procopius* tells us, that they were sent back in disgrace for their unreluctance. And however he conceals their Faults, and commends them for their great Justice and Moderation, it appears from Ecclesiastical Persons, that after they were become Masters of Italy, they did many horrid Acts; and upon this account *Gregory* the Great calleth them a most wicked Nation. But possibly the truth lies betwixt both Extremes.

Childebert being hired against the Lombards, he hath Money on both sides.

2. *Mauritius* the Emperour, not being in a Condition himself, hired *Childebert* King of the Franks for fifty thousand *Solidi*, to dispossess them. The King with a vast Army breaks into Italy, but *Paul* saith, that the Lombards dealt with him by Messengers, and persuaded him to take Money and be gone. He promised to return the *Solidi* to *Childebert*, with whom the Lombards made a League, but had work enough cut out for them by *Droctulf*, who being a Suebian or *Allesman* by Birth, for his Goodlines of his Stature had got the Honour of a Duke; but to revenge his Captivity had lately revolted to the Emperour, and carried over to his Party a considerable Number of their Men. Lying now at *Broxillus* a Town situate upon the *Poe*, thither *Authari* removed with his Army, and straightly besieged him. The siege continued long, and he held them to it; but at last he was compelled to quit his Quarters and betake himself to *Ravenna*; which having done, *Authari* took *Broxillus* and dismantled it, and made truce with *Smaragdus* the Patriarch the then Exarch of *Ravenna*, for three Years. This notwithstanding *Mauritius* sent the second Time his Ambassadors to *Childebert*, and persuaded him to break the League and fall upon the Lombards. He invaded Italy, but as they were on their march toward him, the *Alemans* that were in his Army fell out with the Franks, and the Dissention grew so great, that they parted and returned back without having any thing done.

3. At this time happened such Inundations in several Parts of Italy, as the like had never been heard of since the Universal Deluge. Multitudes of Men, besides other living Creatures, were destroyed. The River *Atthes* flowed as high as the Windows of *St. Zeno's* Church near *Verona*, part of the Wall of which City was also broken down; and after two Months it perished almost all by Fire. The River *Tiber* was so overcharged, that it rose higher than the very Walls of *Rome*, defaced ancient Buildings, and overturned the Granaries belonging to the Church, wherein great Quantities of Wheat were lost. A Multitude of Serpents

pents together with a Dragon of a vast Bigness, swam down the River (*Paulus Diaconus* saith through the City) into the Sea, where killed with the Salt-water, they were cast upon the shore. This happened in the Month of November, and in January following a dreadful Plague called *Pestis Inguinaria*, from the Privy parts which it invaded, fell upon Italy, especially *Rome*, and destroyed an infinite Number of People, on whom Arrows were seen to be darted from Heaven, if credit may be given to no less a Man than Pope *Gregory*. This was the Plague, as some would have it, wherewith Men being seized fell into great fits of sneezing, and so suddenly died, whence the Custom proceeded of praying, as still we do, for such as sneeze. But that this was in use long before amongst the Pagans, who invoked their Gods upon the same occasion, is attested by *Pliny*, Nat. Hist. l. 23. Vide Bar. not to speak of more ancient Writers, and therefore it could not take its rise from the Mortality whereof we now speak.

4. Much about this time *Authari* King of the Lombards, sent *Euin* the Duke of *Trent* to waste *Histria*, whence he brought very rich Plunder. Others of his subjects were then employed in besieging *Francio*, one of *Narfes* his Captains, in the Island *Amacina*, where he had continued twenty Years, but after a siege of six Months, was forced to yield it up, and to depart with his Wife and Baggage to *Ravenna*. *Authari* as well as his People being much enriched began to look high, and asked the Sister of *Childebert* King of the Franks to be given him in Marriage. *Childebert* receiving his Presents, promised he would send her, but failed of his word being sued to by the *Gothick* King of *Spain*, to bestow her on him; and sensible it seems of the Injury, and how good Cause he had given *Authari* to be angry with him, he sent to the Emperour, and promised now he would do his utmost for removing the Lombards out of Italy. And he sent an Army to make good his promise, but the Lombards, concerned now more than ordinary to shew their Valour, made greater slaughter of them, than ever was heard to have befallen that Nation, and very few returned home. *Flavius Authari* now encouraged by this Success sends his Ambassadors into *Baiaoria*, to ask in Marriage *Theudelinda* the Daughter of King *Garibald*, who readily granted their suit, and after their return *Authari* himself makes a Journey thither Incognito to see her. Not long after his return, troubles arising betwixt *Garibald* and the Franks, *Theudelinda* with her Brother *Gundald* retired into Italy, where *Authari* met her with Royal Pomp, and consummated his Marriage at a Place called *Sardis* above *Verona*, on the Ides of May.

5. At this time, for what Cause is uncertain, *Ausul* the King's Kinsman was slain at *Verona*, and not long after *Childebert*, to gratify the Emperour *Mauricius*, sent another Army of twenty thousand Men to subdue the Lombards. Of these Men *Anduald*, *Olo* and *Cedinus* were the chief Captains, whereof *Olo* laying siege to the Castle of *Bilitio*, was shot with an Arrow under his Pap and died, many of his Countreymen in their Excursions being met with and slain. *Anduald* with six inferior Officers came before *Milan*, where he met with the Emperour's Ambassadors, who promised him relief after three days; but three and three they expected them to no purpose. *Cedinus* going the way toward the left hand took five Castles from the Inhabitants of which he exacted an Oath. They pierced by *Placentia* as far as *Verona*, and many Towns they demolished contrary to Articles, leading away the Townsmen Prisoners. But the Summer now grew very hot, and the Franks not accustomed to the Italian Air, were much afflicted with the Dysentery whereof many of them died, and having been three Months in the Countrey to little purpose, the Lombards securing themselves in their strong holds, and their King particularly in *Pavia*, they were necessitated to return home, which they did with great Difficulty, that they were first constrained to sell their Cloaths off from their backs, and then their Arms to purchase Victuals in their passage. About this time it is that *Paul* thinks the famed Conquests of King *Authari* happened, as that through *Spoleum* he proceeded as far as *Beneventum*, and having made himself Master of all that Countrey, kept on his Progress as far as *Rhegium*, the last City of Italy, and nearest to the Sicilian Island. There, as the story went, stood a certain Pillar within the water, to which he rode so near as to touch it with the Point of his Lance, and said, *Thus far shall extend the Borders of the Lombards*. The Pillar was reported to be standing in the days of the Historian, and to be known by the Name of *Authari* his Column.

6. The first Duke of the Lombards which settled in *Beneventum*, was *Zotto*, who held the Government for twenty years. *Authari* sent to make a League with *Gundram* King of the Franks, who referring them to *Childebert* his Nephew, &er they could

The *Pestis Inguinaria* follows.

Francio destroyed.

Authari Marries.

Another fruitless Expedition on the Franks.

The Conquests of Authari.

Sect. 4.

Theude-linda, Populus multus.

Gundald, Beneventum potens.

Anduald, Gratia fidelis.

Zotto, Suavii nunc Italum foveant Angli, a Sote murat in pennis signi-

Sect. 4.

Padua demolished by them.

began to wear Hofs, over which when they rode they drew a fort of Breaches called *Tuburgi birrei*, but this fashion they received from the *Romans*. Hitherto the City of *Padua* had valiantly stood out against them, but now it was all burnt, and by order of King *Agilulf*, levelled with the ground, the *Garrison* Soldiers being permitted to go to *Ravenna*. *Agilulf* his Ambassadors returning from *Cacanus* brought the ratification of a perpetual Peace and Amity made with the *Avars*, who lent their all to the Kings of the *Franks*, requiring them in the League made betwixt the two Nations, to comprize also the *Lombards*. Now did the *Lombards*, *Avars* and *Slavi* invade *Hiftria*, which they wasted with fire and sword, at what time *Theodelinda* bare a Son to *Agilulf*, whom being born in the Palace of *Modicia*, they named *Adalaud*. After this the *Lombards* took the Castle of Mount *Sillex*, and much about the same time *Gallicinus* being beaten from *Ravenna*, *Smaragdus* returned, who had formerly been *Patritian*, as *Paul* calls him, or *Exarch* of that City for the Emperour.

11. That fort of Peace which we find was made betwixt *Agilulf*, *Gregory* the *Roman* Bishop, and the *Exarch*, was openly broken by the latter, who took *Parma*, and therein *Godescalc* and his Wife, the Son-in-law and Daughter of the King; at which time also he sent some Troops and seized on *Brexillum*, which had been forsaken of the *Lombards*. *Agilulf*, as he had reason, was very much concern'd, and resolv'd to set upon the *Romans* with greater fury than ever, and take from them those Towns which the Arms of fierce *Alboin* had left unconquered. From *Milan* then in the month of *July* he set forward and laid siege to *Cremona*, being assist'd by the *Slavi*, which *Cacanus* King of the *Avars* had sent him, and took it on the nineteenth of *August*. He levelled it with the ground as he had done *Padua* before, and then turned upon *Mantua*, the Walls of which he so long battered off, that he took it about the middle of *September*, sack'd it and defac'd it in a lamentable manner. Afrighted hereat, they that held the Castle of *Vulturina* yielded it up, and those that had seized on *Brexillum* set fire to it and departed. Matters thus proceeding, the King's Daughter was set at liberty by *Smaragdus* the *Exarch*, who by command of *Mauricius* the Emperour, had succeeded *Calvincus*, together with her Husband, and all that belonged to her; and a Truce was made from the month of *September* till the *April* following. The King's Daughter from *Ravenna* went to *Parma*, and falling into *Travail*, thereof died, to the no small discontentment as well of her Father as her Husband.

A Truce betwixt *Agilulf* and the *Exarch*.

12. So great were the Troubles in *Italy* betwixt the *Exarchs* of the Emperour and the *Lombards*, that the people were miserably harassed betwixt them, and little or no rest could they have by virtue of any Treaty or Truce that could be made. *Gregory* the Bishop of *Rome* having a deep sense of these miseries, and having often in vain expected aid from *Constantinople*, when he heard of the death of *Mauricius* rejoiced, and sent away speedily a Messenger with Letters to claw *Phocas* the Murderer and his Wife, that he might obtain some effectual means for reducing the *Lombards* into order, and quieting the Country; and on the twenty fourth of *April* the Images of *Phocas* and his Wife were solemnly brought to *Rome*, and after the Senate and Clergy had made their Prayers for their prosperity with great joy, the Bishop caused them to be placed in the Palace, in the Oratory of *St. Casarius* the Martyr. About this time *Theodelind* bare a Son to *Agilulf*, whom he called by the name of *Adalaud*, being Christened upon *Easter-day*. Now the Truce was at an end, and an heavy war seem'd to threaten the *Exarchate* of *Ravenna*, when yet *Agilulf* considering how hard the enterprise of taking that City would be, fill gave his consent that the Truce should be renewed. And there was great need of it both in respect of the present season, and the state and condition to which *Italy* had been before that reduced. The Summer was so excessive hot and dry that all the Corn was burnt up and spoil'd, and such a dreadful cold Winter followed, as in a manner destroyed all their Vines.

The Truce renewed.

13. But such had been the lamentable Estate of poor *Italy* for several Years before, that this might seem to give the last blow to it already in a dying Condition. So *Gregory* the *Roman* Bishop, who died this very year, in his Exposition of the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, describes it to us. "We every where see nothing but mourning, hear nothing but groans, Cities are destroyed, Castles demolished; the Country depopulated; the whole Land reduced into a Desert. In the fields there are no Husbandmen, in the Cities no Inhabitant, and yet the small Remains of Mankind, are even now thruck at without Intermission; some led into Captivity, some maimed, and others slain. And in what plight *Rome* is, though once the Mistress of the World, we see, even spent with great and mani-

Postea vero
ex personis
ut super
quas
exiguas
bruires
miserant.

l. 4. c. 23.

Adal-wald,
nobilitate
pul-
lent.
Idem contra-
rē, ut mox
Paulus Abo.

Paulus Dia-
conus de Ge-
stis
Lombard.
l. 4. c. 29.

Exaudi Cri-
ste. Phoca
Augusti & Le-
ontis Aug. vita
et ad-wald
nobilitate
pulenti, idem
contra-
rē ut mox
Paulus Abo.

Vide Baron.

Sect. 4.

"fold mischiefs, by loss of Citizens, Incurion of Enemies and frequency of Threats. All potent Persons are taken away from her. Where is now the Senate? Where is the People? All order of Dignity in her is extinct, and yet as that remains every day the Sword, daily innumerable Tribulations do press her, and after that men fail the very Walls do fall. So dreadful a face of things was in *Italy*, the effect of the late Conquest, for when the Victory is obtained, and the Country won, the miseries of the conquered People are not then ended but begun, more grievous are the courses which Conquerours take to preserve, than those whereby they first obtained. But now *Agilulf* by means and pervasion of his Wife especially, seems to be well inclined for peace, and applies himself to other Methods, tending to settle and secure that in his Family by love; which hitherto had been kept by terror.

14. He began to think of his own Mortality, and how he might provide for the security of his young Son *Aldonald*, which at length he concluded would be best effected, by setting the Crown upon his Head in his own life time. For this purpose he assembled the Estates together at *Milan*, where in the open Cirque the infant was saluted King by the People, in the Presence of the Ambassadors of *Theodebert* King of the *Franks*, and invested with Royal Ornaments. With the *Franks* the Peace was renewed, and a perpetual League sworn on both sides, a more joyfull day was never seen in *Italy*, so bright and pleasant a Sun-shine, after so great and terrible a Tempest. But though a League, as we said, was made with the *Franks*, it was upon very uneven Terms. For the *Lombards* paid to the *Franks*, and so had long done a yearly Tribute, which *Agilulf* disdaining, as much below him who had made himself famous by so many Victories, sent three Ambassadors with abundance of money into *Gall*, wherewith the Principal Courtiers were so bribed, that *Clotair* the King was perfwaded for thirty thousand *Solidi* to sell it, and relate the Nation for the time to come. There was much about this time some Action betwixt the King's and the *Exarch's* Forces, for the *Lombards* as soon as the Truce was out, suddenly surprized *Orbitum* and *Balneogregium* belonging to the *Romans*. But *Smaragdus* the *Exarch* got them restor'd, and for twelve thousand *Solidi*, the Truce to be renewed for another year. Being now secure and at his ease he began a worthy work, for whereas hitherto *Ferrara* had been but an insignificant Village, but very conveniently seated upon the River *Padus*, or *Poe*, he compass'd it about with walls, and brought it into such Reputation, that it daily increas'd as well in bigness as fame, and afterward became the seat of most potent Princes, and so hath a long time continued. This same year, which was the six hundred and sixth of our Lord, died *Boniface* the Third, Bishop of *Rome* (the Successor of *Sabinian*, as he of *Gregory* the Great) and *Boniface* the Fourth of that Name succeeded him. He was consecrated in the Month of *August*, and in *November* following the Truce betwixt the King and the *Exarch* was renewed for three years longer.

Tribute to the *Franks* bought off.*Agilulf* enlarges *Ferrara*.Truce with the *Exarch* renewed.The Duke of *Forum Julii* slain by the *Hunnes*.

15. For two years following though *Italy* rested from war, yet was it sorely afflicted by Famine and Sicknes; the Effects of too excessive moisture by reason of abundance of Rain. In that following, a Peace and Confederacy was made betwixt *Agilulf* and the Emperour *Phocas*, which continued for about two years, so long as the Tyrant lived. He being slain by *Heracius*, *John Lenugius* a *Patritian*, was sent to succeed *Smaragdus* at *Ravenna*, who being a Man of a peaceable disposition, and finding *Italy* in quiet, laboured earnestly to keep it, by the same means his Predecessour had done, constantly renewing the Truce with the *Lombards*, as there was occasion. By this means *Italy* continued in good repose for four or five years more, till it was disturbed again upon a foreign Account, after this manner. *Cacanus* the young King of the *Hunnes*, impatient of rest and greedy of booty, with a select Party of Soldiers, came out of *Pannonia*, and fell on a sudden into the Dukedom of *Forum Julii*. The news thereof being brought to *Gisulf* the Duke, *Gisulf* self, *Crimitum* adjutor.

Paulo Balu-
um Regi &
Urbs venit.
Paulus ab
supra, c. 33.

Vide Paulum
Dilectum lu-
jus Ecclesie
qui rem fuit
narrat. lib. 4.
c. 28.

Seçt. 4. would marry her, to deliver the Town into his hands. He promised her Marriage, and accordingly got into the Town, but then breaking his word he plundered and burnt the place, made the Lombards prisoners, and giving her the satisfaction of enjoying him for one Night, then delivered her up to twelve Hunnes to be satisfied with what she had desired, and at last, thinking her not fit to live, caused her to be hanged upon a Gibbet. Her Daughters fared better for their Chastity, being spared by the Hunnes, who thought they stunk, because out of design they had bound purfited Chickens betwixt their Breasts.

Reminds the
Duchess de-
ferently put
to death.

Hac insuper
exprobrando
inquinis, calom-
dignum est
maritum ha-
bere.

Tato, Tato, &
Tato quod Pro-
capit Trevis
concoctat.
Caco convec-
tum ex Ce-
gantur in in-
voc. Alleana,
aut Celenat,
Cito finit il-
est dulce.

The Exarch
killed.

Eleutherius
sent in his
room.

Agilulf dies.

Adaluald his
Son King after
him.

A bafe Act of
Gregory the
Emperours
Officer.

16. The Sons of the Duke, *Tato, Caco, Rodoald and Grimoald*, when they perceived the King's treachery privately withdrew themselves and resolved to fly. *Grimoald* the Child being notable, as they concluded, to fit his Horse, one of them was about to kill him lest he should alive fall into the Enemies hands. But he crying out, and promising to rise as fast as the best of them, he set him upon his Horse without any Saddle and bade him follow. But he could not ride so fast, but the rest escaping he was overtaken by an Hunne, and being by him carried back toward the Camp did a thing which one would not have expected from a Man, much less from him. For as the Trooper went before him with the Child's Horse in his hand, he gave him with his Sword such a blow on the Head that he left him for dead upon the spot, and turning his Horse he put him to his full speed, and so at length reached his Brothers. The Hunnes departing out of the Duchy, led away Captives many Men, Women and Children, promising to bestow them in convenient places in *Pannonia*, but when they came upon the Borders, perfidiously put all the Men of ripe age to death, and led away the Women and Children. After their Retreat, the Sons of *Gisulf* returned, and *Tato* and *Caco* the eldest ordered the matters relating to Government. While this disaster happened to the Lombards that at *Ravenna* were not in quiet, where *John* the Exarch bearing himself very haughtily, and laying on the people heavier burthens than formerly they underwent, was by the Multitude killed in the Palace with such Judges as he had called together for deciding Causes. Neither were the Affairs of *Campania* more settled, where *John Confinius* the Duke of *Naples*, contrary to his Faith formerly given to the Emperour, seized that City, and with a strong Garrison held it out against him. The News hereof being carried to *Constantinople*, *Heracius* sent as Exarch into *Italy*, one *Eleutherius* a Patritian, and his Chamberlain, a man of great wisdom and virtue. This same year was too remarkable for several other accidents. In *August* there was a great Earthquake, and this was followed by as great a Plague, a kind of Scab called *Elephantia*, which so disfigured the Faces of the diseased, that they could not be known from dead Bodies. Three eminent persons also died, the Bishop of *Trent*, Duke *Gundoald* the Brother of *Theodelind*, and King *Agilulf* himself, after he had reigned twenty five years: a person famous for his Wars, and as acceptable upon the account of his Orthodox Religion. This was the DCXV. year of our Lord.

Gundoald, Re-
novelescia po-
reus.
Theode-hind,
Populi meli.

Agilulfus rex
& Age of
Agilulf.
Paulus Dia-
lib. 4. c. 45.

17. *Agilulf* (Or *Age*) being dead, the Kingdom was confirmed to *Adaluald* his Son, who reigned under the Government of *Theodelind* his Mother. No Wars now are heard of, the as became her Sex applying her self more to the works of Religion than those of *Mars*, for which she is deservedly celebrated by Church-men. But her Neighbours could not be quiet. There was one *Gregory* a Patritian who governed those parts for the Emperour which lay near the Duchy of *Forum Julii*. He pretended great kindness to *Tato* the Son of the deceased *Gisulf*, made him believe he would adopt him for his Son, and enticed him to *Oprigerium*, the place where he lay to perform the Ceremony by cutting his Beard according to the Lombard custom. But having got the poor young man into the Town, with *Caco* his Brother and others of their followers, he caused the Gates to be shut, and then sent Soldiers to fall upon them, whom they repulsed and so long defended themselves, till being pursued from Street to Street they killed many they had to do with, and at last were themselves slain; in which great achievement being performed, *Gregory* sent for *Tato* his Head, and then cut off his Beard to perform his godly promise. The report of this villany being spread abroad, *Grafulf* their Uncle basted and seized on the Duchy, *Rodoald* and *Grimoald* being yet so young as not to be fit for the management of matters, who within a while, for that their Uncle was, or they for thought or pretended, very severe to them, fled to *Archie*, the Duke of *Beneventum*, with whom they had been brought up in their Infancy, who kindly entertained them. The same year, which was next to the death of *Agilulf*, *Eleutherius* the Exarch came to *Ravenna*, where he made inquisition after the death of *John*, and punished with death such as were found guilty of the Murder.

Thence

Grat-hulf,
Grande Auxi-
lum Red-
wald, Quis
compar.
Grato-wald,
Ira potent.
Ar-gis, Homo-
refortis.

Thence by the way of *Rome*, where he was honourably received, he went to *Naples*, where not being received, he besieged the other *John Confinius* in the City, which being at last constrained to surrender, he was put to death, and pardon was granted to the Citizens, who were forced to receive a new Governour.

Seçt. 4.

18. With this Success *Eleutherius* was so puffed up as to forget that Virtue and Moderation once supposed to be prevalent in him, and to approve that Vice in his own Person, which he had so declaimed against, and punished in other Men. Having opportunity, the great Corrupter of Mankind, by reason of the great distance betwixt these Countries and the Emperour, he resolved to make for the Sovereignty of *Italy*, and knowing he must have the Soldiers at his beck to avenge at this, he paid them their full wages, a thing they had not been much used to, and by all other means possible endeavoured to oblige them. While he muzzed and contrived how to accomplish this great Design, the death of *Deudedit* the Bishop, presented him as he thought with a fit occasion to begin the Work. In the interval, before the Election of another he resolved to seize on that City, and led his Men thitherward to get him possession, but in the way met with the News of *Boniface* the Fifth his Promotion, which made him alter his Councils, and make a flattering Speech to the Army, by which and great promises for this time he inveigled them, and assumed the Title of King, which to have farther confirmed, by investing himself with Royal Ensigns of Majesty, he would go on to *Rome*, the fittest place he said of all others to receive them. But when they were come as far as *Lucole*, the Soldiers had better considered of the matter, and upon better thoughts detesting the Treachery fell into a Mutiny, which grew to that height, that they flew him as a Traitor on the twenty fourth of *December*, and returning to *Ravenna*, sent his Head to the Emperour. The Emperour *Heracius*, named *Iaicius* a Patritian, his Exarch in his Room for the Government of *Italy*; and now being resolved of a War with *Persia*, made peace with *Cacanus* the Hunnish King. Some four years after, one *Eusebius* came or pretended to come Ambassador from the Emperour, about some weighty affairs to King *Adaluald*. He getting intimacy with him one day when the King came out of the Bath, either following the Directions of *Heracius*, or on his own Head gave him something to drink, which drove him into a Melancholy or Dotage. Perceiving this Plot to have taken, he made use of his Youth and Madnets, and feeding his Extravagant fancy, persuaded him to kill all his Nobles for his own security. He followed his Advice, and twelve he procured to be slain, which gave such an Alarm, that the Lombards fearing the mischief would increase, accused him as one that acted the part not of a King but of a Tyrant, and the year following growing more tumultuous, removed him and his Mother from the Government; which done they put into his place *Arioald* the Duke of *Taurinum*, who had married *Gundeburga* the Sister of *Adaluald*. A.D. DCXXIII.

'Adaluald de-
posed, and A-
rioald made
King.

Ar-wald, Ho-
noris renox.

19. This Revolution cast the whole Kingdom of the Lombards into very great Troubles, all that were concerned not concurring with those that did the Fact. The Bishops beyond the *Poe* were earnest for *Arioald*, and laboured to draw the rest to their side. But *Honorius* the Bishop of *Rome*, and *Iaicius* the Exarch, either by his procurement, or the Influences of *Theodelind* were for restoring *Adaluald*, and the rather induced, because the New King was of the *Arian* persuasion. *Iaicius* with an Army endeavoured his Requisition, and *Honorius* wrote to him, that as soon as he had done his work he should send the Dissenting Bishops to answer their Rebellion at *Rome*. But *Iaicius* failed of his Design, and *Arioald* kept his possession, governing himself with that prudence and temper, that notwithstanding the Attempts of the Exarch, yet he was so true to the Interest of his Kingdom, as not to break the Peace with the Romans. The ill Success cast *Theodelind* into so great a Fit of Melancholy, that, not able to bear up against it, he brought her into a Consumption of Spirits, and this to her Grave the year following. She was much lamented by all good Men, for her Excellent qualifications both of body and mind, and above all the great respect she bare to all things Sacred. Several years did *Arioald* Reign with great Peace both at home and abroad, till something happened in his own Court, which gave him and his Family great disturbance. One *Adalulf* a Nobleman solicited his Queen *Gundeburga* for unlawful pleasures, and was with much Scorn and Indignation rejected. He fearing she would accuse him, to prevent her, got to the King, and tells him a formal story, how *Tato* the Duke of *Etruria*, had conspired to take away his Life, and marry the Queen. *Arioald*, burning with rage and jealousy, shut up his Wife close

A. D. 627.

Gundiburga,
Benevolus bo-
fita.

Seçt. 4. clofe prisoner in the Caſtle of *Amellum*, where ſhe continued three years, till ſhe was releaſed and reſtored to her former reputation. For *Cleair* King of the *Franks* taking pity of her, ſent and expoliated with her Husband for condemning a Lady decended of the Royal Blood of the *Franks*, and deſpoiling her of her dignity without any cauſe or crime committed. *Ariald* answered it was not without cauſe, to whom *Anſald* one of the Ambaſſadors replied, that they would agree with him if he would but permit one of her Friends to try it with her Accuſer in a ſingle Combat. The cuſtome of the *Lombards* was, as indeed of all theſe Northern Nations, to decide Controverſies concerning Accuſations in that manner; therefore he not being able to reſuſe the offer, *Aripert* her Kinſman produced one *Pirro*, *Paulus Diaconus* calls him *Carell*, as her Champion, who got the better of *Adalulf*, and ſo the Queen's innocency being clear'd, ſhe was reſtored to her former Eſtate and Honour. And this added to her Fame, that ſhe out-lived her Husband, who died ſome four years after, and had the honour to make another choice both for her ſelf and the Kingdom.

Anſald, gra-
tia fidelis.

Ar-preb, ho-
noris copioſi,
Agi-bulſi, ſibi
auxiliator.

20. For *Ariald* dying without Iſſue, the Eſtates aſſembled about an Election, and giving her the ſame reſpect as they had done to *Theodelind* of chuſing her ſelf an Husband, and the ſame a King for them, ſhe pitch'd upon one *Rothari*, ſit every way for ſo great an Employment, but tainted alſo with the *Arian* Hereſie. There lay at this time within *Italy* and ſome Territories of the *Lombards* two Provinces, as yet ſubject to the Emperour; viz. the *Alpes Cottiae* and *Opitergium*, with all the Towns adjoining as far as *Tarifiſum*. *Rothari* or *Rothari*, as *Paul* the Hiſtorian calls him, with a great Army invaded the *Alpes Cottiae*, and wreſted this rich patrimony out of the Emperour's hands, whence bending his Forces into *Venetia* he took *Opitergium*, and the other Towns by ſurrender. The Exarch being ſurprized, and not able ſoon to get his Troops together as to doe any thing effectual for preſervation of theſe places, yet thought himſelf in honour obliged to fall with all violence he could upon the Dominions of the *Lombards*. *Rothari* was ſufficiently aware thereof, and having taken *Peruſia*, with greater numbers of Men haſted to *Emilia*, and ſo homeward to give him battle, and found him out upon the borders at the River *Scutannia*. Here they engaged in Battle with this ſucceſs that eight thouſand of the *Romans* were ſlain and all the reſt fled: a Deſeat of ſuch confequence that it put an end to all Wars betwixt the Kings of the *Lombards* and the Exarchs, till the time of *Luitprand*. The chief Inhabitants about *Opitergium* having loſt their Dwellings and Eſtates, imitated the ancient *Veneri* and betook themſelves to the *Aſtuari* of the Sea, and at the mouth of the River *Planis* built them a City, which after the Emperour's name they called *Heraclia*. Certain Countrey-men with their Cattel followed them, and becauſe they could not all be contained within the Walls of the new City, built themſelves a Town alſo which they named *Egnilum*. About this time *Iſaacus* the Exarch, having happily ſuppreſſed a Sedition raiſed at *Rome* by one *Mauritius* a Chantry againſt him, died ſuddenly. The year following, his Death being known at *Conſtantinople*, *Conſtans* the Nephew of *Heraclius*, who having driven away *Heraclionas*, was owned Emperour by the Senate, ſent *Theodorus Calliopa* his Exarch into *Italy*.

21. Now arrived the ſeventy ſixth year from the Entrance of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, who all this while being more intent upon matters relating to War than Peace, and ſo concerned in ſecuring their publick Eſtate from their Neighbours without, that they ſcarcely had time to contend amongſt themſelves about private Interests, had never been governed by any written Laws but only by Cuſtome and ſuch Rules as were kept in memory and defended by Tradition. But now having Peace abroad, as it ever happens, they became the more contentious at home, and eaſe and plenty made them quarrel and begat ſo many Suits that the former Cuſtomary Laws ſeeming inſufficient, *Rothari* applied himſelf to collect them in Writing, and adding to them many other Decrees to anſwer ſuch Cafes as they could not reach, he publiſhed them under the name of an Ediſt at *Pavia*, in the ſix hundred and forty third year of our Lord, with this Preface. "Here begins the Ediſt which I have renewed with my principal Judges, I in the name of God, King *Rothari*, the moſt Excellent Man, the Seventeenth King of the Nation of the *Lombards*, by the goodneſs of God, in the Eighth year of my Reign, and the thirty eighth of mine Age, the ſecond Indiction, and after the coming of the *Lombards* into the Province of *Italy*, ſince *Alboin* King at that time by Divine Clemency came, the ſeventy ſixth, happily, given at *Pavia* in the Palace.

"How great our care and anxiety is and hath been for our Subjects, that hitherto annexed

"annexed doth declare. Then he tells how he was moved to make theſe Laws "by the daily oppreſſions of the poor, and the inſolence of thoſe that had power "to afflict their Neighbours, that every one might live in peace and keep what "was his own without intrenching upon others. He concludes with a Sanction "that theſe Laws and no others ſhould be in force, always ſaved and reſerved a "power to himſelf to add thereto ſuch as by himſelf, or by ancient Men could "be called to mind. He commands that ſuch Cauſes as were already ended "ſhould not be called again in queſtion; but ſuch as were not yet decided, or "from that preſent twenty ſecond day of *November* ſhould take their riſe, ſhould "be ordered and determined according to this Ediſt. And this he commands in "general, that no advantage be taken by reaſon of any fault of the Writer, and to "prevent all inconveniences of that nature, credit ſhould not be given to any other Copies but ſuch as ſhould be written, approved or reſealed by *Anſuald* his "Notary, who had ſufficient licence and authority in that behalf.

22. Some five years after the publication of this Ediſt died *Aricbis* the Duke of *Beneventum*, after he had held the Dukedom fifty years, who left a Son, *Aio* by name, but he being a Man of a crazy Brain (*Paul* tells us by reaſon of a Potion given him by the *Romans* at *Pavia*) he commended to his *Lombards*, *Radoald* and *Grimoald* the Sons of the Duke of *Forum Julii*, who, as we ſaid, had fled to him, and now were in the flower of their Age, affirming it were better for them that they governed than *Aio*. Yet *Aio* ſucceeded his Father in the Government of the *Sannites*, as *Paul* calls them, and the other two obeyed him in all things as their elder Brother and their Lord. The following year the *Saracens* and the *ſclavi* invaded *Italy*. The *Saracens* came from *Africa*, who having much haraſſed the Iſland of *Sicily* led away multitudes of Captives. The *ſclavi* from *Dalmatia*, on which they had feized, paſſed over to *Syponthus* and waſted *Apulia*, where they camped themſelves; and about their Camp digged Ditches, which they covered over with light Earth as if it had been firm Ground. *Aio* hearing of their Invaſion, with a party of Men, but without the knowledge of *Radoald* or *Grimoald* his Governours went out againſt them, and thinking to fall upon their Camp, he fell into one of the Ditches, and therein was overpowered and ſlain, after he had been Duke a year and five months. *Radoald* within a little time, hearing what had happened, gathers together a ſufficient power, and coming upon them more warily than the other had done, kills of them a great number, revenges the Death of *Aio*, and drives the reſt out of all the Dominions of the Dukedom, of which now he took the Title and the Protection. But he did not long enjoy the Honour, dying within leſs than two years, and left his Brother *Grimoald* his Succeſſor. The ſame year *Olympius* the Exarch having beaten the *Saracens* out of *Sicily* died of ſickneſs he had contracted by too much pains he had taken; which *Conſtans* the Emperour having underſtood, ſent for *Theodorus Calliopa* and ordered him once more to go *Exarch* into *Italy*. This was the ſame year that the *Saracens* took *Rhodes*, and caſt down the famous *Coloſſe* which was dedicated to the Sun, whereof we have already ſpoke: The ſix hundred and fifty ſixth year of our Lord.

23. In that which followed King *Rothari* died, after he had obtained much honour both for the Wars he had managed, and the Laws he had made; and left no Rodoaldus his Son his Succeſſor, a Man of a peaceable diſpoſition, making no Wars, but ſome religious Conteſts with the Orthodox Biſhops, being tainted, as his Father had been, with the *Arian* Hereſie. There is little or nothing memorable of him, but that after he had been King five years and ſeven days he was killed by a *Lombard* whoſe Wife he had debauched. He having left no Children, though *Paul* tells us he married *Gundiberg* the Daughter of *Agilulſ* and *Theodelind*, the Eſtates met about a new Election, and the choice fell upon *Aribert* (or *Aripert*) the Son of *Gundwald*, who was Brother to *Theodelind*. Neither is there any thing memorable of him, but that he built at *Pavia* the Oratory of St. *Saviour*, and died after he had reigned nine years, ſaith *Paul*, although *Sigonius* allows him not above five at moſt. He moſt imprudently divided his Kingdom betwixt his Sons, two young Men, *Bertarid* (or *Peribart*) and *Godebert*, or *Gundebert*, which gave occaſion to very great Commotions. *Bertarid* was to reign at *Milan*, and *Godebert* at *Pavia*. But the latter not content with the Part allotted him quarrelled with his Brother, and as in all ſuch ambitious practices is common from leſs to come to more, and at length nothing would ſaſtisfie him but the whole Kingdom; which though he himſelf by plain ſtrength could not compaiſ, yet by means of Friends he doubted not but at length to be poſſeſſed of the whole. He ſent *Garibald* the Duke of *Taurinum* to *Grimoald* the Duke of *Beneventum* to deſire

The Saracens
invade Italy.
And the ſclavi
do.

Olympius the
Exarch drives
the Saracens
out of Sicily
and dies.

King Rothari
dies, and Ro-
doald his Son
ſucceeds,

And Aribert
him,

Who divides
his Kingdom
betwixt his
two Sons.

Ann. Dom.
DCLXIII.

Seçt. 4.

Ar. inſulante.
Ar. Ei, inſula
ad ovi ſimili-
tudine. Sic
Grosius. Ea
autem of A-
ſque Inſula
eſt Euland na-
bis Inſula, ad
Ex Franci
cum Eau. c. 46.

A. D. 651.

Red mald, qui
ſui compoſ.

Ar-preb, ho-
noris copioſi.
Paulus Dia-
conus, l. 4. c. 53.
Brebi-reids, la-
re equitans.
Bert, Breib, et
Breed & no-
gave occaſion to
ſtrum Broad
idem. Reira
eſt equitans.
in Legibus.
Gode-brecht,
honorum copio-
ſus.
He oft.
Gund-brecht,
benevolentia
abundans.

Sect. 4. his help, and in case he would give him his utmost assistance, to offer him his own Sister to Wife. But the Ambassadors acted quite besides his Instructions, advising *Grimoald* to come himself, and to decide the Controversie betwixt the two Brothers, by making himself Monarch of the *Lombards*, being as to Age more ripe, as to Counsel more prudent, and as to Strength, of greater Interest than either of them.

24. *Grimoald* being a man of an active and ambitious temper could not but listen to him, and at length his ambition quite conquered other passions, so that he became a Competitor for the Kingdom, and to make himself a Title, with a very powerful Army marched toward *Pavia*, having appointed his Son *Romald* to be Duke of *Beneventum* in his stead. When he came to *Placentia* he sent *Garibald* before to declare his coming to *Godebert*, who consulting with *Garibald* about a fit place wherein to lodge *Grimoald*, he answered none was so fit as his own Palace for him, to whom he had promised his Sister. Accordingly *Grimoald* came and was received into the Court, but *Garibald* that was the evil Instrument betwixt them, perfwaded the King that he should not admit him to his presence without having put on privy Armour, and then *Grimoald* he told on the other side, that except he came well prepared *Godebert* had a design and would kill him, wearing privy Armour for that purpose. Accordingly the next day when they came to meet, *Grimoald* found the King armed, and thinking it was upon design, as he had been informed, drew his Sword and slew him in the place, which done he made himself Master of his whole Dominion and all his Treasures, though he left a young Son named *Reginbert*, whom his faithful Friends concealed and reserved, if it might be, to another time, *Grimoald* making no great inquisition after him because an Infant. *Bertarid* the other Brother, hearing how matters went, despaired of withstanding such an Adversary as *Grimoald*, and ran away from *Milan* to *Cacanus* the King of the *Avares*, leaving his Wife *Redelind* and *Cunibert* his young Son behind him, whom *Grimoald* banished to *Beneventum*. As for *Garibald* the Author of all these mischiefs such an end he had as he deserved. For there was one of the Family of *Godebert*, little in stature but a Man of extraordinary courage and resolution, who living in *Taurinum*, and hearing that he would come to Church on *Easter* Day, placed himself near the Font with a naked Sword under his Clothes, and as he came near the place, with all his might laid at him and slew him. He himself by the followers of *Garibald* was incompeled quickly and slain; but so he revenged the Death of *Godebert* his Lord. And with their two Lives *Paul* the Deacon concludes his fourth Book of the Gifts or Actions of the *Lombards*, to whom, as his Countrymen, he bears no small affection.

25. *Grimoald* having killed the one Brother, and driven the other with his Wife and Son into banishment married their Sister, and with great applause of the *Lombards* declared himself King; which done, he sent back his fortunate Army to *Beneventum*, retaining only the principal Officers to doe them honour. He did not doubt now to secure his Estate if he could but destroy *Bertarid* (or *Pertharid*) the other Brother, for which purpose he sent to *Cacanus*, or the King of the *Hunnes*, requiring him upon pain of his displeasure, and an absolute rupture betwixt the two Kingdoms, to banish him his Dominions. *Cacanus* not thinking fit to be at difference at this time with his Neighbour, commanded the poor Prince to quit his Territories, which he perceiving he must out of necessity doe, and that he could not promise himself wherever he should go any constant maintenance or effectual assistance, thought it most fit to goe to him who had the most notice of his coming. *Grimoald* was very joyfull to hear of it, and commanded an House to be furnished at *Pavia* every way fit for his Reception. But his Friends so much kindness as cast the Usurper into a very great fit of Jealousie, which wrought so far that he appointed him a Guard, and the next night intended to make an end of him. Now it wonderfully happened that *Bertarid* had notice of the Design, and such a sagacious Wit as that of *Unulf* to assist him, by whose advice he changed his Cloaths, and passing by the Sentinels, got over the River, and so taking in the Pastures such Horses as he could come by, with such Companions as *Unulf* had provided him, escaped to *Hagla*, thence to *Taurinum*, and at last into *France*; where when *Grimoald* heard that he was arrived, he fretted much, as at a thing which had happened quite contrary to his expectations. Yet was he so generous and incomparably mercifull withall, that he did not only not blame or quarrel with *Unulf*, but commended him highly for his constant fidelity to his Master, and gave

Rom-ald vel
Rum-ald,
Eama patens.

Regin-broth
vel Regin-
broth, Porita-
ris cognomen.
Regin & Regin
idem quod
Rein purus.

Grimoald kills
Godebert and
seizes on the
Kingdom.

Garibald de-
servedly slain.

Paulus Dia.
Lib. 5. c. 2.

Idem ibid.
c. 3. 4.

him and another of his Servants leave, either to stay or go to him as he should think convenient. The King of the *Franks*, to whom *Bertarid* made his application, was so touched with a sense of his affliction, that the Year following he sent a strong Army, to replace him in his former condition. *Grimoald* buckled himself to resistance, but perceiving he was too weak to grapple with such a Power, when strength would not doe, he used Craft, and thereby became Superior to his Enemies. He himself made as if he fled out of fear, but left his Camp well furnished with all Necessaries, especially Wine in great Quantity, by which bait he hoped to catch the inconsiderate *Franks*. And so he did, for they coming and finding no body there but so good cheer ready for them, instead of pursuing the Enemy fell on it, and when their Bellies and Heads were full, betook themselves to their rest. *Grimoald* having notice hereof, after the second Watch, when they were in a dead sleep, came upon them and made so great a slaughter, that he left very few of them alive, to carry home the News of the defeat.

26. The year following, *Conflans* the Emperour came into *Italy*, upon what account Opinions are various. Some, as we have already said, thought him with terrible Dreams and a frightfull Conscience, about his Brother whom he had murdered, driven from *Constantinople* to seek Diversion. Others believed he departed from that City out of hatred to the Inhabitants, who bore him no good will upon the account of Religion. And some, as *Anastasius* and *Paul*, were of opinion, that he came to drive the *Lombards* out of *Italy*. With a Fleet exceedingly well furnished he arrived at *Tarentum*, and thence led his Army to *Beneventum*, taking *Luceria* and several other Towns belonging to the *Lombards* in his way, and fate down before it, resolving to use all force and art imaginable, for storming of it. *Romald* the Son of *Grimoald* the King was now Duke thereof, who as soon as the Emperour approached, sent away to his Father *Sejwald* who had been his Governour, to let him know the great danger he was in; and now refusing to venture for the main chance, diverted the Besiegers, as he could, by frequent Sallies, and obviating their Stratagems and Designs. *Grimoald* receiving the News with all speed he could got an Army together, and with as much haste marched toward *Beneventum*, sending the Messenger back with News of his coming, who being near his Journeys end, fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, who brought him to the Emperours presence. *Conflans* demanding what he was and whence he came, he without concealing his business told him he was sent by the King to give his Son notice of his coming, which cast the Emperour into a mighty year, and caused him to treat about Peace with *Romald*, that before his Father's coming, he might get safe to *Naples*, for performing the conditions of which he received, *Gisa* the Sister of *Romald* as an Hostage. But to deceive him he commanded *Sejwald* to goe to the walls, and tell him nothing of his Father's approach, but on the contrary to affirm that he could not possibly give him any relief. He promised he would doe so, but coming to the walls and asking for *Romald*, he bad him be of good comfort, for his Father would shortly be with him, being that Night to encamp at the River *Sangius*, desiring him to be good to his Wife and Children, for these perfidious People would not suffer him to live. Accordingly the Emperour commanded his Head to be cut off, and with an Engine to be cast into the Town, where *Romald* caused it to be brought to him, and, having with Tears and Lamentations kissed it, to be decently buried.

27. *Conflans* having done this great feat, for fear of *Grimoald* his coming departed for *Naples*, and in his way received some loss by *Transmund* the Count of *Capua*, his falling on his Men, and taking them in a disadvantageous Posture. Whether to be revenged for this or for other reasons, *Saburrus* one of his Nobility desired he might have but twenty thousand Men, engaging with them to defeat *Grimoald*, of which the whole Court had so great apprehension. *Grimoald* being come to *Beneventum*, and having notice of this his undertaking, though he thought at first to have gone against him in Person, yet at his earnest desire sent *Romald* his Son, who met him at *Formia*, and gave him battle. For a long time the Success was doubtfull, till one *Aemilius* a *Lombard*, that carried the King's Spear, struck down a certain Greek from his Horse, and afterward taking him up on the Point of his Spear, held him aloft over his Head to the great Admiration of all the Beholders, and the Conternation of the Greeks, who presently began to run, and left an undoubted Victory to *Romald*. *Conflans* perceiving it labour in vain to meddle any more with the *Lombards*, that he might not seem to have come into *Italy* for nothing, resolved to goe and visit *Rome*. Both the Bishop and all the Citizens were glad to hear the News; it having been a long time since

Conflans the
Emperour comes into
Italy.

His men de-
feated.

Cap. 5.

C. 6. § 7.

Sejwaldus Si-
gnis, Sejal-
dus autem
Pauli. Siza-
wald, Sedum
potius. Sig-
niscum cum
Lingua Teu-
tonica signa-
tus, in pro-
prie nominis
suo saepe er-
rat.

Idem. c. 8.
Gisa contra-
tum ex Gisa-
broth (unde
Gibbert) co-
munitum copio-
sus.

Paulus, lib. 1.
cap. 9.
Transmundus
Signis, Paul-
us autem cum
vocat, Mitro-
lam Capua-
num Coniemi,
dictum cum
iuxta flumen
Caleris flumi-
nis in loco qui
dicitur sum offi-
dum Pugna
vocabatur eo-
bomener ex-
ercentium Con-
flans attri-
viffe.
Idem, ibid.
Cap. 10.
Arbitrio
capo ortus.
Cap. 11.

SecT. 4. since an Emperour had therein fet his foot, and they resolved to receive him with Extraordinary Honour. *Vitalianus* the Bishop with all his Clergy, and the Roman People met him at five Miles distance from the City, on the third day before the Nones of July in the sixth Indiction, and the six hundred and sixty third year of Our Lord. Having done his Devotions at the Churches, and visited all the places worthy of his Notice, after twelve days stay in the City; he departed and carried along with him all the brafs he could find, defacing many great Monuments of Antiquity, and the Majesty of Rome, and not obtaining from the very Coverings of Churches. From Rome by Land he went to Naples, and thence by Sea passed into Sicily. *Grimoald* to reward the service done by *Trasemund* the Duke of Capua, gave him his Daughter to Wife, and *Zotbo* the Duke of Spoleum dying, that Dukedom as a Portion, which done he returned back to his House at Pavia.

28. During his Absence *Lupus* the Duke of *Forum Julii*, had plaid many pranks which were not to be passed over in silence. Into the Territories of the *Venetii*, he marched with a Party of Horse, and plundered the Church of *Aquileia*, with the wealth of which not contenting himself, being left by *Grimoald* in Pavia, he committed there many outrageous Enormities, verily believing that the King would never return alive from the Expedition. But hearing that he returned with a kind of triumph, he durst not abide his coming, but flying to *Forum Julii*, there he revolted and renounced his Allegiance to *Grimoald*, who being highly incensed against him resolved to reduce by force, and punish him, but unwilling in the least to bring his Lombards acquainted with Civil wars, he hired *Cacanus* the Hunn to come upon him, who accordingly the following year with an infinite Multitude invaded his Territories, and wasted all far and wide with an hostile Courage. *Lupus* was not yet backward to defend his People, but with such Forces as he could make opposed himself, and that with such strange Success, that fighting four days together, *Cacanus* at first received more loss, than he brought damage to the Lombards. But at this incensed, as at the greatest Infamy, with all Violence and better Conduct he set upon them again, and not only defeated them, but killed *Lupus* in the Battel. Accounting now all his own he overran the Countrey, and wasted all parts of it at his pleasure, till *Grimoald* being made to understand it sent to him, and putting him in mind of their former Covenant, admonished him, his work being now done, to draw his Forces out of the Duchy of *Forum Julii*: *Cacanus* answered plainly, that he would not so quit a Countrey, which he had obtained by Arms, and with so much blood of his followers, with which answer *Grimoald* was highly offended, and got together as good an Army as he could, but nothing to be compared for Numbers to that of his Adversary. Being therefore so inferior in Numbers, he invented a way how to have his Forces represented to the Hunnish King far more numerous than they were. The Ambassadors of *Cacanus*, being present when he mustered his Souldiers, he caused them the next day to change their Cloaths, and so he did twice or thrice, which made the Ambassadors fully believe they were thrice as many as indeed they were, and they reporting it to their Master out of fear, he retreated into his own Kingdom. *Lupus* being slain, *Warnefrid* his Son by the assistance of the *Scelavi*, sought to obtain the Possession of his Fathers Dukedom, but by the procurement of *Grimoald* was overpowered and slain. He then made one *Weclari* Duke of *Forum Julii*, and married *Theodorata* the Daughter of *Lupus* to his Son *Romuald*.

29. *Grimoald* being now at his ease, thought it time to animadvert upon those who in Expectation of a Change, had forsaken him in his march against the Emperour *Constant*. A Town called *Forum Popilii* belonging to the Romans, he depopulated because the Inhabitants had been very troublesome to his Men, during the War in their passing, and repassing to. *Beneventum*. Pretending an Expedition another way in the time of Lent he passed over the Hill *Bardo* into *Treviso*, and on a sudden, when none expected it from the *Apenine*, fell down upon it on Easter Eve; at such time as they were busie in baptizing Children, and filled the City with such slaughter, that the very Deacons, that ministered at the Sacrament, were not spared. After this remembering how his two Brothers *Tato* and *Caco* had been circumvented and basely killed at *Opiroergium*, he destroyed it also for Company. Two Years after *Alcego* the Duke of the *Bulgari* came with many Followers; but peaceably into Italy, and desired of *Grimoald* some grounds to inhabit, which request the King granted, assigning them the Towns *Sepia*, *Bonianum* and *Assernia*, which at this time were not inhabited in the Duchy of *Beneventum*, and commanded his Son to admit him as * *Gassald*, or the Count of them. The year follow-

A. D. 663.

Paulus quas. i. d. Cap. 16. Lupus, Lupus in co. cas. aliam.

Lupus revol. Cap. 18.

Cap. 19.

Cap. 20.

Paulus Dia. lib. 5. c. 21. Warnefrid, c. 22. Paulus Dia. lib. 5. c. 21. Warnefrid, c. 22. Paulus Dia. lib. 5. c. 21. Warnefrid, c. 22.

C. 26, 27, 28.

Cap. 29. * Gassald ex- mutur qui cursum gi- bernat, propriè pofuit, qui vicem gerit. Cui & Ge aug- menta sunt & pri Dialectis vocantur. Alii eam habent in Gassaldus.

De Duce Gaf- saldionem voca- tur pceptis. Eui apud in- die in huius diximus loci habitant;

ing *Grimoald* kept himself at home, and applied his mind to the fitting of Laws to the wants and temper of the People, to which purpose he revised the Edict of *Rotheari* formerly mentioned, repealing some things, and adding many, which his Judges suggested to him to be both wanting, and necessary for the Administration of Justice. The Year that followed was *Constantine* the Emperour slain in the Month of July, and *Constantine* his Son continued his Reign as he had begun. *Grimoald* lived some three years after him, and then died after this manner. He had been let blood, and nine days after going to bend a bow to shoot at a Pigeon, three Veins in his Arm broke, and, as was reported, his Physicians applied some poisonous Plaster to the Sore, and so made an end of him; after he had reigned nine Years, as *Paul* the Deacon writes, but *Sigonius* begins his Reign in the fix hundred and sixty first Year of Our Lord, and ends it not till the seventy second. He was a Man of very strong Constitution of Body, and had an Head as well furnished.

30. He left a Son by the Daughter of *Aribert*, named *Garibald*, who was very young. At the same time *Berardus* was making a Journey from France into Britain, to visit the Saxon Kings. He had scarcely put off to Sea, when a Voice was heard from Land which asked for him, and advised him to return home, for *Grimoald* had been dead three days. Returning with speed to the shore, the Person that spake it could not be found; he therefore interpreted it as a Voice from Heaven, and presently put himself upon his Journey. And his Expectation deceived him not, for when he came to the Alps, he found there the Guards, and all the Officers of the Court ready to receive him, whither he hastened with a cheerful mind, and deposing the Boy *Garibald*, in the third Month after the death of his Father, with the great Joy and Expectation of the Lombards, he reassumed his Royal Estate, and called back his Wife *Rodelinde*, and his Son *Cunibert* from *Beneventum*, where they lay in Exile. Having reigned above seven Years, in his eighth he made *Cunibert* his Partner in the Kingdom, and with him reigned ten more, if *Paul* our Historian be in the right. Many years they lived in great tranquillity, and the State prospered; till at length their Quiet was interrupted by *Alachis* the Duke of *Tridentum* or *Trent*, who having overmastered the Count of the *Baiaarii*, was so puffed up with his Success, that deposing the King he fortified his City all manner of ways against him. *Berardus* hereupon, with what forces he could get together, besieged him in *Trent*, but he made so violent a fallly out against him, as obliged him to break up his siege, and after great loss of Men to fly away for his Life. Notwithstanding this yet *Cunibert*, having had great Friendship and Familiarity with him from his youth, persuaded his Father to pardon and receive him into favour, and so true was he to the sacred Rights of Friendship, that when *Berardus* several times contrived his Ruine, yet still he diverted the Execution, nay hoping still he would at last be faithfull, and with intention to conquer him by kindness, he persuaded him to make him Duke of *Brixia*; although the old King bid him still take heed what he did, and told him he did not so much by these good Offices oblige to him a Friend, as strengthen an Enemy to his own destruction, for he would by the fresh help and assistance of the *Brixians* (who made a powerful Interest among the Lombards) at length pull for the Kingdom itself. About this time one *Gobm* was sent to succeed *Theodore* in the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and some three years after *Berardus*, the old King of the Lombards, died, a Prince to be commended for his Piety towards God, his Justice towards his Subjects, and his Charity to the Poor.

Berardus dies.

Cuniberi his Son King.

Alachis rebels.

31. *Cuniberi* his Son then continued his Reign, having married *Hermlinda* a Lady of the Stock of the *Anglo-saxons*. No sooner almost was his Father dead, but he found how true a Prophet he had been in the Case of *Alachis*, who in return to all his kindness, and more than Brotherly-love, plotted how to deprive him of his Kingdom, and get the Crown upon his own Head. Having drawn into the Conspiracy two Brothers *Aldo* and *Grafno*, the most considerable Citizens of *Brixia*, and several other Lombards, he watched his time when the King was absent, and contrary to his Oath of Fidelity seized on his Palace in Pavia, which done he took upon him the Royal Title. *Cuniberi* having notice of this Treason, and altogether unprovided, as having never expected any such thing, went and fortified himself as well as he could in the Island *Comacina*, in the Lake *Larium*. In the mean time the Tyrant carries himself as he had begun, and hurried by his own Inclinations, never considered how it behoved him by a fair demeanour, to keep what he had already obtained. To the Churchmen he carried himself with great pride and severity, and could not conceal his Tyrannical and Ingratefull

H 2

Humour,

SecT. 4. quoniam & laudat loquuti- cur proprie ta- rum usum minime onferunt. Sic Paulus. Menfe Julio, Anno Regni 6. Indictione 11. A. D. 663. Paulus, lib. 5. cap. 33. A. D. DCLXXII.

Rode-linde, quies tran- quilla. Cun-beret, A- nimis aban- dans, f. Gro- sium. Cun autem & Kenne scienti- am decessit. Inde Cun-beret interpre- tari passit Sci- entia avan- dans. Hic dum Dux esset in Tri- dentina civi- tate, cum Co- mite Baiaario- rum, quem illi Gravationem di- cimus, qui Baia- xum & Re- ligia castella regibus con- flicta, etiamque mirifica super- rovi. Paulus Dia- conum, lib. 5. c. 36.

Paulus Dia- conum, lib. 5. c. 38.

4. Humour, toward those that had been the Authours of his Advancement. On a time as he was telling Money in his Palace, the Son of *Aldo* happened to be there, and a piece falling down upon the Table, took it up and officiously gave it to him. He imagining the Child could not understand his meaning, said to him, thy Father hath many such as this, which if it please God, he shall e'er long give to me. But the Boy at his Return home told this, and other passages to his Father, from which *Aldo* concluded he had been grossly mistaken in his measures, and that if he did not by some speedy Act prevent it, death and the Ruine of his Family should be the Reward of all his Services to the Tyrant. Having communicated his thoughts with *Gransfo* his Brother, and others of his Friends, they thought fit to perwade *Alachis* to go out to hunt, and take his pleasure in the Forest, promising they would keep the City of *Pavia* for him, and moreover at his Return, present him with the Head of *Cunibert* that drunken Sor.

32. he was perswaded, and out he went to recreate himself in the Forest, while that he did, *Aldo* and his Brother repaired to *Cunibert* in the Island. Falling at his Feet they bewailed their Crime and Misfortune together, and begging his pardon, agreed on a day whereon to put *Pavia* again into his Hands. This they performed to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Inhabitants, the Clergy especially, and to the as great dissatisfaction of *Alachis*, who after he had spent the heat of his Rage against *Aldo*, went into *Uffria* to raise Forces. Several Cities, some by persuasions, and others by force, he brought to join with him and the Army of *Forum Julii*, which was marching to the Assistance of *Cunibert*, by a strange way he diverted from their purpose, for, standing at a Bridge they were to pass, lying over the River *Liquentia*, as they marched stragling one from another, he forced them to swear Fidelity to him, and then kept every one from returning to his Companions to tell them the cheats, and give them notice of whom to beware. Not long after having got together a considerable Power, he moved against *Cunibert*, and they incamped the one against the other in the Fields of *Coronata*, where *Cunibert* sent and challenged *Alichis* to a single Combat, to save the Lives of so many which else of necessity must be destroyed. But *Alachis* remembering his Strength and Courage, when they were young together refused the offer, though he was also solicited to it by one of his followers, who upon his refusal declining to serve such a Master, forsook him, and went over to his Enemy. The two Armies then being to decide the Controversie, when *Cunibert* was about to charge, *Zeno* a Deacon of the Church at *Pavia*, bearing him great affection, and afraid he should miscarry, came to him, told him all their Safety consisted in his, and that if he perished in the Battel, the Tyrant would by divers ways of Torment put them to death, therefore he prayed him to give him leave to put on his Armour to counter-reit his Person, and to goe for him: if so be he perished the loss would not be great, and if he lived the thing would redound unto his Honour, having by his Servant obtained the Victory.

33. The King very earnestly refused, but overcome by the Prayers and Tears of several of the By-landers, at length yielded, and *Zeno* being much of his height and shape, when he had put on his Armour, he could not be known from *Cunibert* himself. The Battel was fought with great Animosity on both sides, and *Alachis* bending all his malice, and the utmost force he could make toward the Wing, where, as he imagined, *Cunibert* stood, came up with and engaged his disguised Adversary, whom but little skilld in such affairs he flew, and in great jollity and triumph commanded his Head to be cut off, and fet upon the Point of a Spear, that the Soldiers on both sides might perceive it. But when he came to take off his Head, the Head of a Clerk not that of a King appeared, wherat he was much amazed, and from his amazement fell into a great passion against all Churchmen vowing in cafe he got the Victory, he would fill a Pit with their Testicles. In the mean time *Cunibert*, perceiving his Men much dejected at the Report of his death, and that they began to fly, shewed himself to them, and revived their Spirits to such a measure, that they were ready and cheerful for a second engagement ; when *Cunibert* again sent to *Alachis*, and to avoid the Effusion of Blood, once more offered to decide the Quarrel by a Duel. But he refused, joyned battel the second time, and therein was slain, and with him most of his followers ; such of them as escaped, being swallowed up by the floods of the River *Adua*. The Army of the Dutchy of *Forum Julii*, was not at the Battel, for having sworn to *Alachis*, and yet it being against their Conferences to fight for him, they neither assisted the one nor the other, but when they came to engage, departed home. *Alachis* being thus slain, King *Cunibert* in triumph returned to *Pavia*, and having

CHAP. I. *with the Constantinopolitan Rom. Empire.* { Cunibert, Ragnbert.

having made a sumptuous Funeral for *Zeno* the Deacon, reigned with all Prosperity, Justice and Moderation. In the Field of *Coronata* where the Battel was fought, he built a Monastery to St. *George*.

34. About two years after *Romaold* the Duke of *Beneventum*, for what cause is uncertain, invaded *Calabria* belonging to the Emperour, and being without any considerable Fortification or Defence he took *Tarentum*, *Brundisium* and the whole Country round about, and not long after died, when he had Governed sixteen years, and left his Dukedom much enlarged to his Son *Grimoald*, who held it for three years longer, having married *Wigilinda* the Sister of *Cunibert*, and Daughter of King *Bertarid*. After the Death of *Grimoald*, *Gafulf* his Brother was Duke, and held the place seventeen years, whose Wife was *Winiberta* the Mother of *Romaold* his Son. But much about the same time that *Romaold* invaded the Territories of the Emperour great stirrs happened in the Dukedom of *Forum Julij*; where *Rodoald* had succeeded *Landar*, as he did *Weclari*, who was made Duke by King *Grimoald* as we said before. In the absence of *Rodoald* from the City one *Ansfrid*, from a certain Cattle called *Reunia*, seized on the Government and Title of Duke without any Warrant or Authority from the King. *Rodoald* in much trouble at the Report, departed into *Alfria*, and thence Sailing to *Ravenna*, he so came to *Pavia* to *Cunibert*, who shortly had Intelligence that *Ansfrid* intended to be his Rival also for the Kingdom; but as he was making preparations for so great an Enterprize, he was taken at *Verona*, and being brought before the King, was deprived of his sight, and so banished. Then was *Aldo* the Brother of *Rodoald* made Duke of *Forum Julij*, and held it seven years, as *Sigonius* gathers from some other circumstances, though *Paul* the Historian writes that he Governed by the Name of Preservator or Protector of the place but for one year and seven months. Such prosperity had *Cunibert* during his Life, which lasted twelve years after that of his Father. He was a man very eminent for his neatness and goodness, and no less remarkable for his courage and dexterity in War.

35. His Succellour he appointed his Son *Liutbert*, and becaufe he was young, left one *Alprand* a man of great Nobility and Widfome to be his Governour, who held the place and managed it with great fincerity for the fpace of eight months. Then did *Godebert* his Son, *Ragunbert* by Name, whom when *Grimold* flew him he left young, and who now was Duke of *Tarinum*, thinking he had good opportunity prebent by the Infancy of *Liutbert*, fet up for himfelf, and defeating *Alprand* and his Affociates in battel, obtained the Sovereignty. During his administration of affairs, *Gisulf* the Duke of *Beneventum* with a ftrong Army invaded *Campania*; which wafting with Fire and Sword, he took thence great numbers both of Cattel and Captives, and proceeded fo far that *John* the Bifhop of *Rome* was forely frighted, and knowing the City was not ftrong enough to make any refiftance, herfelf himfelf to intreaties, and he and his Clergye goinge out to meet

him, prevailed with him to return back and dismiss his Prisoners. *Rognbert* died within the year, and was succeeded by his Son *Arikeri*, who more effectually profecuted his Interest, than did his Father. He renewed the War with *Liutheri*, who had by this time got a very strong Party, for not only *Asprand* but *Otto*, *Taco*, *Faro*, and *Rotharitz* Duke of *Bergumum* joyned with him. But all these he defeated in one battel at *Pavia*, *Liutheri* he took Prisoner, *Asprand* and *Rotharitz* fled, the one to the Island *Comacina*. and the other to his City of *Bergamum*, whither *Arikeri* pursued him, and having taken *Landis* a Town in the Territories, laid Siege to the City, and using all violent courtes, at last took it by storm, and therein *Rotharitz*, who by this time had assumed the Title of King. Having caused his Head and Beard to be shaven, he sent him away to *Taurinum*, where not long after he was killed the Year 1690. whereupon *Arvaldus* was created

long after he was killed by the King's Châliains, who afterwards executed *Caeca Liutbert* his young Competitor to be rifled in a Bath. Then sent he his Army to *Comacina* against *Asprand*, who having timely notice, got him thence to *Ravenna*, and escaped to *Theudebert* the Duke of the *Baioarii*, with whom he continued nine years. But the Army of *Aribert* took the Island, and *Asprand* being escaped he ragged cruelly against his Relations; he pulled out the Eyes of his Son *Sigibrand*. His Wife *Theuderada* by name, who in her womanish tattle had given out the should one day be a Queen, he disgrud' by cutting off her Nose and her Ears, and dealt with *Aurora* her Daughter in like manner. Onely *Luithrand* his youngest Son, because he was a child, he spared and suffered him to go to his Father, Providence, as *Paul* the Historian observes, preserving him for great things in time to come.

36. Aldo

Sect. 4.

Austria and
Neustria
what.Sits amongst
the Lombards.

"and love of God have appeared good to us, and therewith we are pleased. The Style is so difficult that hardly can it be brought to correspond with the *Englisb* Idiom; but the Reader may take notice that this was the third Edition of the Laws of the *Lombards*, whereof we must speak more anon; we may observe also the Titles these Kings took, and that even in *Italy*, there was *Austria* and *Neustria*, as well as in *France* and in *Pannonia*, Parts of the Kingdom so called in reference to their Situation. For the word *Osttrick*, which in Latin they barbarously, as I may say, turned into *Austria* and *Austrasia*, to those *Teutonic* People signified the *Eastern Kingdom* or Dominion. So was the Kingdom of the *Mediomatices* called by the *Franks*, and *Pannonia* by the *Germans*, part of which still, and that alone, retains the Name of *Austria*. In like manner *Wesstrick* or *Westreck*, they changed into *Neustria*, it signifying the *Western Dominion* in opposition to the *Eastern*. From their Situation some were called *Astij*, East with us, and those that so called them being the same with what others pronounced *Oest*. The *Nortmauni*, *Northendi*, *Alpes Noricae*, and *Norici* the People, from their Northern Situation had their Names.

40. For the space of about three years we hear little more concerning *Liutprand*, whom we may conclude intent upon the Laws, and such farther Reformati- ons attended to the well being of his Subjects. But in the fifth year of his Reign, noise enough was made in *Campania* by the Duke of *Beneventum*, who by a Wife got *Cuma* into his hands. Those of *Rome* were highly concerned at it, and the Bishop dealt with him both by fair words and money to restore it, and when that would not do, thundred against him by excommunication. But this also he despised, whereupon the Bishop was forced to betake himself to the Secular hand, procuring *John* the Duke of *Naples* to set upon it by night, which he did, and surprising it, killed therein three hundred Lombards with their *Gaskald*, and took Prisoners more than five hundred which he led away to *Naples*, and sold the Town to the Bishop for seventy Pounds of Gold, as had been agreed. The year that followed *Faroald* the Duke of *Spoleum* took *Narnia* by cunning from the *Romans*, and pretending a Journey to the King surprized *Clasfis*, another Town belonging to *Ravenna*; but he was commanded by *Liutprand* to restore them both. Though the King did not, his own Son *Trafemund* punished him for his temerity, deposing him shortly after, and compelling him to take Orders that he might have his place. About the same time the *Slavi* made another Irruption into the Territories of *Forum Julij*, called *Lauria*, where *Pemmo* the Duke set upon them, and with loss but of one old man, *Sigwald* by name, who in a former Fight betwixt them and *Ferdulf* had lost two Sons. Once and again he had done great Execution upon them, and now the third time, though his Captain and other Lombards forbade him, yet would he not be kept from speaking openly to the *Slavi*: Now I have sufficiently revenged the Death of my Sons, if Death should come I should cheerfully undergo it. And accordingly it came to pass; for he was the only man that died in the Fight; *Pemmo* having slain many Enemies, and unwilling to lose any more of his own men, made Peace with the *Slavi* in the same place. And from this time forward they began more to stand in awe of the Arms of *Forum Julij*.

41. Now for many years had the Kings and Kingdom of the Lombards been in peace, except some petty broils betwixt them and their nearest Neighbours, or that they contended one with another. The Exarchs and they had since the time of *Rothari*, maintained a very good correspondence together, the *Romans* and *Lombards*, though Neighbours, perfectly agreeing. But now was this Kingdom at the highest pitch allotted for it, and upon the brink of prosperity, which never continues but changes most commonly to the other extreme. Wealth and Ease had made the King and the Subject both confident and overweening, those ever thinking they have the greatest strength, who never made any trial of it; yet did they think their present condition mean in comparison of what they were in capacity to attain, and therefore they must up and be doing, and involved themselves in such a War as defending to their Successors, at length procured the ruine of their Name and Dominion. *Liutprand* having prepared all things beforehand for so great an enterprize, Invades the Exarchate on a sudden, and lays Siege to *Ravenna* the seat of the Governour. *Paul* who at present by favour of *Leo* the Emperour held that place, we are told by *Sigonius*, was very much surprized, as from the highest prosperity being on a sudden cast into the greatest difficulty. But there was no such cause of his being surprized, if we consider but what the same Author had related but a little before, he tells us in many words

A. D. 718.
Paulus Diaconus
mus. lib. 3. c. 44.Troft-Mund,
consulans Or.
Draffemunt in
Vocab. Ab-
bas. Et Titus.
Lamont, con-
trafle Titus,
Thursio, lib.

that *Leo* the Emperour being at odds with *Gregory* the *Roman* Bishop, upon the account of Images took several Courses to make him away, and for that purpose sent *Paul*, as Exarch into *Italy*, who having once attempted it, but to no purpose, the Emperour the following year sent him a Message, that if he could not kill, yet he should remove him from his Office and put another in his Room. *Paul* thus importuned by his Master, and bearing himself hatred to *Gregory*, because he had forbidden the Tribute to be paid which he had laid upon the Churches, sent one *Maricinus* the *Spatharius* of *Leo*, and whom he had made Duke of *Rome*, to that City with order to lay hold on the Bishop, and commit him to Custody. But matters were not so privately carried but that the Bishop, whose Power and Interest now began to be mighty in *Italy*, had notice of it. Therefore he hires the Lombards out of the Dukedom of *Spoleum* and *Tuscia* for great Rewards, to stop the passage of the Exarch's Army. They with much Alacrity marching to the City possessed themselves of the Bridges *Salarius* and *Milvius*, and opposing themselves to the Forces of *Ravenna*, not only hindered them from returning to *Rome*, but constrained them and their Leader to return back to their own City.

42. This happened but the year before the Siege of *Ravenna*, and therefore whether the Exarch had reason to be surprized, or rather ought not to have expected some such matter, and whether the Bishop of *Rome*, who had already joy- ned the Lombards with him, was not concerned, we leave the Reader to judge. However *Paul*, whether aware or not of Hostility from the Lombards, most gallantly demeaned himself in the keeping of *Ravenna*, shewing himself ready to undergo any thing rather than to yield up the place; inasmuch that *Liutprand* despairing to do any good, broke up his siege and departed to *Clasfis*, which being but slenderly provided he easily took, and having plundered it, laid it level with the Earth. But upon the Report of what had happened to *Clasfis*, the Citizens of *Ravenna* began to be very fearful and dejected as if their turn was not far off; which being understood by *Liutprand*, their fear became his confidence, and he drew back his Army to the City, which having had some taste of the fruits of Conquest, he thought now would fall upon it with more Alacrity. And so it proved, for they tired out by their frequent Assaults both the Garrison Soldiers and the Townsmen, which when *Paul* perceived, and despairing of receiving any Succours from abroad, he left the Town to the Discretion of the Inhabitants. The Besiegers having notice of his flight, knew it a fit time to renew their Violence, and with little more trouble carried the Place, which *Liutprand* permitted his Soldiers to plunder. And here they got plunder enough, wealth sufficient to glut their minds, and take off their edge from any farther adventures, contrary to the true Policy of a Captain, who ought to use his Men in this case as Huntmen deal with their Hounds, to give them such a taste of the Prey as to stir up their Appetites, and make them more eager after the game, but not to fill them and make them lazie. This City being the seat of the Exarch, of Kings, Emperours and great Prelates, abounded with all Riches imaginable. *Liutprand* spoiled it of many rare Monuments of Antiquity, amongst which the most remarkable was a brazen Statue of an Emperour on Horseback, a Piece of admirable Contrivance and Workmanship, which he caused to be translated to *Pavia*, where it remains, and by its rareness something comforts the Citizens, for the decay of the Glory of that Place.

43. *Ravenna* being taken, most of the Cities of the Exarchate presently yielded, and from an Exarchate it was changed into a Duchy, over which was set *Hilprand* the King's Nephew, who because he was young, *Peredeus* a Duke was made his Governour. *Paul* the Exarch thus ousted of *Ravenna*, betook himself to the *Venetians* at *Heraclia*, where he implored the Assistance of *Zrjus* the Duke. This while *Gregory*, the *Roman* Bishop, was a Looker on, after he had set the Lombards and *Paul* together by the Ears about his business. He had a design to chastise the Exarch, but not to encrease the Power and Dominion of the Lombards; his spleen excited him against the Emperour, and his Interest caused him to wish that both sides were more weakened and humbled, that his own Authority already in a fair way, might make the greater progress in *Italy*. *Liutprand* had made such a progress in the war as made him tremble, and he perceived it was high time to stop it to the Carrière of his good Fortunes. He writes his Letters to *Zrjus*, the Duke of the *Venetians*, exhorting him to give aid to the said *Paul*, and now quite alters his style, making those he black who formerly were white, and him white whom before he could not enough tax and load with opprobrious Language. He tells him that by reason of sin the City of *Ravenna*, which was the Head of many Churches, was taken by the wicked Nation of the Lombards, and his worthy Son the

Sect. 4.
Vide Sigon. de
Regno Italiae.
lib. 3. Pp. 99.
et 100.Hilprand et
in vocab. Al-
temanico Hil-
drand, Exi-
mit forcut.Extant litera
ad Sigoni-
um apud Sigon.
P. 101.The Exar-
chate of Ra-
venna turned
into a Duke-
dom.The Bishop of
Rome, jealous
of the grow-
ing Power of
Liutprand,
turns against
him.Liutprand in-
vades the Ex-
archate.

Sect. 4. Lord Exarch, as he understands makes his abode at *Venice*, therefore tells him that he ought to stand by him and with him in his fleet, that the City of *Ravenna* might be restored to the ancient Estate, and the Imperial service of the Lords his Sons *Leo* and *Constantine* the Great, Emperours, and that for the Love of their Holy Faith.

44. The *Venetians* had good reason to be concerned also at the growth of so potent a Neighbour, and therefore the better to balance him, resolved to give their utmost assistance to *Paul*, rigging up a Fleet under pretence of fighting against the *Saracens*, at the Instance of the Emperour. *Paul* having sped at *Venice* according to his Wishes, yet as having been repelled, gathered together some Forces, and made as if he would besiege *Imola*, and under this pretence increasing his Army as much as he possibly could, removed on a certain day appointed betwixt him and the *Venetians*, and laid siege to *Ravenna* by Land, the *Venetian* Fleet doing the same by Sea almost at the same instant. *Hildebrand* and *Peredes* though exceedingly surprized, yet forced all that were able to bear Arms to the walls, where they behaved themselves with much resolution; but while they fought stoutly on the Land-side against *Paul*, the *Venetians* broke open the Water-gate and got into the City. The Defendants having notice made stout opposition here also, and a terrible Fight followed; till *Paul* coming about to the Assistance of his Friends decided the Controversie, and took the Town. *Peredes* was slain, and *Hildebrand* fell alive into the Hands of the *Venetians*, who having thus gallantly demeaned themselves, departed home, before such time as *Liutprand*, having received Intelligence, could move from *Pavia*. Not long after this, *Leo* the Emperour, and *Gregory* the Bishop of *Rome* falling out about the Worship of Images, the Bishop excommunicated the Prince, absolved all his Subjects of *Italy* from their Allegiance, and commanded them neither to pay him Tribute nor any other Testimony of Duty or Allegiance. Hereupon the *Romans*, *Campanians*, and those of *Ravenna* and *Pentapolis* revolted, and rising in great Tumults laid violent hands upon their Governours. *Paul* the Exarch was killed at *Ravenna*, *Peter* the Duke of *Rome* had his Eyes put out, and in *Campania* the Duke *Exilbaratus* was with his Son *Hadrian* slain by the *Romans*, who were sent thither for that purpose.

Ravenna recovered by the Exarch.

The Bishop excommunicates the Emperour. *Paul* is killed. Great Rebellions.

Peredes, laid patents legiti.

A. D. 757.

Eutychius the new Exarch excommunicated.

The Exarch and the Lombards join and besiege *Rome*.

45. The year following *Liutprand*, taking advantage of these Tumults, made war upon some places of *Amelia*, betwixt *Imola* and *Mutina*, which hitherto had been untouched by the *Lombards*. He easily made himself Master of *Monshellus*, *Peronianum*, *Buxetum* and *Perfictum*, and at length of *Bononia* also, a Town built by the *Etrusci* when they possessed the Region on this side the *Apennines*, afterward the Seat of the *Galli Boii*, and then made a *Latine* Colony by the *Romans*, from whom it was taken by the *Goths*, then recovered, and now at length conquered by the *Lombards*. Thus far *Liutprand* having prospered as he could desire, passed by the Dominion of *Ravenna* and fell upon *Pentapolis*, which he overran from *Ariminum*, as far as *Auximum* without any resistance; and at length made a stop at *Vicus Pileus* for settling the Government of it, whither the Cities appointed their several Deputies to repair, but as they were on their way, a Party of *Roman* Souldiers light upon them, and cut them off every man. The Rumour of the Revolt in *Italy* coming to the Emperour's Ears, was received with suitable regret, and he ordered *Eutychius* a Patritian, to go thither as his Exarch, with Instructions how to punish the chief Authors and Contrivers of it; which going about, he was also stricken with the Thunder-bolt of Excommunication by *Gregory*. This did the more incense him, for that having easily reduced *Ravenna* to the Emperour's obedience, he drew the *Lombards* to his Party, who the Year following took *Sutrium* by some Arts from the Church, for so we must call it now, *Gregory* having procured the *Romans* to renounce their Obedience to their Sovereign, and swear Obedience to him and his Successors; whereby *Rome* and the *Roman* Dukedom became transferred upon the *Roman* Prelates; of which more, in a more proper place. *Gregory* again got *Sutrium* out of their hands, but *Eutychius* made a stronger League with *Liutprand*, from whom *Trafemund* the Duke of *Spoleum* having revolted, they covenanted, as well to suppress him as *Gregory*, and reduce the Rebels to their former duty owing to their several Lords. Falling first upon *Trafemund* he submitted himself, knowing he was not able to bear up against the Shock, so that the whole world now was with *Rome*, which they closely besieged. *Gregory* found himself in the same condition as to resistance, and therefore resolved to take the same course to rid himself of the danger impending. He went out of the City to *Liutprand*, to whom he used many flattering words, telling him he did this for his sake, upon the account of his Eminent Piety, whereas had *Leo's* Army alone besieged the City,

The siege raised. City, he would not have stirred one foot out of it. He spake vehemently against the Emperour, and propounded to the King the Example of *Attila* a furious *Barbarian*, who by the desires of a *Roman* Bishop, was diverted from *Rome*. He spake so effectually, that he not only procured *Liutprand* to break up the Siege, but made a seeming agreement and friendship betwixt him and the Exarch.

Friendship betwixt *Charles Martell* and *Liutprand*.

Death of great Men.

46. About this time *Charles Martell* the Major of the Palace in *France*, conceiving the Friendship of the *Lombards* to be very convenient for strengthening of the interest of his Family, sent his Son *Pipin* to *Liutprand*, that by the cutting off his hair, as the custom was, he might adopt him for his Son. And such were the fruits of this Friendship, that the *Saracens* invading *Gall* the year following, *Liutprand* at his request assisted him in Person with a considerable Army, and contributed no small matter to the Victory obtained over the Infidels. At his return he found new work made for him by the Exarch, who taking the advantage of his absence, resolved if possible, to re-take *Pentapolis* and *Amelia*. He himself invading *Pentapolis*, defeated the Army of the *Lombards*, and reduced the Cities. But *Agatho* the Duke of *Perusium*, whom he sent into *Amelia*, had the quite contrary success, being forced with great loss from *Bononia*, which he had besieged. The five or six years that followed, were famous for little but the Death and Succession of Great Men. *Romuald* the Duke of *Beneventum* died after six and twenty years Government, leaving a young Son named *Gisulf*, whom some went about to make away, but the People always faithful to their Governours preserved his life, and put to death them that had conspired against it. *Liutprand* coming to the City took the Boy away with him, being too young for Government, and placed in his room *Gregory* another of his Nephews. Some time after, *Rachis* the Duke of *Forum Julii* invaded *Carniola*, which *Paul* our Historian calls the Countrey of the *Slavi*, where he slew a great multitude of them, and waited it far and wide. On a time they made a sudden Assault upon him, and his Armourbearer had his Lance, but he killed the first of them that gave the Onset with a Cudgel he had in his Hand, and therewith so frightened them that they retreated. From this time he became every day more celebrated for his Valour.

47. At the same time broke out into Rebellion, *Trafemund* the Duke of *Spoleum*, and made a strict League with *Gregory* the Third the *Roman* Bishop, and Successor to him who had assumed the Dominion of *Rome*, and the places to it belonging. As a Condition of this Alliance he gave up to the Bishop the Castle of the *Gallienfes*, upon the Account of which he had formerly had much trouble from the Dukes of *Rome*. Trusting to this Alliance, he refused to obey the Orders of the King, who conceiving that such a Revolt touched the very Inwards of his Concernments, speedily raised an Army and led it against him. But the Rebel durst not abide his Coming, but getting out of the City fled to the Bishop, who now glittered with his new Principality; desiring him to undertake his Patronage, who had protected his Predecessour from the Violence of the Exarch, and had endeavored to a most sacred League and Alliance with himself. The Bishop asking advice of Duke *Stephen*, with the Consent of the *Roman* Souldiers (who doubtless could not but desire Action) undertook his Protection; when in the mean time *Liutprand* seized on his Dukedom, and bestowed it on his Nephew *Hilderick*; which having done, he sent his Ambassadors to *Gregory*, requiring him to give up the Traitor into his Hands, or to expect him with an Army to fetch him. The Bishop thought it below him, and no way consistent with good Nature to give him up, and returned such an answer to the King, who when Winter was over, removed his Forces from the Dukedom of *Spoleum* into that of *Rome*, where having taken *Ameria*, *Oria*, *Polimartium* and *Bleda*, he laid siege to the City it self, and incamping in *Nero's* Fields, drew many of the Nobility to him, the Hair of whom he cut after the *Lombard* fashion. *Gregory* being put to sore straits, first betook himself to the Artifice of his Predecessour, thinking by good words and intreaties to remove the Enemy from the Walls; but this device failing him, he had recourse to a more severe remedy; sending to *Charles Martell*, the Major of the Palace in *France*, the Keys of the Holy Sepulchre and other things of great request; beseeching him to send relief to him and the distressed Church, and free the City from the siege of the *Lombards*. *Charles* readily embraced the offer, as tending to the Advancement of his Reputation in the World, and sent a Messager so acceptable to *Liutprand*, that he arose from before *Rome*, and keeping only in his Hands four Towns which he had seized, departed for *Pavia* in the Month of *August*, and the seventh Indiction. A. D. DCXXXIX.

At the persuasion of *Charles Martell* raised the Siege.

Liutprand besieges *Rome*.

Sect. 4.

Ad Pontificem novo principatu fulgentem, atq; cum, &c. Sigonius de Regno Italia. lib. 3. p. 110.

Exercitium ex Ducatu Spoletano in Romanum transiit.

Seçt. 4. 48. *Trafemund*, when the Siege was raised, resolved to make again for his Dukedom, being readily assisted by the Bishop, who by this means hoped to recover his four Towns, and by *Godecalc*, lately advanced to the Dukedom of Beneventum, by the People against the King's mind, in the room of *Gregory* deceased, who thought hereby to weaken the King, and strengthen his own illegal Title. At his first Invasion of the Countrey, he easily recovered several Places, and at length in *December*, and the Eighth Indiction, took *Spoleum* by surprize, and therein killed *Hilderick* the young Duke. He had a great Advantage for manous, that the Lombards despairing of his Recovery took *Hildebrand* and his Nephew, But an odd Accident happened at the Ceremony; for having a Spear delivered into his Hands, according to the Custom, a Cuckow came and fate thereon, which by Wisemen was looked on as prodigious, and betokening a mean Reign to their young King. *Liutprand* when he was recovered and betokening a mean Reign to their young ill, but because the solemnity was past, made *Hildebrand* King together with himself. The following year was eminent for the Ends of three mighty Men in the World, *Leo* the Emperour, *Charles Martel* lately mentioned, and *Gregory* the Roman Patriarch; to whom succeeded one *Zachary* a Greek by birth. This *Zachary* was scarcely settled in his Chair when he sent to *Liutprand*, and demanded the four Towns to be redelivered, to which Message he answered, that when he should come to the Places, he would give him abundant satisfaction. *Liutprand* in the mean time resolved, not to suffer *Trafemund* to carry the Dukedom of *Spoleum*; but the Year that followed made war upon him by the Assistance especially of *Rachis* the Duke of *Forum Julii*. *Trafemund* aware of their coming, went to meet them at the Place he thought they would land their Men, and when there he misfed of his opportunity followed them to *Forum Sempronii*, and reached them in the middle of the Forest. *Rachis* and his Brother *Aistulf*, with their *Forojulians* brought up the Rere, and being first engaged, though the Commanders omitted nothing of their Duty, many of them were slain. *Rachis* by one *Berto* of *Spoleum*, was challenged to a single Combat, wherein he dismounted his Enemy, and suffered him to creep away on his Hands and Knees into the Wood. *Aistulf* was by two fet upon on a Bridge, both whom he tumbled down into the River, and escaped. *Trafemund* found himself concerned to retreat to *Spoleum*, where he was besieged, and at length being forced to yield, was compelled to enter into Orders. Then did the King bestow the Title, and Office of Duke upon *Asprand* another of his Nephews.

Death of three great Persons. A. D. 741.

49. In the mean time *Liutprand* restored not the Places before mentioned to the Bishop, who wondering thereat, resolved to doe as *Gregory* the second his Predecessor had done before him; to go himself in Person and speak with him, then lying at *Interamna*, in the Territories of *Spoleum*. *Liutprand* hearing of his coming sent *Grimald* with a Complement and order to bring him on his way as far as *Narnia*, where he was to be received by the Army. He himself when he drew him to his Lodgings. The next day coming again together, the Bishop claved him with good words. "He related how for his Predecessors sake he had raised his Siege from before *Rome*, and commending him for his Justice and holy demeanour towards all men, put him in mind what a blot it would be upon his Memory, as well as a wound upon his Conscience, to break his word given to *St. Peter*, and to rob him and the Church, to which he had pretended to bear so good affection: "In sum he desired he would give up the four Towns he had so long held in his hands, and farther make a League with the Church, which if he did, he might be sure to have everlasting Salvation after death, and eternal Renown with all Posterity. We are told the Device so took, that *Zachary* obtained whatsoever he desired, not only the four Towns, but a League with the Church for twenty years; and moreover some Lands in *Sabinum*, which thirty years before had been taken away with others in *Narnia*, *Ancona*, *Auximum* and *Fiumum*, which they called *Patrimones*, and the Valley known by the Name of the *Great*, in the Territories of *Sutrium*. The next day having lovingly dined together, the Bishop departed to receive the Towns from the Kings Commissioners, who were *Hildebrand* and his Nephew *Asprand*, Duke of *Clusium*, *Tacpert*, *Raning*, and *Grimald*, *Gastald* of *Etruria*. First he recieved *America*, then *Orta*, afterward *Polimarium*, and at length through the Borders of *Fuscia* belonging to the Lombards and the *Sabini* they came to *Bleda*. Thence returned he to *Rome*, where, as well he might, for joy he made a Solemn Procession.

Liutprand perswaded to be kind to the See of *Rome*.

cession. And these things were thus transacted in the Tenth Indiction, if we believe *Anastafius* who was Library keeper to some of his Successors.

50. *Liutprand* all this while did not forget *Godecalc*, who both had seized on the Duchy of *Beneventum* without his leave, and had assisted *Trafemund* also in his Rebellion. Having rid his hands of *Trafemund*, he led an Army against him, but he durst not abide his coming, but resolved to fly into *Greece*, which as he attempted, and had put his Wife and Household-stuff into the Ship, when he himself was to go aboard he was killed by those Citizens of *Beneventum*, that bore good will to *Gisulf*, and his Wife escaped safe to *Constantinople* with all the had. *Liutprand* coming to the City restored *Gisulf* his Nephew to the Title and Office of Duke, whom he had formerly removed for his Youth and Inability to govern: The following year and the eleventh Indiction, as *Anastafius* assures us, either impatient of rest, or out of an ambitious desire of farther Conquest, he again invaded the Exarchate, and having taken *Casena*, openly shewed that he intended once more to be Master of *Ravenna*. *Eutychius* the Exarch, as well as *John* the Archbishop, with the Citizens and the Cities of *Pentapolis* and *Amelia* knowing themselves too weak to make resistance, betook themselves to *Zachary*, whose authority they knew to be so sacred and inviolable with the King, that he would deny him nothing. He sent a Message to him to restore *Casena*, and to leave the Exarchate in repose, and it being rejected, he himself made a Journey first to *Ravenna* and thence to *Parvia*, where he caused the King to conquer his Inclinations, to restore *Casena*, and promise not any more to offer violence to the Exarchate. The Bishop shortly after his Return (of which, as also his Journey, *Paul* the Deacon makes no mention, though by reason of the Age he liv'd in he could not be ignorant of so notable a matter) had News brought him of the sudden death of *Liutprand*, who left this life after he had reigned one and thirty Years and seven Months. A man of great worth, if his extreme thirst after Conquest and Domination be excepted, though *Paul* to other great Commendations adds this, That he was a lover of Peace, which must be refrain'd to what he concludes his Book with, that with the greatest care he preserved Peace with the *Franks* and *Avars*. For together with his Life *Paul* shuts up his History of the Acts of the Lombards. He was Deacon of the Church of *Forum Julii*, in the Territories of which *Leuphis* his Great Grandfather's Father seated himself, when with the Lombards his Country-men he came into *Italy*. He dying there, left five Sons who were all taken away into Captivity by the *Avars* at that time, that *Romilda* the Wife of *Gisulf* betrayed *Forum Julii* into the hands of their King. Of these five only *Lupicis* returned into the place of his Nativity (of the strange Circumstances of his Return, let the Reader if he list consult the Author himself) where he married and begat a Son named *Aricchis*. This *Aricchis* had a Son named *Warnefrid* who by *Theudelinda* his Wife had our Historian, (besides another Son called *Aricchis*) whom we can easily believe to have been a Lombard by descent, though he had not told us. For *Jornandes*, the Historian of the *Goths*, and he, by the manner of their writing, sufficiently discover that Natural affection which men bear to the Stocks from whence they proceeded.

51. *Liutprand* being dead *Hildebrand* or *Hildebrand* his Nephew (i. e. his Grandson, as *Sigonius* interprets it) succeeded him in the Government, whom being formerly chosen by the People he had confirmed, as we formerly shewed. But his former Election and Confirmation were not of such moment with the Lombards, but that rejecting him of whom they themselves had made the choice, after seven months they deposed him, and made King in his room *Rachis* the Duke of *Forum Julii*, a man much admired for his Virtues. *Rachis* with universal applause having ascended the Throne, shewed that though he was fit for War, yet he desired Peace; and became the great Patron of Churches. And in the second year of his Reign finding the Laws (notwithstanding the several Alterations made by his Predecessors) to be defective, he summoned all the Judges of the Lombards, both out of *Austria* and *Neustria*, and according to their Judgment and Approbation, amended and added what was faulty or defective. The year which followed this, being the second of his Reign, on the first of *March*, and the fourteenth Indiction he published his Amendments with a Proeme, wherein he takes notice how *Rothair*, *Grimald* and *Liutprand* his Predecessors had taken the same care before him; but he having seriously considered of what they had published, found some things good, and other things fit to be purged and corrected. Some five years he spent in the Studies of Peace and Laws, and then a fit of War took him, being no longer able to subsist without some Martial Diversions. He invaded *Pentapolis*, where having at

Inroads again the Exarchate.

Liutprand dies.

The History of *Paul* Deacon concludes with him.

Hildebrand and his Nephew succeeded.

Deposed, and *Rachis* made King.

He corrects the Laws.

Seçt. 4.

Godecalc, *Dei feron*. *Nem Deum non aliter quam bonum nominare mos erat Germanis*. *Schulte feron* in *Novo Testamento* *lap*. *dine Mart*. *clerk* & *alia*. *Paulus Diacon*. *Lib. 6*. *Cc. 37. 38*.

Liup-pit, *A more fortis*. *Liup*, *Amor*, *Angin Love*. *Hinc Liupman* & *alia in vocab. Alem*. *Leupichis idem quod Liup-pit*. *Lib. 4. c. 39*. *Warne-frid*, *cujus pacis*.

Vide Sigonius.

SECT. 4. the first onset taken most of the Towns, he passed thence into the Dukedom of *Rome*, and the Territories belonging to the Bishop, and laid close Siege to *Perusia*. The Emperor was far off, and seemed not much to regard how matters went in *Italy*. The Exarch had Will enough, but wanted Might to protect the Borders of his own Jurisdiction; much more to give assistance to his Neighbours at a distance. *Zachary* therefore saw it was incumbent upon him, seeing he could not do it by force, to try if he could drive the danger farther from himself by his Authority, and undertake another Journey, his former having been so successful.

52. He came to *Rachis* as he lay incamped before *Perusia*, and there forcibly laid the Law unto him, urging how unbecoming, not to say wicked, a thing it was for a Catholic Prince, and one who had been so eminent a Law-maker to invade that to which he had no right, to injure other Christians, who had never by any Misdemeanour provoked him, and especially violate the Goods and Possessions of St. *Peter*. He is said to have made so copious and convincing an Oration concerning Justice and Oppression, and the Rewards and Punishments of another World, that *Rachis* not only raised the Siege from before *Perusia*, but restored the places he had taken in *Pentapolis*: Nay, the Preference and Authority of the Bishop had such incredible influence upon him, that taking his Wife and Daughter along with him, he must needs the following year go to visit him at *Rome*, where he took Orders from the hands of *Zachary*, and became a Monk in the Monastery of St. *Benedict* at *Cassinum*; his Wife and Daughter bestowing themselves in a Nunnery not far off, of their own founding. Thus *Zachary* made Monks of Kings much at the same time, one at his own desire, and another fore against his will, at the Suggestion and Importunity of others; one by his own Renunciation, and another at the ambitious solicitation of other persons: For this very year, as *Sigoinus* A. D. 750. reckons, did he by his Authority declare *Chilperick* King of the *Franks*, to be no King, and *Pipin* the Major of the Palace to enjoy the Title, as well as the Power; after which *Chilperick* was deposed, and thrust into a Monastery. But *Rachis* having thus outed himself after he had reigned about six years, the *Lombards* meeting together chose *Aistulf* his Brother to succeed him, a man as fit for the place as any, both in respect of his Wisdom and Courage. Yet in the beginning of his Reign he followed the footsteps of his Brother, preferring Peace before Martial Actions, and was persuaded by *Stephen* the Bishop of *Rome*, to enter into a League with his Church for forty years: No sooner had he taken upon him a Royal Crown, but *Anselme* the Duke of *Forum Julii*, whose Sister *Giseltrade* he had married, renounced his Ducal Coronet, and entered into a Monastery; into whose place *Peter* the Son of *Manichis* was preferred.

53. But *Aistulf* having settled well his matters, in the space of two years, had then as restless a fit upon him as *Liutprand* or *Rachis* his Predecessors, and as violent a passion for enlarging his Dominion. After the example of *Liutprand* he resolved to set first upon the Exarchate, because he thought *Constantine* the Emperor did not much concern himself with the Affairs of *Europe*, and if he should, he could least do it at this time when he was engaged in another War, and all *Greece* and *Asia* were miserably wasted by a raging Pestilence. With greater preparations than ever formerly had been made he marched to *Ravenna*, and with all the strength the *Lombard* Kingdom could afford, set upon it. *Eutychius* who was still *Exarch* there made all the resistance he possibly could, arming the Townsmen, opposing force to force, and stratagem to stratagem, till seeing the Town exhausted and no hope of any succours from abroad, he resolved to yield, and without any hope of recovering the place as formerly, withdrew himself into *Greece*. The Head of the Exarchate or Metropolis being thus taken, all the inferior Members easily were reduced to the same condition, together with *Pentapolis*. So here ends this Government of the Exarchs, or Lieutenants of the Emperours which had preserved, in an eminent height of lustre and dignity, a show and representation of the ancient *Roman* Empire, for near two hundred years, from the time that *Narjes* left his Employment. And here doth the constant Domination or Empire of *Heavena* receive its period, which began at such time as *Honorius* removed his Seat from *Rome* to this City. A. D. 755.

54. Now did the Kingdom of the *Lombards* comprehend all *Italy*, *Rome* only, and the *Roman* or Pontifical Dominions excepted. *Aistulf* being Master of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, notwithstanding the League made with *Stephen*, grudging that so good a share of the Country should be kept from him, and easily made himself believe he had a Title to it, seeing the Exarch formerly had Authority as well over the *Romans* as others, and how they came to be absolved from their

their obedience to the Emperour, whose Successor by right of War he was, he Sect. 4. could not well fee; notwithstanding the Herefie that had been laid to the charge of *Leo*, and the pretended power challenged by *Gregory* and his Successors of disposing of other mens Estates. In the fourth month therefore after the making of the League heentreth with an Army the Territories of *Narnia*, which Town he presently took, and thence sent to the Bishop to let him know that he would by Arms reduce their Country and City to his absolute obedience, except they would yield to pay him a yearly tribute of a golden *Solidus* for every Head. The Bishop being extremely startled at the Message, sent two Abbots of good Report back to him, to put him in mind of the League he had lately made, and by all Arguments and Persuasions to move him not to commit so perfidious, and otherwise wicked an act as he was about; and besides they went not empty handed: but the King rejected both the Messengers and their Presents. *Stephen* upon the first Irruption made by *Aistulf* into the Exarchate had dispatched away his Letters to *Constantine* to let him know what the *Lombard* designed, and to remonstrate to him how pernicious it would be to his Empire, and how great a blot would lye upon his memory to all posterity if he suffered these Dominions in *Italy* to be lost. The year after came *John* a Silentiary with Letters from the Emperour, written both to the King and the Bishop, whom *Stephen* sent away with his own Brother *Paul* to *Aistulf*, who then wintered at *Ravenna*, joyning with *Constantine* in this request, that he would restore such Places as he had already taken, and remove the danger from those which had reason to apprehend an impending mischief.

55. To this he only said, that he would return answer to the Emperour by an Ambassadour of his own, which the Bishop understanding, sent to *Constantine* the second time, to let him know that Intreaties would do nothing, and that therefore he was obliged in honour, by virtue of the Dignity which he bore, with Arms and Force to reduce the proud *Lombard* unto order. No sooner were the Messengers dispatched, but *Aistulf* was in the Bowels of the *Roman* Territories, which he wasted with Fire and Sword, took their Towns, led away the Inhabitants into Captivity, and now at length removed to the City it self, where he denounced Ruine and Servitude, both to the *Romans* and their Prelates, except they would yield up both their Cities and their own Persons into his Power. The Bishop in so great a strait, after his Prayers made, bethought himself of Foreign Aid, forasmuch as there was none could be hoped for out of *Italy*. He remembered the obligations which *Zachary* his Predecessor had put upon *Pipin* the new King of the *Franks*, by procuring him no less than the Kingdom, at least it was believed that it came by his means. He chose out a truly servant, who in the habit of a stranger escaped by the *Lombards* and got to *Pipin*, with this Errand, "That the Bishop would gladly meet him in some late and convenient place, but seeing he was Besieged and could not come at him, he desired he would send his Ambassadours to procure him liberty to come to his presence. *Pipin* was very willing to pleasure him, not so much out of gratitude to his See, for what *Zachary* had done (by whose authority and reputation the deposition of *Chilperick*, a thing not to be believed had been made just and lawful, though he had nothing committed which deserved so great a censure, and the fault was not his that was objected against him) as in foresight to serve himself of this present Pope in the behalf of his two Sons, *Charles* and *Carloman*, to settle the Succession upon them. Glad of such an occasion, he sent a Duke and an Abbot on the Embassy, who met with *John* the Silentiary, returned back with the Bishops Messengers from *Constantinople*, and joyning with him obtained leave for *Stephen* to come forth of the City. On the twenty second of *October*, the seventh Indiction he came forth, and with the Ambassadours took the way for *Pavia*, to which when he approached, *Aistulf* sent a Message to him, requiring that he should not ask of him *Ravenna*, or the Exarchate, or any thing which had been taken by the *Lombards*, "yet not aflight he ceased not to importune him to restore what he had unjustly got from other men, and particularly *Ravenna* the Seat of the Empire in *Italy*; which the very Barbarous *Alboin* and *Authair* had spared, lest he should be branded by Posterity, with more odious Epithetes than those of Heathen and Heretick. The Ambassadours of *Constantine* made the same demand, but *Aistulf* was deaf to all their charms, and very unwillingly, as he had reason, permitted the Bishop to goe for *France*.

56. On the fourteenth of *November* he set forward toward the *Alpes*, and coming to *Pipin*, easily prevailed with him to undertake a War with the *Lombard*

Perfswaded by the Bishop he restores all, And turns Monk.

His Brother Aistulf made King.

Falls upon Ravenna.

Which being taken,

The Exarchate falls.

Aistulf invades the Roman Territories.

The Bishop of Rome goes into France.

Sec. 4. *bard* for the Church, and the Redemption of the Exarchate; and because one good turn requires another he was prevailed with to stay till Winter was over, and the Army could be ready to march, and in the mean time to anoint Kings of France, Charles and Carloman, the more effectually to recommend them to the People. *Aistulf* all this while as a Man unconcerned about War, applied himself vigorously to the Affairs of Peace, making another Amendment of the Edict or Body of Laws formerly published, and to oft amended by his Predecessors. "In the Preface he signifieth, that having seriously weighed what had been done by them; he found some things wanting, which defect was the Original of great Errors. Therefore in the fifth Year of his most happy Reign, in the Name of God, on the first day of March, the seventh Indiction; having called together his Judges from the several Parts of his Kingdom, he caused to be affixed to the Leaves of the Edict, what seemed just to his Excellency, and agreeable to the mind of the Lord. The Bishop of Rome, being all this while in France, fell sick, and therefore the Expedition was put off till the Month of August, wherein he anointed *Pipin*, his Wife and both their Sons. Then in Order to his Return, finding these Kings, and their Subjects sufficiently propense to gratify him, whereas at his first coming he had so worded it, that *Pipin* understood the Exarchate was to be restored to the Commonwealth or Empire, now making use of his time he turned his Tale, and though he had so much preached the Doctrine of Restitution to the right Owners, unto *Aistulf*; he contended that neither the Exarchate nor *Pentapolis* was to be restored to the Emperor, for this reason, because *Constantine* was unworthy to have any thing to do in Italy, who had forsaken it, and exercised open Enmity with the Church. If so be *Pipin* would discharge the Duty of a gratefull Man, or consult his Souls Health, or give any reward to the Bishop for the danger he had undergone, and the pains he had taken for the good of Italy and the Church, he should grant both the Countries to St. Peter. He so prevailed upon *Pipin*, that he openly promised, that in case it pleased God to make him victorious over the Lombards, to obtain the Remission of his Sins, he would take away the Exarchate, and *Pentapolis* from the Commonwealth of Rome, and deliver them to St. Peter, and his Successors, to be possessed by them for ever. This he caused the Clerk to record, and confirmed it farther by his own Oath, and the Oaths of his two Sons, Charles and Carloman then present.

57. During the Preparations for War, we are told that *Aistulf* was once and again importuned, and with great gifts allured to surrender the Cities; but when neither gifts nor intreaties would prevail, in the eighth Indiction, *Pipin* caused his Armies to begin their march through the Territories of Vienna. Now again it pleased the Bishop out of his Abhorrence of the Effusion of Blood, and hope that he might by the report of so great an Army be frightened into a Compliance, to send once more to *Aistulf*, to invite him to do by fair means, what else he should be compelled. By the Ambassadors of *Pipin* he sent his Letters, wherein by the Holy Mysteries, and the dreadful day of Judgment itself, he besought him that peaceably and without blood, he would restore what he had taken to the Holy Church, and the Commonwealth of the Romans. This he obstinately again refused to do, adding Threats both against *Stephen*, *Pipin*, and his Followers. *Pipin* then proceeding towards Italy, sent a Party to the Alps, to seize on the Straits, and secure his Passage, which *Aistulf* understanding, and despising the Franks for their Number, with a Multitude of his Lombards he hastened thither, and very confidently fell upon them; but the Franks having the Advantage of the Ground, and being a Party of choice Men picked out, so warmly received him, that they made great slaughter of his Men, which he not enduring is said to have ran away to Pavia, there to abide the Storm that was coming upon him. *Pipin* finding the Passage clear, marched on without any Molestation, and with the Accidents usually accompanying such Invasions, came and fate down before Pavia, whence perceiving that the King would not stir, he harassed the Country round about, and made his siege as trait as could be. *Aistulf* seeing what advantage the other had against him, within a short space thought it best to come to a Treaty, wherein it was agreed, that by a corporal Oath he should engage to restore the Exarchate with *Pentapolis*, and whatsoever other Places he had taken, and for farther Confirmation hereof, give up forty Hostages which were to be sent into France. This done, *Pipin*, though in the middle of Winter, returned back into his own Country, and *Stephen* the Bishop with great Joy and Expectation to his Sec.

Pipin at his Request invades Italy.

And forces *Aistulf* to Terms.

Que Precl. sentia, nostrae fecundum Dominum iussu a comparantur.

Proxima est ex exercitu trans Alpes trepidantem, et Aistulfum, si ultra noluerit, per vim Exarchatum & caetera, loca prius Regis restitutum reddidit.

Signe de Reg. Italie, lib. 3. p. 126. Ne ea reddere Imp. concedit. Ruffe Constantinum propter defectionem Itali & caeterum, indignum esse, qui eorum in Italia possideretur. Quod si Pipinus aut grati homines officium prebuerit, aut, &c. p. 127.

58. They being returned and the Tempest quite blown over, *Aistulf* repented of what he had done, and was so far from delivering up the Places, that gathering an Army together at Ravenna, he brake into the Roman Territories, and doing therein all violence possible came before the City, having seized on *Narnia*, which not long before he had restored. He thought that *Pipin*, having already discharged the Duty of a Friend, would no more pass over the Alps in behalf of the Bishop; who, having quite other thoughts, sent away his Messengers by Sea, that they might have a more safe and speedy passage, by all things sacred conjuring the King, that he would make good what he had promised to St. Peter. *Pipin* in great wrath denounces War against, and for that purpose makes new Levies, which *Aistulf* hearing and surprized with the News, after three Months siege leaves Rome, and hurries away to defend his own Quarters. It was now Autumn, when *Pipin* being in a readiness began his march, and passing the Alps with little Difficulty, came and besieged *Aistulf* in Pavia, as formerly. It was not yet known at Rome, that he had passed the Mountains, where were arrived from the Emperor two Ambassadors, George a Protonotary and John the Silentiary, who were to deal with *Pipin* about restoring the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to the Empire; for they had heard at Constantinople, how the Roman Bishop had been tampering about them. From Rome they straight departed for *Marcellus*, where being arrived, they had News of *Pipin's* being in the Territories of the Lombards. *Stephen* had also sent his Messengers with them, whom, because they might probably hinder his business, George caused his Fellow John there by some Arts to detain, and he went before to Pavia, where having Audience of *Pipin*, he delivered his Message as advantageously as he could. But *Pipin* with the greatest Piety (so the Bishops Favourers write) answered, that by no humane Rewards he was induced to do what he did, but inflamed with a desire of procuring the Favour of Almighty God, he had received the Church of Rome into his Protection, perswading himself it was for the Health of his Soul, and would avail for the Remission of his Sins. In case he should recover the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, he had sworn to deliver them to St. Peter, and his Successors; and by no reasons or Arguments whatsoever would be drawn from being as good as his word, and discharging his Duty.

Aistulf again for fear of *Pipin* quits Rome.

And gives up the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to the Bishop.

The Cities of the Exarchate, Or *Pentapolis*.

59. In the mean time *Aistulf* was closely besieged, and so much straitened, that fearing the Effects of a Storm, he sent out to *Pipin* his Plenipotentiaries to make an Agreement, who offered not only to restore the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, but *Comacina* also to redeem his Peace. *Pipin* accepted of their Proposals, and the Agreement was ratified by Oaths, and giving up of new Hostages; which done, *Pipin* again surrendered the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to St. Peter, and his Successors to be held by them for ever, and commanded Instruments of the Donation to be drawn accordingly. Leaving *Fulrade* the Abbot to receive all agreed on from *Aistulf*, and to put them into the Bishop's Hands; he shortly after departed into France. *Fulrade* going with the Commissioners of *Aistulf*, received all the Cities of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* from their Hands, except *Ferraria*, *Faventia*, and *Caballum*, and having from every one of them Hostages, he took along with him to Rome the Principal Inhabitants, and he laid up the Keys of the several Cities together with the Instruments of the Donation in the Confession of St. Peter. Now to understand these matters more clearly, the Reader may know, that in the Exarchate were comprised these Cities: *Ravenna*, *Bononia*, *Imola*, *Faventia*, *Forum Popilii*, *Forum Livii*, *Casena*, *Bobbium*, *Ferraria*, *Comacina*, *Adria*, *Ficola* and *Gabellum*. *Pentapolis* contained these: *Ariminum*, *Pisaurum*, *Concha*, *Fanum*, *Senogallia*, *Ancona*, *Auximum*, *Humana*, *Assunum*, *Forum Sempronii*, *Mons Feretri*, *Urbium*, the *Balsensan* Territory, *Calles*, *Luccoli* and *Eugubium*, with the Forts and Territories to these Cities belonging, all which had afterward the Name of the Marquisate of *Ancona*. But thus the Bishop of Rome became possessed of other Mens Goods, the Reader sees how, and for what Reasons the Emperor the Right owner was deprived, by what Arts and Devices is also manifest. *Stephen* committed the Government of Ravenna to the Arch-bishop, and the Tribunes of the City, whereupon the Arch-bishop afterward wrote himself Exarch. As for *Aistulf* who was but justly compelled to surrender, having had as little right to these Estates as he who now possessed them; we are told that the following year he spent in Consultations how to break the Agreement, and toward the end of it, being in hunting either thrown by his Horse, or as others wrote wounded by a wild Boar died within a few days after, whose Actions we might possibly have had related with more favourable Circumstances, had either

Sec. 4.

Aistulf dies.

Seçt. 4. *Paul* the Deacon continued his History so far, or any other of his Nation written his Life, or any indifferent Pen had transmitted these Revolutions to Posterity. But *Paul* living in the time of *Charles* the Great, the Son of *Pipin*, when it was a Crime to write any thing well though truth of the *Lombards*, (for looers in these cases of Conquest have not leave to talk) durst not burn his fingers by meddling with matters of so late concernment; and therefore wisely left off where these things began, which brought destruction to the *Lombard* Kingdom. His Countrymen for the same Reason were all silent. They only were Publishers of these transactions, who were joynd both in their Affections and Interests with the Prevalent Party.

Desiderius
breaks into
the Exarchate

60. Now was *Aistulf* dead, and none left to whom the Kingdom by right of Succession or Inheritance appertained. Therefore *Desiderius*, who had been his *Cousin Stabuli*, or Master of the Horse, as also promoted to the Dukedom of *Tuscia*, came up for himself by the favour and assistance of the People of that Country. *Rachis* was still living, and so enraged at his Exaltation, that he exchanged his holy Zeal for Indignation, and purposed to leave acting the part of a Monk, and resume his former dress of Royalty; and he wanted not either Adversers or Assistants to such an Undertaking, the Inhabitants of *Liguria*, *Emilia* and *Venetia*, flocking to him. *Desiderius* hereat startled, as being in danger, not onely to mis of the Kingdom, but to loose his Dukedom too, took the right course to prevent both the one and the other: He betook himself to *Stephen* the *Roman* Bishop, and bargained with him to restore *Faventia*, *Calallum* and *Ferraria*, which *Aistulf* had still kept in his hands, if either by his Arms or Authority he could maintain him in his possession of the Kingdom. The Bishop having communicated the matter to *Fulrade*, the Abbat, resolved to attempt the thing, and sending him with his Brother *Paul* into *Erruria*, made a firm League and Alliance with *Desiderius*, and admonished *Rachis* now the Monk, to hold him to his present course of life, and not disturb him whom he had named King and taken for his Ally and Confederate. And if all should fail, *Fulrade* had got an Army of *Franks* and *Romans* together, to dispute the Controversie by dint of Sword. So *Rachis* gave over his Enterprize, and therewith the *Lombards* of his Party being discouraged, *Desiderius* enjoyed what he had got; and going to *Pavia*, where he solemnly entred upon the Government, he restored *Faventia*, *Calallum* and *Ferraria*, to the Church, according to Articles. Not long after died *Stephen* on the twenty fifth of *April*, a man ever to be had in remembrance by his Successors, for his enriching his See with the goodly Possessions of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, to be compared (as *Sigonius* writes) with *Gregory*, surnamed *Dialogus*, who procured for it the Dutchy of *Rome*.

61. *Paul* his Brother succeeded him, and renewed the League made with *Desiderius*, who, in the third year of his Reign, took his Son *Adalgise* to be his Partner in the Kingdom. *Gisulf* the Duke of *Beneventum* dying, he bestowed the Dutchy on *Agarisme*, who had married his Daughter *Adelperga*. For several years he bore himself with great respect to the *Roman* Church, and with a mind so devoted for Religious matters, that his own Daughter *Ausslberga*, he made Abbes of an Abby of his own founding, and otherwise he shewed himself a great Patron of that Profession. Thus he continued for some ten years, and then they tell us he began to shew himself another man; as if Ambition had been hereditary to these *Lombard* Kings. *Paul* the Bishop dying, he caused a Schism to be made by the illegal promotion of one *Constantine*, and when this Device was frustrated by the means of *Christopher* the *Primericius* (or Assessor to the Bishop, as was the *Secundicerius* also, they sitting next to the Duke of the City) who to remove the Schism caused *Stephen* the Third to be Canonically chosen, he himself went to *Rome* under a shew of Devotion, and there dealt with *Affarta* the Duke of the City, to accuse *Christopher* and his Son the *Secundicerius* of some feigned Crime, and then having seized and made them away, to imprison or drive thence the most Eminent Citizens, and so to tame the rest, as that they should not have courage to attempt any considerable matter: At the Instance of *Bertrade* Wife to the late *Pipin* of *France*, he gave his Daughter to *Carloman* one of her Sons, or rather two of his Daughters to her two Sons, for both are affirmed to have married this way. About two years after *Carloman* died, whose Widow *Berta* finding her self and young Sons not treated after the best fashion by *Charles* his Brother, they came into *Italy* to her Father, who was vehemently incensed against *Charles*, for putting away his other Daughter; and, desirous to imbrace any occasion of revenge, purposed to get the Boys Consecrated Kings by

the

the new *Roman* Bishop. One of these things he hoped would follow: Either he should thereby procure an ill understanding betwixt *Charles* and the Bishop, or some Tumults and Stirs in *France*, which would present him with a fit opportunity of conquering *Rome* and all *Italy*.

62. But not knowing how *Adrian*, at present Pope, stood affected, he would first try him, whether he would renew the League. He answered, he was willing to have all Christians his Friends, and the *Lombards* amongst the rest, upon those terms, whereon their Predecessours had founded their Alliance; but as for *Desiderius*, he had learnt so much of his faleness from *Stephen*, who had lately occupied that See, that he could not trust him; and when the Ambassadors promised with Oath, that he should give him full satisfaction; he said, that he would return Answer by Messengers of his own. *Desiderius* judging by this Reply, that he was not to be trusted, would get by force what he could not obtain by Intreaties; and when *Adrian* had not late two full Months, he brake into the Exarchate, where he speedily took *Ferraria*, *Comacini* and *Frentia*; making open shew that he would attack *Ravenna* it self. *Adrian* having notice sent order to his Messengers that were on their way, as far as *Persium*, to make demand of the places lately taken. The King answered, that if the Bishop would come to him he should command him; which he refusing to doe, he in great wrath invaded *Pentapolis*; where he wasted the Country belonging to *Senogaltia*, *Estum*, *Monferretis*, *Orbinum*, *Eugubium*, and other Cities, killing the principal Inhabitants of *Bleda*, who were gone out to reap their Corn, and carrying away much booty and Captives. Occurrit also, within the Borders of *Rome*, underwent the same and worse fortune. Hereupon the Bishop sent to him the Abbat of *St. Vincent*, with twenty Monks of great Reputation for their Sanctity, who coming to *Pavia* cast themselves at his feet, and besought him with many tears, to give over those violent courses, and restore such Places as he had taken from the Church. To them he answered as before, that he would doe both if *Adrian* would come to him.

63. To this purpose he sent Ambassadors of his own, who desired a meeting. *Adrian* made a solemn and religious Protestation, that if he would but restore the Towns of *St. Peter*, he would either give him a meeting at *Rome*, or where else he pleased, and consult with him for the quiet and Repose of *Italy*; and if he did not, it should be lawful for him to re-invaide the Places at his pleasure. But in case he would not restore them, he would never see his face, and he sent two to receive the Cities; but having protested the same, they received the same Answer as before. After their return others were sent, whom he refused to see, and with great threats dismissed, that he would bring his Army before *Rome*. *Adrian* then looking for extremity, caused the City to be fortified as well as it might be, and as *Stephen* his Predecessour had done, resolved to advertise *Charles* the King of the *Franks*, in what estate he was, and to desire his assistance. "He sent one *Peter*" by Sea to intreat him that, after the Example of his Father and Grandfather, he "would succour the Church now in distress, and the City of *Rome*, which was "threatened with destruction. The cause of so wicked an undertaking he told him "was palpable, to compell him to anoint the Sons of *Carloman*, which how it "stood with his Concernments he left it to him in his wisdom to judge. To this Crimination *Desiderius* answered in an Edict which he sent to *Grimoald* the Count of *Viterbium*, wherein he shewed he had well deserved of *Italy*, * contrary to what *Adrian* had laid to his charge. He reckons up many places built and repaired by him, and concludes, that this is not to destroy *Erruria*, as *Adrian* accused him, who refuseeth Peace offered by him. He commands therefore *Grimoald*, that so long as Peace continueth doubtfull, he order all the Souldiers of *Tuscia* to be in Arms, and to furnish them with Provisions and Pay plentifully, that they may not onely be ready to receive an Enemy, but prepared also to make an Invasion. And he requires him not to burthen the People with new Exactions.

64. *Adrian* his Messenger got safe to *Charles*, and easily obtained a promise to stand by his Master in all his difficulties whatsoever; for *Charles* remembered what advantages his Ancestours had got by adhering to the Church of *Rome*, and had no reason to hope less than any of them, considering how the World went at this time. He sent to *Desiderius* requiring him to restore to the Bishop what was belonging to him, who promised to give him full satisfaction; but he was resolved to try another course. Taking his Son *Adalgise* along with him, with his Daughter *Berta* and her Sons, in a peaceable manner he went towards *Rome*, under pretence of paying a Vow at the Sepulchres of the Apostles, which when he

Seçt. 4.

* Not enim
non solum
Tuscia destruxit
sed et nos
apud Gallias ac-
cessit Hadrian-
us Papa, non
in Tuscia ad-
ficavimus
fundamentis,
Ec. Vide Si-
gonium, p. 138.
Hec itaque
non est Erru-
riam destruxit,
ut nos arguit
Hadrianus,
qui pacem ul-
tid à nobis ob-
tulan respici-
it. quare igit
Grimoald
Presbiter Vi-
terbiensis præ-
cipimus, Ec.

Sec't. 4. came as far as *Spoleum*, he caused to be signified to the Bishop. *Adrian* caused the Walls and Gates to be strictly guarded, forbidding he should have any entrance, and the Churches of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* without the Walls, to be fast locked and barred up; which notwithstanding, when he proceeded on his way, he sent to him as he lay at *Interamna*, denouncing unto him by all things sacred, that without his leave he should not set his foot within the *Roman* Territories. He had before composed a Song of heavy Curles against him, his Family, and those that accompanied him in his Journey. But this Denunciation caused him to go back, though with an angry and revengefull mind. For now came Ambassadors from *Charles* to see whether he had satisfied the Bishop, who at their return sent some of his own back with them, and ordered them to call upon *Defiderius* at *Pavia*, where they had as cool welcome, and as resolute an Answer, as those that had been before them. Proceeding then in their Journey, they solicited *Charles* for help to recover the Cities, which to obtain by fair means, he is said, once more to have sent to *Defiderius*, offering him fourteen thousand *Soldi* to satisfy the Bishops pretensions, but to no purpose; resolving therefore to force him to it for nothing, he call'd an Assembly of his *Franks*, and related to them the whole matter. There was none present who did not load *Defiderius* with Invektives, and give his Vote for sending speedy relief to the Church. Then was the War resolved on, and Levies of Souldiers were made greater for number, and with more care and accurateness than ever formerly had been known, which clearly signified to any intelligent Persons, that how specious soever their pretences were, the *Franks* buckled themselves to this Expedition, not so much for the relief of the Church, as to put a Period to the Kingdom of the *Lombards*.

65. The whole Army coming to the Rendezvous at *Geneva*, *Charles* divided it into two Parties, whereof the one he committed to the Conduct of his Uncle *Bernard*, and the other he led himself another way. *Defiderius* having certain Intelligence of his Motions, sent some Troops with speed, to make good the Straits, then did he gather out of the Dukedoms of *Forum Julii*, *Beneventum*, *Spoleum*, *Etruria*, and his whole Kingdom, a vast Army, which he ordered to march to *Augusta* and *Taurinum*, to give *Charles* Battel, in case he should descend from the Mountains. *Charles* drawing nigh the *Alpes*, once more (they say) sent to him, offering him the same Sum of Money as formerly, and requiring but the Sons of his Judges, as Hostages, for delivery of the Towns, but he gave the same resolute Answer; which received, the *Franks* continued their March till they came to the Straits, which they found seized by the *Lombards*. *Charles* perceiving they stop the Passage, sent a Party over the Mountains another way, to come upon the back of *Defiderius*, which Device took very well; for it put the King into such a fright, that by Night he left his Camp and ran away, which *Charles* understanding, followed him as fast as he might, and in the pursuit killed many of his followers. But here we arrive at a piece of difficulty, our Authours not agreeing amongst themselves concerning what followed, though as we said, being of the contrary Party, they are no ways favourable to the poor *Lombards* who had no Writers to discover their partiality. One faith that a great Battel was now fought in a Field lying betwixt *Novaria* and *Papia*, where *Defiderius* received a great Overthrow, and thence the place had the name of *Mortaria*. Others will have *Defiderius*, without giving Battel, to have fled (scarcely looking behind him all the way) to *Pavia*, where he shut himself up, having strongly fortified the City. His Son *Adalgise*, with *Berta* and her Children, he sent to *Verona*, the second place for strength and convenience in the Kingdom.

66. Before such time as *Defiderius* went towards the *Alpes*, we are told that some of his Subjects of *Spoleum*, and of the *Reatinæ*, despairing of his Success, went to *Rome*, and put themselves into the hands of the Bishop, whence followed some out of every City (like good Subjects doublets) and in *St. Peter's* Church, prostrating themselves at his feet, swore perpetual Fidelity and Obedience to the *Roman* Church, cutting their Beards and their Hair after the fashion of the place. But after it was once noised that *Defiderius* was beaten back from the Straits, all the rest, in a manner, fled to *Rome*; where binding themselves with the same Oath, they were kindly entertained. The Bishop using moderation, with the approbation of the Inhabitants, made *Hildebrand* Duke of *Spoleum*; and to such *Lombards* as would dwell at *Rome*, he gave a place to Inhabit, which from them received the Name of *Lombard-street*. The Example of those of *Spoleum*, was

followed

Sec't. 4. followed by the *Firmani*, those of *Anximum* and *Ancona*, with the Citizens of the Castle of *Felicitas*, who cut their Hair, and surrendered themselves into the Dominion of the Church. But *Charles* perceiving *Defiderius* would not fight, besieged him close in *Pavia*, whither he sent for his Wife and Sons; and there in the Camp spent the former part of a sharp Winter, till *Christmas* was over. The Solemnity being past, he committed the Siege to the care of his Uncle *Bernard*, and went himself and beleagured *Verona*, where *Adalgise* despairing of holding out, fled, and went into *Greece*; after whose departure the Inhabitants quickly surrendered the place, and therein *Berta* and her Sons, into the hands of *Charles*, who were told, sent them into *France*, and treated them very honourably; and well he might, considering what an Interest they had in that Country, *Verona* being gone, upon Summons the rest of the Cities beyond the *Poe*, yielded themselves to the Conquerour, who then returned and reinforced the Siege of *Pavia*. *Easter* now began to approach, the Feast whereof *Charles* had a great desire to celebrate at *Rome* with the Bishop. Leaving the Siege to be carried on by *Bernard*, with a splendid Train he took his way thither, and being honourably received in every place he passed, on *Easters* Eve he arrived at the City.

67. *Adrian* conceived himself obliged in the most honourable way he could, to receive a King so great, who had done so mighty matters for the Church, and was in a fair way to effect more. First, all the Judges went out and received him with Banners thirty Miles from the City. A Mile off all the Schools met him, the Children bearing in their hands the Branches of Palms and Olives, and singing out his Commendations. The Rere was brought up by many Cross-bearers, as it was the Custome of old for Exarchs and Patritians to be received. The Bishop himself early in the morning, with all the Clergy and People, went to the *Vatican* Church, where sitting with his Clergy upon the Steps, he received him. *Charles*, as soon as he saw the Crosses, alighted from his Horse, and with his Judges went the rest of the way on foot, till he came to the Steps, to every of which (you must know) giving a Kiss, he mounted up to the Bishop, by whom being lovingly received, after mutual Imbraces and Congratulatory Speeches, he was brought into the Church, all the Clergy singing, and calling him the Authour of the Publick safety and Liberty, and merrily acclaiming, *Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord*. Afterward with a Train of Bishops, Abbats, and the Followers of *Charles*, they came to the Confession, where prostrate on the ground, they rendered thanks to God and *St. Peter* for so great a Victory; which done, the King desired he might go into the City to perform a Vow, and visit the Churches, which the Bishop permitted; each having first sworn over the Holy Body of the Apostle, that he intended no harm to the other. First, he went to our Saviour's Church in the *Laterane*; where seeing the Bishop administer Baptism, after a little stay, he returned to the *Vatican*. The day following being *Easter* day, he made a solemn Entry into the City, the second time being received by the Judges and the *Roman* Souldiers, and came to the Church of *St. Mary ad Praeepse*, where after Service he dined with *Adrian* in the *Laterane*. On the third day in the *Vatican* after Prayers, the Bishop caused solemn thanks to be given him in an Oration. Herein the kindnes of *Pipin* and *Martell* to the *Roman* Church were commemorated; the great Piety, Faith and Fortitude of the Family were gloriously set forth, and therewith was joynd great Commendations of the whole Nation. It was told the Auditors that *Charles* (not in the least degenerating from the worth of his Ancestours) was come with a mighty Army, against the Enemies of the Church; and by the help of God, had been as prosperous as he had been ready to undertake the work. And it was to be hoped, that within few days all *Italy* would have cause to congratulate his complete Victory, as now both *Italy* and the Church gave him hearty thanks for what he had already performed.

68. On the fourth day *Charles* was present at Service in the Church of *St. Paul*. On the fifth the Bishop procured him to meet him in the Palace of the *Vatican*, where in the presence of their Judges he desired him to make good what *Pipin* his Father, he himself, and his Brother *Carloman* had engaged to *Stephen* at *Carlsruhe*. Hereupon *Charles* caused the Instruments of the Engagement to be read, afterward with his Judges approved them, they containing a Grant of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*. *Iterius* his Secretary he commanded to add a new Grant, and therein to add *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, the Territory of *Sabinum*, the Dukedoms of *Spoleum* and *Lufcia*, with the Revenues paid formerly for these Dukedoms

to

Verona yielded.

Charles goes to Rome.

Charles King of the Franks invades Italy.

Charles makes a new Donation to the See of Rome.

Sect. 4. to the Lombard Kings; always excepted the Royal Prerogative and Authority, over these Dukedoms. The Instruments of this Donation being signed with his own hand, and attested by the Bishops, Abbots, and his Secretaries, he deposited upon the Altar of St. Peter, and in the Confession, as Monuments in time to come, binding by Oath himself and his to the observance of them; and took a Copy of them along with him. For this Donation the Testimony of *Anastasius* the Popes Library-keeper is produced, an Epistle of *Adrian* himself to *Constantine* the Emperour and his Emperess *Irene*, and the Instruments of *Ludowick* the Son of *Charles*, wherein it is more fully expressed, and whence it appears that the Lombard Dukedom of *Tuscia*, comprehended the Castle of *Felicitas*, *Orbitum*, *Balnearogium*, *Ferenti Castrum*, *Viterbium*, *Marchia Tuscana*, *Populonium*, *Soanen* and *Refellae*. These things thus appointed, when *Charles* had made a stay of eight days in *Rome*, and in this space satisfied the desires of the Church-men as well as his own Curiosity, he returned to the Camp at *Pavia*.

69. Here *Desiderius*, in a most fortified City, resolved to hold out, knowing that all the Kingdom would be lost with it, and if it were safe the rest might easily be recovered. Though there was small hope of starving the place, or carrying it by any stratagem, yet the reasons that made *Desiderius* resolved on one side, made *Charles* as peremptory on the other, resolving not to raise the Siege till he should have some good account of it. But that which breaks stone Walls, broke at last the resolution of *Desiderius*, and broke open the Gates to the *Franks*, not only the Townsmen but Souldiers too, being conquered by Hunger, which being accompanied by a raging Pestilence, drew necessity upon the King, a thing too powerfull for him to withstand; so that at last he yielded up himself, his Wife and Children, and all he had into the Power of *Charles*. By so doing, if we believe the flourish of *Signorius*, he was more famous, viz. by losing his Kingdom, than either was *Alboin* for beginning it, or *Agilulf* for reducing it into form and order, so much fame and favour did the greatness of the Conquerour procure unto him. But here was the period of the Kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, in the two hundred and sixth year after their seizing on that Country, the seven hundred and seventy fourth year of our Lord. However some Bishops of *Rome* have belpattered the Nation, and the success of *Charles* both eclipsed their glory and engaged all Pen-men on his side and the Pope's (so that this late Revolution is described to us with unworthy and improbable circumstances on the Part of *Desiderius*) yet were they a People very Warlike and considerable. Their Domination being barbarous and cruel at first, after they came to taste of Christian Religion grew more mild and benign: witness their good and wholesome Laws, whereby Theft, Robberies, Murthers and Adultery were severely punished, and the Liberty and Property of private men most carefully provided for; witness the magnificent Churches, rich and spacious Monasteries, where-with as Monuments of their Religion they adorned that part of Italy where they had most power; the sumptuous Palaces and endowments of Bishopsricks, the notable Towns they either built from the ground or repaired, the many men eminent for sanctity, which they highly cherished; and even the Bishop of *Rome* himself whom they greatly enriched. And though with *Signorius* we conclude that Ambition, and a lust of Reigning cast them down from the Royal height of Dignity and their ancient Dominion in Italy, yet we shall conclude also that the enjoyment of other mens Rights, Success and Conquest, though they varnish over Names and Titles, to wise and sober Persons argue neither true worth, nor solid Felicity.

70. But having lately mentioned the Laws of the Lombards, we must not dismiss them without some farther reflexions upon that Subject. They had not onely written Laws purely digested and supplied by their several Princes upon occasion, but customary, whereby Lands and Possessions were held by Services. These are called *Feuda* or *Feods*, concerning which, both as to the Etymology of the word and the original of the thing, opinions are various. Some derive the word from *Faida* (whence our *Fende*) signifying enmity, strife, war or division, in the Tongue of the Lombards; some from the word *Fœdus*, a League or Alliance; some from *Fieri*, and others from *Fides* or *Fidelitas*. Accordingly the word is variously written sometimes, (*Feodum* and *Fendum*) otherwise *Fœdum*, and *Fædum* also. It properly signifies a Salary, or Stipend, and Secondly, or by way of Translation, the Lands or Territories, which by the good will and bounty of the Lord, the Vassal enjoys in the place or room of a Stipend or Salary. It seems therefore to be derived from the Saxon or Teutonic word,

word, *fo*, *feh*, or *fooh*, which the ancient *Franks* called *Fe*, and we at this day *Fee*, for *fo* was and is called a Salary, Stipend, or Reward. The Saxon letter *b* might well be changed into *f*, or rather *bade* or *bod* might be added, which in Saxon signifies a State, Order, or Condition. So might it be called *Feodum* from *feohas* or *feohos*, as that which was possessed in the quality or condition of Reward or Stipend. So our Saxon Ancelours called the Military Order, *cniçrht-hab*, as we at this day Knight-hood, and many other things in like manner, as we now say Father-hood, Child-hood, Man-hood, and the like.

71. Whencesoever the word had its Original, the Original of the thing hath been as much controverted; some derive it from the Laws and Customs of the Romans, from their Patrons and Clients; it being the custom from the time of *Romulus* for *Plebeians* to make choice of certain Patritians for their Patrons to protect them, as we have formerly shewn out of *Dionysius*, they being to serve them with their lives and fortunes upon occasion. In imitation of them the Provincials, and the Associates of the People of *Rome* had their Patrons in the Senate. Others will have the Stipends of the Roman Souldiers in the Civil Law called *Militia* to have resembled these *Feuda*, and some compare the *Coloni Glebae ascriptitii*, to these Vassals and Feudatories. But their opinion most resembles the truth, who in this point of the Romans, think the *Feuda* to have begun under *Alexander Severus*, at least under *Constantine* the Great. For *Severus*, as *Lampridius* the Historian informeth us, to the Captains and Souldiers of the *Limitis*, gave those grounds that had been taken from the Enemy to be possessed by their Heirs, in case they served in the Wars, wisely concluding that they would be more careful and industrious to defend their own; which *Constantine* perceiving not to have been practised without reason, ordered that these grounds should pass also to the Heir called *Heres Paganus*, the more to oblige his Souldiers to him. But all these Remarks conclude nothing as to the Nature of the *Feuda*, as they are now received amongst the several Nations, being constituted in a moveable thing, or such as come near thereto, the use and *Utile Dominium* whereof, is onely granted to the Client, but the Propriety or direct Dominion, necessarily remains in the Grantor and his Heirs, and besides that Fidelity which the Client by oath promisseth to his Patron (from which the one is called *Dominus*, and the other *Fidelis*) or Lord, is reserved a certain Jurisdiction over the Client or Vassal in case he acted or omitted any thing contrary to their Agreement, and the Nature of the Action of a *Feudum*, of which there is nothing to be found either in the Laws or Customs of the Romans. A Person very eminent in his Profession writes, that he had looked over all Roman Treatises, and those Books also which have been written of these *Feuda*, and from them all (a very few onely excepted) he pronounces that the *Feuda* were utterly unknown to the Roman Laws, and not the least Footsteps of them are to be found in that of *Justinian*, but that they rose up from the Manners and Customs of other Nations after the Roman Empire was ruined in the West.

72. But of what Nations it is farther controverted. The same learned Person is concerned for the Honour of his own, and besides him some few others contend that the *Feuda* were introduced by the Kings of the *Franks*, before the Domination of the Lombards in Italy. It appears indeed from *Gregory Turonensis* and others, that there were Dukes and Counts which held certain Territories, and that there were *Leudes* which are interpreted Vassals. But yet from the Nature of the Offices of these Dukes and Counts, can nothing certain be concluded to make them *Feuda*; so uncertain was their Tenure and Succession therein, and some Image or Resemblance there might be of these *Feudatories*, but no perfect Idea of these *Leudes*. The general opinion of Authors is that the *Feuda* had their Original from the Lombard Kings in Italy, who, as the Reader may discover by what we have written, were wont to grant Cities, Towns and Territories to Dukes and Captains to use and enjoy, the direct Dominion ever reserved to themselves. For farther Confirmation hereof, and in answer to what is objected on the French Part, there is one who proves, that the greatest part of the Customs, and most of the words which the French themselves use about these *Feuda*, were taken from the Lombards. The words are *Teutonic*, and favour not onely of the German Tongue, but its most ancient Dialect or the old Saxon; whence, and because the Lombards were a Teutonic Nation, some will have the first Original of *Feuda* to have been in Germany it self, and they fantasie they find somewhat of the Condition of Vassals in the Story of *Tacitus*, which he tells concerning the *Comites* amongst the Germans; who brought Council and Authority to the Princes of

Desiderius delivers up himself and all he hath to *Charles*.

The Kingdom of the Lombards ends.

(*Feudwhence* is so called.)

They had their Original from the Lombards.

Sect. 4.

Vid. Dr. Dukes de Auth. Juris civilis lib. 1. cap. 6.

Abbasius de Feud. n. 5.

Gregory Turon. l. 8. c. 9.

Eguinarius Baro, de iure benefic. lib. 1. in pref. ad Joann. Berrand. Franc. Cancel.

Spelmanii Glossar. in voc. Feudum.

Sect. 4. of the Villages, and they think this adds some force to their Conceit, that Vassal is derived by some Etymologists from the *German* word *Gessell*, by which is expressed the *Latin* word *Comes*.

71. The truth seems to be this. There was something of this sort of Service and Dependence practised by the ancient *Germans*, which being by all the Barbarous *Teutonic* Nations partly brought out of that Country, were mightily strengthened and confirmed by certain practices, which at that time the Necessity of Affairs put the *Roman* Emperours and other Princes upon. *Severus* and *Constantine* the Great, and after them others found it highly convenient for the Safety of their Territories, to bestow part of them upon Captains, and Souldiers as Wages, or Fees, or Rewards, and placed them upon the Borders where most danger lay, that by protecting what they now looked upon as their own, by one and the same Act they might also defend the whole Empire. Barbarous Princes taking up this custome, as highly necessary, formed it according to their own, and shaped it into a Service and Dependence suitable to their own *German* practices. Hence came it to pass that not only the *Lombards*, but in truth the *Franks* had some Services of this Nature, and this is to be observed, that these *German* Nations the nearer they were to the *Romans*, and the more subjected to Invasions, the more perfect and formal were these Vassalages and Services. Therefore do we hear little or nothing of *Feuda* amongst our *Saxon* Ancestours here in *Britain*, nor amongst the *Goths* in *Spain*. The *Lombards*, being nearest the *Romans*, learnt the fore-mentioned Custome from them, and being as in a Pit invironed with Adversaries, were put upon joining it with their own, and framing them into a *German* or *Teutonic* Model. As the Emperours of old assigned Lands to their Captains by way of Fee or Stipend, and to protect the Borders, so did they. But they added a peculiar Oath of Fidelity and Homage, and not only Grounds upon the Limits in the Mouth of Danger, but even all their Country they distributed to be held by Fidelity and Services, as we see by the many Dukedoms into which it was divided. And mutual at last, by practice and continuance, began the Obligations of Lord and Vassal. At first it was in the Power of the Lord Lib. 1. Tit. 1. to take away what he had granted in *Feudo* when he pleased. Afterward it was to be certain to the Vassal for a Year, and a Year only, and at length the Possession was extended to the Term of Life. But his Posterity being still unprovided for, it was brought down to one of his Sons, on whom the Lord would please to confer it, and at last came to be distributed equally amongst them all.

74. Afterwards *Conradus Salicus* the Emperour, in the Year 1025, going to *Rome* to take the Crown from the Hands of *John*, the twentieth, his Vassals petitioned him to exact by a Law, that the *Feoda* might descend to Grandsons, and that a Brother or his Son might succeed to one that died without lawful Issue, in that which had been possessed by their Father. But in case one of the Brothers received a Fee (so now will we call it) from the Hands of a Lord; he dying without a lawful Heir, his Brother could not succeed in the Fee, and although it were received in general, yet could not one succeed the other, except it was expressly by Name so provided; viz, that one dying without lawful Heirs the other should succeed, to be sure an Heir being left the other Brother should be excluded. Its farther to be understood, that a Fee or *Beneficium* collaterally went anciently no farther than Cousin-Germans, but in succeeding times came to be stretch as far as the seventh Degree, and to Males in a descending Line in infinitum. And this is to be noted, that though Daughters as well as Sons succeed their Fathers, by the Laws yet they are prohibited to succeed in a Fee, as also their Sons except especial Provision be made for them. This little History of Fees is given us by the Compiler *Gerard Niger*, wherein is to be observed, that as to what he writes concerning their descending upon Males by a new Law in infinitum, that in *France* these inferior Fees, as well as Dukedoms, Counties, Baronies, and the like came to be hereditary under *Hugh Capet*, who began his Reign eight and thirty years before the Law made by *Conradus*. From this time forward Noblemen (the lesser Nobles or Gentlemen are included) from their Fees began to take Surnames to themselves, and to their Names to add *de such a place*, a thing so ridiculously practised in *France* to this day, that if a mean man that can write himself but *Stewr*, have five or six Sons, if he have so many little Hamlets or even Cottages erected in several Grounds, each must be denominated from one of them. In case he be not so wealthy, if he have a Mill in his Ground, a Rock in his Field, or a Meadow belonging to his Cottage, one must be called *de Moulin*, another *de la Roche*, and another *des Prez*, whereby you would

SECT. 4. distinguished according to the Nature of the Fees themselves, and of those that received them, of which its not our part here to discourse.

77. It's more proper for us farther to acquaint the Reader, that these Customs being various and growing to Multitudes, Judges in the Determination of Controversies concerning Fealty and Obedience of Vassals, became confounded in their Sentiments and Judgments, as in Customs not written it ever happens. Therefore about the Year of Our Lord 1152, one *Obertus Ortenfius of Milan*, assisted by *Gerard Niger Capogifus*, under the Reign of the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa* digested these Customs concerning the use of Fees, into two * Books. Unto these Uses of Fees compiled by him, were afterwards added the Constitutions of *Lotharius* the First, *Lotharius* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, *Lotharius* the Third; and *Frederick* the First and Second; after which the Books of Fees became of such request in all Countries, that they equalled in Reputation the very *Roman* Laws of *Justinian* himself. From them by universal Consent, all Contraries not onely concerning meaner Fees, but Dukedoms, Marquifates, and the like were decided. And although some there have been that contended, that the *Lombards* Laws of Fees have no place in *France*, where they will have these Fees to have been Patrimonial, and in the free Disposition and Dominion of Clients, being called *Allodia*, yet other very eminent Lawyers of that Nation contradict them, who affirm that these Laws of Fees take place in all the *French* Provinces, especially those which are *Juris Scripti*, where the Customs of the particular places do not oppose them; for in several Provinces of *Italy*, as that of *Monferrat*, and *Mantova*, the *Lombardick* Fees are changed into Patrimonies and *Allodia*, Aliensations passing without the Knowledge of the Lord, Daughters succeeding, and several other things wherein the Provinces rejecting the strict Doctrine of Fees in these Points, have returned to the Directions and Practice of the Civil Law.

78. Out of *France*, the use of Fees was by *William* the Conquerour brought into *England*, where he distributed the conquered Country amongst his Soldiers; the *Scots* pretend to have received them about sixty Years before, in the Reign of *Malerine* the Second, but by Learned Men it is esteemed no more than a Pretension. That our *Saxon* Ancestours had some sort of Knowledge and Practice of them, being Cousin-Germans to the *Lombards*, may be granted, but this knowledge and practice was very small, for the Reasons we have already alledged. Concerning the Fees brought in by the Conquerour; what peculiar Rules and Practices they have acquired different from all the World besides, let our Municipal Lawyers tell if they please. It sufficeth me (who have already said too much) to put the Reader in mind, that the *Fenda* or Fees reduced into some Order came from our *Lombards*. The Consent of Authours, so will have it. This is strengthened by this Observation, that the *Lombards* were addicted to this Course, more than any other People. That *Obert* and *Gerard* were of *Milan* in that Country, and that in *Italy*, these Laws most flourished from the time of *Otho* the Great, to that of *Lotharius* the Third, while the Civil Law was wholly silent. But these Fees were founded as we said upon Custom, and therefore amongst the ancient written Laws of the *Lombards*, we never meet with the word *Fendum*, and the other word *Beneficium* signifying the same, is very rarely to be found.

SECT. IV.

SECT. V.

The Kingdom of the Franks in Italy, from the Captivity of *Desiderius*, to the Promotion of *Charles* King of the Franks, to the Title of Emperour.

The Space 27 Years.

1. *Desiderius* being conquered and taken, and all the rest of the *Lombards* having after his Example yielded up themselves and their Towns, *Charles* the Conquerour by right of Victory, challenged to himself the Kingdom of *Italy*, which that he might establish to himself by a new Title, he made use of the old Decree of *Gregory* the *Roman* Bishop, as it was accounted. At *Modestia* he caused himself to be Crowned with an Iron Crown, by the hands of the Archbishop of *Milan*, and ordained, that the same course should be used by his Successors. And it was performed with great Ceremony, as appeared from an ancient Ritual called *Ordo Romanus*, which *Sigonius*, as it concerned this matter, transcribed to himself, and the King was out of his Chamber led into the Church by Bishops, this purpose, the King was out of his Chamber led into the Church by Bishops, and being conducted to the high Altar, after some solemn Prayers the Archbishop and with constant Fidelity obey his Commands. The People answering, Yes; with holy Oil he anointed his Head, Breast, Shoulders, and the Joyns of his Arms; praying that both in War and in Issue he might be prosperous. Having then girt him with a Sword, put upon him Bracelets, a Robe, a Ring, and a Sceptre into his hand, he set the Crown upon his Head, and having through the Quire led him to his Throne, thereon he placed him, and having given him the Kiss of Peace, then celebrated Divine Service. This Ceremony was now performed to *Charles* by *Thomas* the Archbishop of *Milan*, and hence he and his Successors accounted themselves so considerable, and to contend for Dignity with him of *Ravenna*.

2. The Ceremony of Coronation being thus over, *Charles*, now as Lord of *Italy*, thought it is duty to settle the Frame and Polity thereof, and for this purpose resolved to go to *Rome* to consult with *Adrian*. He having notice of his Intentions, called an hundred and fifty Bishops together, with many Abbats, and solemnly receiving him into the City, consulted with them what Honours to bestow upon him. They were unanimous in this, that a King so potent, and who together with his Father and Grandfather, had so much deserved of the *Roman* Church, was to be rewarded with some extraordinary mark of Honour. It was universally then agreed and consented to by all the Nobility, that he should be a *Roman* Patritian; that throughout the Provinces he should institute Archbishops and Bishops; so that except commanded and instituted by him, they should not be Consecrated by any: That he should chuse the Bishop of *Rome*, and regulate the Apostolick See. Now *Sigonius* tells us, that the Order and Dignity of a Patritian was, since the time of *Constantine* the Great, most splendid and honourable in the *Roman* Empire. That what we called but now Infinitude of Bishops, they called Investiture, and pleased it should be performed by the giving of a Ring and a Rod. As for the choice of the Bishop of *Rome*, it seems to be granted to him for preventing of Seditions and Tumults amongst the *Romans*, by reason of ambitious seeking of so great a Place and Dignity, had quite spoiled the Meetings for Elections, to the great scandal of all good Christians; no Person at *Rome* having any Power or Authority to restrain them. But this right of chusing the Bishop, *Charles* used with great moderation, and remitted to the old way of the Assemblies of Clergy and People; provided the thing was done without tumult and indirect Practices.

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He Models
the Kingdom
of Italy.

3. After the receiving of these Honours, he addressed himself to the Modell of the Kingdom. First, *Apulia* and *Calabria* he left to the Emperour as they had been after the Victory of *Justinian*; which afterward being seized on by the *Normans*, were reduced into another form of a Kingdom, which at length got the Name of *Nespolitan*. The Dukedom of *Beneventum*, he permitted to be held by *Aragise* the Son-in-Law of King *Desiderius*; that of *Spoleum*, by *Hildebrand*, and the other of *Forum Julij* by *Rodgand*, as Fiefs from him, as formerly from the Kings of the *Lombards*. The Exarchate of *Ravenna* and *Pentapolis*, with the Dukedom of *Perusia*, *Rome*, *Tuscia* and *Campania*, the chief Right, Principality and Sovereignty retained to himself, he yielded to the Roman Bishop: The rest he kept to himself in the ordinary way of a Kingdom. This was whatsoever the Kings of the *Lombards* had possessed in *Liguria*, *Amilia* and *Venetia*, the hitherto *Tuscia* (as they accounted it) and the *Cortian Alpes* being reckoned in. That part they called *Longobardia*, or as afterward *Lombardia*, or *Lombardy*. The Exarchate they called by the Name of *Romania*, or *Romaniola*. *Italy* being thus divided, the Government thereof he ordered should be after this manner. The Dukes he would have free, bound onely by the Bond of a Royal Fee; with which whosoever tied themselves, were annually to take this Oath: *I promise that I will be faithfull to my Lord Charles, and his Sons, as long as I shall live, without any fraud or manner of deceit: And, I swear by these Holy Gospels, that I will be faithfull to him, as a Vassal to his Lord, neither to my knowledge will I divulge any thing which he shall commit to me, in the Name, or by Virtue of my Allegiance.*

Obliges the
Dukes by an
Oath of Fide-
lity.

He settles the
Government.

4. If ever it so happened that they brake this Oath, or died without Sons, the Dukedoms were conferred upon others, and this Translation, or Collation, as in Bishops and Abbats, was called Investiture; the same being observed in other Vassals or Feudataries, as Counts, Captains, and Vassals, the Modell of the Services and Tenures of whom was afterward perfected by the *Germans*. The People and Cities were after this manner to be governed. The Limits of the Kingdom and the Towns, he committed to the government of Counts, assigning to them all publick and private Jurisdiction. The Limits or Borders they called *Marche*, or *Marches*, whence the Governours of them, obtained the Titles of Counts of the *Marches*, and *Marquesses*. Some extraordinary Commissioners he sometimes sent into the Kingdom, whom having greater Authority than Counts, they called *Missi*. The Grounds of the several Cities being confuted or litigious in the Reign of the *Lombards*, he would have separated and limited, bounding them for the most part with Mountains, Fens, or Rivers. The Cities he would have taken an Oath of Fidelity to him, these words being added to it, *I will preserve his Life, Member, Mind, and true Honour*. On the Feudatary Cities, Churches and Monasteries, he laid certain Services, called *Foderum*, *Parata* and *Manfonicum*, to be paid to him, especially when he came into *Italy*, which by him and his Successors were afterward either much diminished, or wholly remitted. To Bishops and Abbats he confirmed the Possession of Churches and Monasteries, formerly granted by the *Lombards*, and added new to such as deserved them. And that he might seem to have given liberty to *Italy*, when he came thither he was wont to assemble the Bishops, Abbats, and Noble men together, and with them to deliberate of the great Affairs of the Kingdom, after the manner of the *Franks*. Into *Italy* he brought also the *Salick* Law; so that from this time forward, three sorts of Laws became of use to it; that of the *Romans*, the other of the *Lombards*, and this *Salick*. But this was the custome, that by what Law every man would live, he should profess, and then according to that, Justice should be administered to him; which Custome prevailed in *Italy*, till the time of the Emperour *Lotharius* the Second.

Three sorts of
Laws in use,
viz. That of
the Romans,
the Lombards,
and the Salick.

Returns into
France.

Duke Rodgand
Rebells.

5. Things being thus settled, *Charles* returned to *Pavia*, where leaving a strong Garrison, he took *Desiderius* and his Wife along with him, and returned into *France*. Yet did he not so well settle his Matters, but that within a year or two he was in danger to be disturbed, the Reputation he got by Arms, not being sufficient to bridle the Minds of the *Lombard* Dukes, who impatient, that the Kingdom should be taken from them, began to make disturbance in the Cities. The chief of the Conspiracy was *Rodgand* Duke of *Forum Julij*, which *Charles* understanding, as he returned out of *Saxony*, resolved betimes to obviate the mischief, and by the terrour of severity cause those who had not yet discovered themselves, to keep themselves in their Duty. Having kept his *Christmas* in *Alfatia*,

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Is defeated and
put to death.

Alfatia, with a powerfull Army he passes the *Alpes*, and marches streight into the Dutchy of *Forum Julij*, where he gave Battel to *Rodgand*, who was defeated, taken Prisoner, and put to death, as having affected the Sovereignty. Such Cities as were faulty begging pardon, easily obtained it. Going then to *Tarifiunum* to hold his *Easter*, he annexed the Dutchy of *Forum Julij* to the Kingdom; committing the Government of the several Cities to Counts; and then returned into *France*, much about the same time that *Leo* the Emperour at *Constantinople* made *Constantine* his Son his Colleague and Associate. For several years after, *Italy* remained quiet. The fourth, the return of *Charles* produced two memorable things; another Progress he made into *Italy*, and the Death of the Emperour *Leo*, whose Son *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* governed with his Mother *Irene*, a Woman of a Masculine Spirit, and Disposition. *Charles* perceiving, that being diverted by other continual Wars, he could not probably keep *Italy* in quiet, except he set a King over it, who by his Preference should administer Justice, and cast an awe as well upon Domestick as Foreign Enemies, resolved to make *Pipin* his Eldest Son King with him. Returning out of *Saxony*, taking with him the said *Pipin*, his Wife *Hildegarda*, and *Lodowick* his other Son; a little before *Christmas* he came to *Pavia*.

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A. D. 780.

He makes Pi-
pin King of
Italy with him.

Enacts several
Laws.

6. The Holydays being over, he summoned an Assembly of the Spiritual and Temporal Nobility, and made by their assent several Laws yet extant; and published on the first of *March*, concerning Bishops and Abbats, their Rights, and their Discipline; as also concerning the punishment of Murthers, Robberies, Perjuries, and for the right Administration of Justice by the Counts, and the *Vassi Dominici*. This done, he went to *Rome*, to procure the Bishop to anoint his Sons, who being very ready to bestow what would cost him nothing, anointed *Pipin* King of *Italy*, and *Lodowick* King of *Aquitain* on *Easter* day; and to another *Pipin*, he himself was Godfather. At their return to *Pavia*, the Ceremony was then renewed by *Thomas* the Archbishop, who Crowned *Pipin* with an Iron Crown, and was Godfather to a Daughter named *Gisla*. *Italy* was generally very well pleased with the Advancement of their new King, as one who would continue with them, and consequently administer Justice as there should be occasion, and protect them from the Inroads of the *Hunnes* and *Saracens*. And *Pipin* did not frustrate their Expectations in any thing they could reasonably require, bestirring himself, and doing all good Offices of a King, as he had opportunity. He encouraged all publick Works, and made such new Laws as were requisite; several of his, as of his Father *Charles*, being still extant, made in a full Assembly of the Nobility, concerning the ordering of Churches, repairing of Monasteries, Hospitals, Bridges and High-ways, the security of such as travelled to *Rome*, the Administration of Justice by Counts and their Judges. When he was in *Italy* he commonly resided at *Ravenna*, either taken with the ancient famousness of the City, or for convenience of managing Naval matters. This great Repose and satisfaction, was after some five years interrupted by the ambitious Practices of *Aragise* the Duke of *Beneventum*, who being Son-in-Law to *Desiderius*, and puffed up with conceit of his own greatness, revolted. He was so proud, that he would be called Prince in the room of Duke, and be anointed and Crowned as King by his Bishops, subscribing his Diploma, *From our most Sacred Palace*. Contemning *Pipin*, to enlarge his Dominion, he invaded the *Roman* Territories, not fearing the power of *Charles*, or the Catastrophe of *Desiderius*. *Charles* being informed of his Motions by *Adrian*, having dispatched his other Wares, resolved to pass into *Italy* and chastise his Folly. At the beginning of Winter he passed the *Alpes* with such expedition, that he kept his *Christmas* in *Etruria* at *Florence*, a City formerly destroyed by *Totilas* King of the *Goths*, and now said, by command of *Charles*, to have been re-edified.

Aragise of Be-
neventum re-
bells.

But begs
Peace, which
is granted.

7. From *Florence* he went to *Rome* to consult with *Adrian* about the chastisement of the Rebel, who now unbethinking himself, sent his Son *Romuald* to beg peace with great presents, and promise to give all satisfaction to the Bishop. The King by the Bishop's advice denied his request, and led his Army into the Territories of *Capua*, which he compelled to surrender after he had wasted the Countrey round about. The report hereof terrified *Aragise*, who expecting the Storm to come upon *Beneventum*, quitted that place and returned to *Salernum*, a Sea-Town, whence if need were he might have a convenience of Escape. Now he sent another Message, offering to give up his other Son *Grimuald* also for an Hostage, and farther to do whatsoever he should be commanded. This was accepted by the King, who taking an Oath of Allegiance from him, and the Inhabitants

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habitants of *Beneventum*, dismissed *Romuald*, and kept *Grimoald* with him as an Hostage. After this he visited *Rome* again, and granting to several Church-men confirmation of their former Estates and Privileges, he returned into *France*. There he found that *Tassilo* Duke of *Baioaria* had solicited the *Hunnies* to invade his Dominions, which they did with two Armies, the one whereof peirc'd into *Forum Julii*, but was repulsed with disgrace and loss. It happened about this time, that *Charles* having promised to give his Daughter in Marriage to *Constantine* the young Emperour; afterward, its said, denied to fend her, which so enraged him, that having *Adulgisie* the young *Lombard* King in his Court, who had been honoured with the Dignity of a Parritian, he sent him with considerable Forces into *Italy*, which he expected would revolt at the sight of their former King, by blood, and his former Interest, allied to them.

Adulgisie the
Lombard
King, invades
Italy.

8. *Grimoald* was at this time, his Father being dead, Duke of *Beneventum*, by the favour of King *Pipin*, whom in way of gratitude or consulting his present Interest, he advertised of this purposed Invasion, though he was Nephew by the Sister to the Pretender *Adulgisie*; *Pipin* commanded *Hildebrand* the Duke of *Spoletum* to be in Arms, and ordered *Winigise* his General to march to him both with Horse and Foot, desiring *Grimoald* to be of good Courage, and to resist the Enemy stoutly, if he should break into his Quarters. *Adulgisie* in the mean time landed in *Calabria*, with intention first to set upon the Dutchy of *Beneventum*, and thence to invade the Dominions of the Church, which being understood, *Winigise*, *Hildebrand* and *Grimoald* halted, and uniting their Forces, resolv'd to give him a stop in *Calabria*, before he should proceed any farther. And in *Calabria* was fought a most bloody Battel, the *Greeks* endeavouring to approve themselves for valour, and the *Lombards* themselves for fidelity to those that employed them. For a great while the success remained doubtful, but at length the *Greeks* were worsted, many slain, and more taken, amongst whom was *Adulgisie* himself, who died in his tortures. Four years after this, *Italy* continued free from War, but was then disturbed by stirr raised in the Dutchy of *Beneventum*, by means of *Grimoald* the Duke, as is suspected; it seem'd to be of such consequence that *Charles* wrote to his Son *Pipin* to gather an Army in *Italy*, and promised to fend to him another out of *France* by his Brother *Lodowick*, who came to him by great Journeys to *Ravenna*, and there kept his *Christmas*. Then joyned they their Forces and invaded the Borders of *Beneventum*, where having taken one Fort, they wintred and then returned. It's probable that *Grimoald* was frighted into obedience, and complied with their Proposals, else would not two Kings have so soon drawn back their Armies; but of this as of many other things, the Annals of those times are silent.

Is overcome
and tortured
to Death.

Another Re-
volt by *Grimoald*
Duke of *Beneven-*
tum.

To *Adrian*
succeeds *Leo*,
in the See of
Rome.

Pipin makes
War upon the
Hunnies.

9. Some three years after died *Adrian*, the Bishop of *Rome*, and was succeeded by a Priest who had the Name of *Leo* the Third. Immediately after his Consecration he sent to give notice to *Charles*, sending him the Keys of the Confection, the Banner of the City, and other great Presents, to which *Armonias* adds, that he desired him to fend to *Rome* some one of his Nobles, who by Oath might confirm the *Roman* People in their fidelity and subjection. Not long before this time *Charles* had from a Province reduced *Forum Julii* into a Dukedom, and removing the Courts, had placed there as Duke, *Henry a Frank*, it's supposed out of design to refrain and keep the *Hunnies* in order. By command of King *Pipin* some years after, he invaded *Pannonia*; and falling on them unexpectedly, killed *Iring* with other of their Dukes, and Plundering *Ribing* their Palace, sent away the Treasure to *Charles*, which they had been a long time hoarding up, most whereof he sent to *Rome*, and then passed with an Army into *Saxony*: The *Hunnies* having lost their Dukes made themselves a King, under whom they prepared themselves with all earnestness to renew the War, which *Pipin* understanding, sent notice thereof to his Father, and with a choice Party of Men brake into their Territories, took and plundered again their Royal Seat, and with a great booty went to his Father then lying at *Aix*, from whence he returned not into *Italy* till the year following, wherein *Irene* caused the eyes of her Son *Constantine* to be pulled out, that she might Reign without Controul. By this time the *Romans*, the Fear and Awe of the *Lombards* being removed, began to flow with Wealth, and grew wanton with Idleness and Luxury, and not content with the present posture of Affairs, hatched designs to shake off the Bishop, and recover their ancient Liberty.

10. The main Authors and Promoters of this Design were the Kinsmen of the late *Adrian*, *Paschalis* the *Primicerius*, and *Camulus* the *Sacellarius*, the Princes of

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Sect. 5.

of the City. The first were enraged at *Leo* for endeavouring to reform some Acts of *Adrian*; and the two last because he taxed their naughty manner of Life. They first objected some crimes to him in way of accusation, and when they could make nothing of them, then entered into a Conspiracy against his Life, and on a time, as he was going in a solemn Procession, fell upon him with some of their Creatures they had laid in Ambush, and having endeavour'd to cut out his Tongue, and pull out his Eyes, carried him into a Church, and before the Altar forely beat and wounded him. *Albinus* his Chamberlain found him in a Monastery, and brought him back to the *Vatican*, where he recovered; which so enraged the Conspirators that they pulled down *Albinus* his House. Upon the report of these Disorders in the Country, *Winigise* Duke of *Spoletum*, who had been substituted in the room of *Hildebrand*, came to *Rome* and carried him safe to *Spoletum*; whence he conveyed him into *France* to *Charles*, according to his own desire. *Charles* honourably received him, and granted his request to afford him his assistance against the Enemies of the Pontifical See, for he told him he had none else to whom he could betake himself; the Emperour, whose Duty it was to protect the Church, having lately rather been against it, and no good being to be hoped for from a Woman that now held the place at *Constantinople*. At length by the advice of such Churchmen as came to *Leo* into *France*, it was resolv'd that he should be sent back to *Rome*, and there the Merits of the Cause should be search'd into. At the time appointed *Charles* his Ambassadors held an Assembly with the Bishops and Counts of *France*, in the Palace, and heard what the Conspirators could say, who pleading nothing but what was judged vain and frivolous, they caus'd them to be committed, and sent them in Chains into *France*. The same year, *Henry* Duke of *Forum Julii*, after many Victories over the *Hunnies*, was murdered by the Inhabitants of *Tarfatica*, a Town of *Liburnia*.

11. *Charles* holding an Assembly of his Estates at *Wormes*, propounded these Cases to them, the first concern'd *Grimoald*, who had lately again revolted, the second the death of *Henry*, and the third the violence offered to the Person of *Leo*, all which deserving the presence of a King, to punish them, he resolv'd (and for one thing more doubtless) to go again into *Italy*. Autumn now declining, with *Pipin* his Son he pass'd the *Alpes* and went straight into *Liburnia*, where he punished the Inhabitants of *Tarfatica* for the death of *Henry*. One *Cadocall* he made Duke of *Forum Julii*; which having done, he departed thence to *Ravenna*, where having spent seven days in preparation for the War of *Beneventum*, he came to *Ancona*. From *Ancona*, *Pipin* with an Army march'd against *Grimoald*; and *Charles*, through the Dutchy of *Spoletum*, went for *Rome*; *Leo* and the Senate met him at *Nomenium*, twelve miles from the City, where having discours'd and feasted with him, he returned to *Rome* to take Order for his Reception, after this manner. The next day the Crofies and Holy Reliques, with the Banners of the City, were sent out to meet him; In certain places were placed certain Chors of Citizens and Strangers who sang his Praises. The Bishop himself sat upon the steps of the *Vatican* Church incircled by his Clergy, where he received him, and with singing conducted him into the place appointed for Prayers, and thence into the Confection. After seven days *Charles* called the People together, and signifying the cause of his coming, appointed a day to hear their Bishop's Cause. On the day appointed, by the advice of the Bishops, both *Franks* and *Italians*, the Accusers and Accused were cited to appear, and he himself sat as Judge with the rest. The Accusers told their Tale, but the Bishops would not suffer *Leo*, in respect of his Dignity, to answer formally as other Criminals were wont to do, whereupon he said he would use that course which the Laws allowed to purge ones self of a Crime objected. On another day, he mounted the Pulpit, and in the presence of them all, his Hands laid upon the Holy Gospels, by a solemn Oath he protested that he was clear from the crimes they had slanderously laid unto his charge. This by the Auditors was counted enough, he was esteem'd Innocent, and solemn thanks were given to Almighty God and the Saints on his behalf.

A Conspiracy
against *Leo*
the Bishop.

Which is try-
ed before
Charles.

And the Bi-
shop acquit-
ted.

12. Now comes the principal Scene and the Parts which the Bishop and *Charles* were to Act in this Comical expedition. *Leo* had been freed and absolv'd before *Charles* his coming. The Inhabitants of *Tarfatica* were not so considerable, but that he might have easily punished them by his Officers, and as for *Grimoald*, *Pipin* might have dealt with him as well, if his Father had been in *France*, as where now he remained at such a distance. There was another greater thing for which *Charles* undertook this Journey: He had made broad signs in the

A. D. 756.

* *Quin etiam*
Carolus vi-
tim

CHAP. II.

The Affairs of Britain, lately a Roman Province, Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

SECT. I.

From the Departure of the Romans out of the Island to the Destruction of Britain, or the forcing up of the Inhabitants, into the Mountainous places by the Picts, Scots and Saxons.

The Space of One Hundred Ninety Seven years.

SECT. I.

The Picts and Scots, invade Britain.

The Characters of the Britains in those days.

THE Britains being again forsaken by their Friends the Romans, who as we said were called into Gall, the Necessities of the Empire there and then requiring it, became speedily again a Prey to the ravenous Picts and Scots, who no sooner was their fear and awe removed, but like Wolves they returned, and without any Pity or Compassion renewed their Slaughters, and the Havock they had made of a worse than tame and sheepish Nation. For, such Qualities as are the certain Prefages of the Ruine of a People, had long since manifested themselves; Luxury, Effeminateness, and all sorts of vicious Habits and Practices which weaken mens Hands, and enervate their Minds, which in all Ages have destroyed Families, and overturned Governments, abounded amongst them: Never scarcely did a Kingdom, Empire or Estate miscarry, but its Period was usher'd in with Looseness and Luxury. Let the Example of Sardanius, of the Army and Court of Darius, of Cleopatra, and her Egyptian Train, and that of the Romans after the times of Lucullus, speak for the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman Empires. As for Kingdoms and States, Examples too abound, as it would be too tedious to relate them. Besides the Just Judgment of Almighty God, who in the Destruction of those that pervert Nature, and apply their Strength and Faculties to other things and ends than for which they were made, vindicates the Sovereignty and Right, which he necessarily hath over his Creatures. Luxury and vicious Habits in their own Natures, and by way of Efficiency procure what are the certain Causes of Ruine and Destruction.

2. For if things be preferred by the same means they are got or obtained, this cannot be done but by Labour and Industry. Now Luxury brings Idleness and Laziness, renders Men effeminate and impatient of Toil or Industry. This is to be noted of vicious Persons in all Ages. First, such Persons conscious to themselves, that by all Rules of Sobriety they were condemned, found themselves concerned for their Reputation (though this too at last they come oftentimes to slight) to excuse, may plead for what they were inclined to practise. Hence Sobriety was ever by them branded for Folly and foppish formality, and because they could not out-reason, they were put upon it to jeer, or as they say to droll at all things and Persons serious, and the most solid, substantial, and every way most worthy, they endeavoured to represent and render ridiculous. Learning, Discipline, honest Studies and Endeavours they scoffed at, cried up natural Parts, and flashy trifling Wits, because they could not endure to take pains themselves, being a kind of Euthuists in this respect, as expecting Inspiration or Mahomet's Pidgeon, for the

Infusion

Infusion of such Abilities as cannot be obtained but by time and labour. Hence all Seriousness being discouraged, none were preferred but vicious and superficial Parasites. When any able Persons spoke their Judgments they were derided, and all their good Councils by one twitting and drolling Speech rendered ridiculous. This caused them either to hold their Peace, or comply with the prevalent Humour, and then all good Council being discarded and rash hare-brained Opinions admitted, Reason was banished, Industry and Pains driven away and drew along with them, what are the usual Effects and Products. The wife Man knew what he said when he affirmed, that the Scorners, as it is translated, or the Derider or Droller destroys the City, not the open Enemy, not the Traitor, for Government usually recover themselves out of such Hazards; but when all Sobriety is scoffed at, when dissolute Persons manage Affairs, and by their drolling render sober and wholesome Councils ridiculous, then is a Kingdom or State in the ready and certain way to Destruction. These are the certain Symptoms of its mortal Infirmity.

3. Such was the State of the British Affairs; their Sobriety and Prosperity, if ever they enjoyed either, arose and decayed together. But if Gildas their Countryman hath not injured them, they never much could pretend either to the one, or to the other. For the first, he tells us in General, that they neither behaved themselves well towards Almighty God, towards one another, nor such foreign Princes as had subdued them, and their Subjects. For the other, they submitted to the triumphant Romans, and received their Commands without any resistance, a weak and an unfaithful People, subdued not so much by Sword, Fire and Engines of War (as were other Nations) as by Threats, Punishments and Edicts, and

They Rebel against the Roman.

Are beaten.

only in outward shew pretending Obedience. Accordingly, when the Roman Soldiers were most of them departed, having left some Governours behind to establish their Power, and not the least thinking of a Rebellion, a wily * Lionses flew these Rulers. When the Senate had notice hereof at Rome, and sent an Army to be revenged, nor Fleet was there prepared to fight for their Country, nor squared Battalion or Right wing (to use his words) was there to be seen, nor any other warlike Preparation on the shore; their backs were for shields toward such as pursued them, their Necks trembling, and like Women they stretched out to their Swords, and offered their Hands to be manacled, so that it became a by-word, and in Derision was wont to be spoken, That the Britains were neither valiant in War, nor faithful in Peace.

4. The Romans having killed many of these perfidious Men; and condemned others to slavery, that the Land might not turn into a Wilderness, quitted again the Country that wanted both Wine and Oil, and returned into Italy, leaving a sufficient Power behind them, to be as whips for the Backs, and Yokes for the Necks of the Natives, to afflict and tire them not so much with a military Hand as with stripes, but if need were to thrust the Sword into the sides of the Nation; and however to make the Name of Roman Slavery stick to the Soil, so that it should be accounted not Britannia, but Romanita, and what Brass, Silver or Gold it could get, should be stamped with Cæsar's Image. Having received the Gospel in the time of Tiberius, it cannot be denied but that this Nation afforded several glorious Martyrs, but when Arianius once came to spread abroad, readily received the Venome of every Heresie, being ever greedy of Novelty, and never stable in any thing. After this a vast wood of Tyrants (so he phraseth it) sprung up, and the Island retaining the Roman Name indeed, but little of the Manners or Laws, sent into Gall Maximus, accompanied with many Soldiers, but such as were tumultuous and over and above adorned with Imperial Ensigns which he never decently wore; not obtained legally, but as Tyrants were wont to compass them. This Man by craft rather than any Valour, having brought the Neighbouring Provinces into his Net, and by Perjury and Lies adjoined them to his wicked Dominion; stretched one of his Wings as far as Spain, and the other into Italy, and establishing the Throne of his most wicked Empire at Triers, raved with so great Madness against his Masters, that of two lawful Emperours, the one at Rome, and the other elsewhere, he bereaved of his Religious Life. But presently as he proceeded in this cursed and audacious practices, was he at Aquileia smitten on the Head (he means slain): who had cast down the honoured Heads of the whole World, from their Sovereignty.

5. But by this means became Britain bereaved of her Soldiers and Military Men, as also of her Governours (how cruel soever) and in a manner all her Youth, which following the Tyrant into Gall, never more returned home, and

M 2

there

Legg Comment.
Verulamii in
hoc Proverbi-
um. Derisor
perdit Civem
latum.

Hæc vestra-
rice & mente
est quæ inda-
bita est, nunc
Deo, interdu-
bitus, non-
nunquam ex-
am transpa-
rentis Regibus
& Subjectis
ingrata con-
fugit. Gildas. p. 7.
Impress. Lon-
doni, 1568.
Opera Joan.
Johannis.

Leena truci-
deus delicta.
Si per Le-
nam non ip-
word, and in
intelligit (le-
per enim hoc ge-
neris ditionis
uiris
femina Banni-
cia sine Poadi-
cia est inuelli-
genda, que a-
pud Dionem
80000, apud
Tacitum
70000 Roma-
narum, reg-
nante Nerone,
discur inter-
missæ.

Sec't. 1. thereby growing utterly unskillful in matters of War, first was invaded by two transmarine and cruel Nations, the *Scots* from the West, and the *Piſts* from the North, under which the groned for many years. Being haraſſed with their Inrodes, and the direfull Effects thereof, ſhe ſent to *Rome* with Tears, requiring that Succours might be haſtened away to her Relief, vowing in caſe the Enemy were removed to remain conſtant in Fidelity to the Empire. A Legion unmindfull of the former Miſchief was ordered her, which having paſſed the Seas preſently ingaged the Country, and thereby freed the Inhabitants from cruel Death, or Imminent Captivity. This done, it ſet them upon making a Wall overthwart the Iſland to defend them from theſe Inrodes; but it being made by the Rabble without any Inſtructor, and not of Stone but of Earth, for the moſt part did them little or no Service. This Legion being returned with great Joy and Triumph, the ſame Rovers like ſo many greedy and ravenous Wolves came again upon their former Prey, no Shepherd appearing to protect the ſheep, bore down and trampled on all in their way like ſtanding Corn. Now again are Meſſengers diſpatched to *Rome* with their Clothes rent, and Earth upon their Heads, like as fearful Chickens betake themſelves to the Wings of their Damms, beſeeching them not to ſuffer their afflicted Country absolutely to periſh, nor the *Roman* Name (now indeed merely a Name) to be loſt, and extinguished in the Iſland. The *Romans* receiving as great an Impreſſion from the Story of this Tragedy, as humane Nature was capable of, made ſomuch haſte to their Reſcue, as an Eagle can do in the Air, an Horſe-man on the Earth, or the moſt expert Mariner can do upon the Sea; and like as a mighty Torrent falling from the Mountains, removes heaps of Sand which lie in its way, ſo did they ſweep and cleaſe the Country of theſe greedy Rovers.

6. They now plainly tell thoſe, for whoſe deliverance they came, that they muſt not for the future, expect any ſuch tedious and laborious Journeys from them; and that the *Roman* Legions, or ſuch an Army, was not to be endangered by Sea and Land, for the driving away a ſort of inconſiderable ſtragling Thieves. They bid them apply themſelves to the ſtudy and practice of Arms, that by their own Valour and Conduct they may be able to protect their Country, their Wives, their Children, (and what ſhould be more dear to them) their Lives and Liberty; to ſtretch out their hands, not naked and diſarmed to be pinioned by the Enemy, but furniſhed with Swords, Spears, and ſuch like Inſtruments of War ready to aſſault and ſlaughter theſe Nations, which could not be more valiant and powerful than themſelves, except ſloth, and idleneſs made them ſo. They preſcribed them the way how they ſhould make another Wall, not according to the former Model, propounding courageous Exploits to a fearful People, and a pattern to ſuch as were not willing to write after it. Upon the Southern Shore where their own Ships lay at Anchor, and the Invaſions of theſe Barbarous People were feared, they build watch Towers at a certain diſtance one from another, and bid farewell to *Britain*, as never more to return into the Iſland. They were no ſooner gone, but Swarms of *Scots* and *Piſts* again appeared upon the Shore, and like a Swarm of Caterpillars overſpread the Face of the Earth; differing indeed in manners and Cuſtoms from each other, but both alike greedy to ſhed blood, having their Faces more covered with Hair than their ſecret Parts with Cloaths; and they confidently ſeized on the Northern part of the Iſland, as their own, from the utmoſt bounds thereof, as far as the Wall. Upon the Wall the *Britains* ſet a Guard, but ſitter to Eat than to Fight, trembling at the ſight of an Enemy, and pining away for the very thought of War. The Barbarians had certain Hooks, wherewith they would pull down to the ground, the unwarly and helpleſs Defendant; who in ſo great a miſfortune was in this reſpect happy, that he lived not to ſee thoſe dreadful Calamities, which ſhortly after beſell his Relations.

7. In ſhort, the Guard e'er long quitted both the Wall and the Towns adjoining, and then followed the uſual Flights and Diſperſions of a poor ſheepiſh and miſerable People; for, to no other than ſuch a preying of Wolves and wild Beasts, can this thing be compared; the miſerable *Britains* running away, and when eaſily overtaken, being ſlaughtered like Sheep with Complaints, but no oppoſition. Thoſe that remained alive, in another manner felt the dreadful effects of this Invaſion, ſo ſevere a Famine following that, havock which had been made of all things, that no food could be obtained, but what ſmall pittance could be got by hunting. The miſerable Remnant of the *Britiſh* Nation in this deſolate condition, having cauſe to apprehend another Invaſion, writes to *Agitius* a *Roman* Officer,

Sec't. 1. after this manner. "To *Agitius* thrice Conſul, the Groans of the *Britains*: "then after a few Complaints: The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea "drives us back upon the Barbarians. Betwixt theſe two ſorts of death, we "have either our Throats cut, or are drown'd. But no ſuccour or relief could "be obtained. In the mean time the Famine was ſo violent, that many gave up themſelves to the cruel Enemy, purchaſing a little bread with everlaſting ſlavery; others more valiantly betook themſelves to the Mountains, Caves and Woods, whence they made Sallics upon the Rovers: and now fiſt of all betaking themſelves to Almighty God, and truſting in him, had for many years ſucceſs againſt, and killed many of them as they ranged abroad for Booty. Now (ſaith our Author) the boldneſs of the Enemy for a little time ceaſed, but not the wickedneſs of our People, it being ever, as it now is, the cuſtome of the Nation to be weak to repell an Enemy (to blunt his Weapons as he expreſſeth it) but ſtrong enough to ſupport Civil Wars, and the heavy burthen of their ſins; inſirm to execute the effects of Peace and Truth, but able to praſtice wickedneſs and Lies.

8. The Ravenous *Scots* then return into *Ireland* for a ſhort time. The *Piſts* fixed themſelves now in the Northern part of the Iſland, and there continued making ſome Incuſions now and then. During the Truce, the Scarr of the Famine was healed up, another and more virulent Soar ſecretly growing. For theſe Hoſtilities ceaſing, ſo great a Plenty and abundance of all things followed in the Iſland as no paſt Age could parallel; and this was accompanied with every way proportionable as great Luxury. So greatly did this evil root ſprout up and increaſe, that at this time it might be truly ſaid, *Absolutely ſuch Fornication is heard of, as is not reported amongſt the Gentiles*. But not only this Vice, but all others that are incident to humane Nature, and eſpecially (which alſo at this time ſaith he undoes all) hatred of the truth, and them that ſpeak it, lovers of Lies with thoſe that forge them; the taking of good for evil, veneration of evil for good, the deſire of darkneſs inſtead of the Sun, and the entertainment of *Satan* for an Angel of Light. Kings were anointed without any reſpect to God, but if there were any more cruel than their Fellows: And not long after they were murdered by thoſe that anointed them, without any examination of the matter, and more cruel ones were choſen in their rooms. If any of them had but a ſhew of mildneſs or ſeemed the leaſt inclinable to truth, the hatred and violence of all was upon him, as the Subverter of *Britain*. What was pleaſing or diſpleaſing to Almighty God, was all one and alike to them; but rather, what diſpleaſed him moſt pleaſed them: So that that Saying of the Prophet, may be well fitted to our Country, which was denounced againſt that ancient People. *Children ye Iſaiah*, 1. 5. *have forſaken God without a Law, and provoked to anger the Holy one of Iſrael. Why ſhould ye be ſmitten any more ye workers of Iniquity? All the Head is ſick, and the Heart faint, from the ſole of the foot to the crown of the head there is no health in it.* So they acted all things contrary to health, as if the Univerſal Phyſician afforded no Medicine to the World. And theſe things were not only praſticed by Secular men, but by the Lord's Flock and the Shepherds thereof; who ought to be an Example unto the People. They were debauched and grown ſottiſh by Drunkenneſs, fell one upon another, with Contentious Brawlings, and Emulations, having no diſcretion to diſcern betwixt good and evil.

9. In the mean while it pleaſing Almighty God to purge his Family, and by a Report only of Tribulation, to cure it of ſo miſchievous an Infection, a ſwift noiſe pierced all mens ears of the ſudden approach of the ancient Enemy, who was now reſolved to deſtroy all the Natives, and himſelf to plant and inhabit the whole Country. Yet for all this did they not amend their manners, but like to fooliſh Aſſes biting upon the Bit of Reaſon, left the right Path, and hurried on the broad ſteep way which leads to deſtruction. Therefore, as *Solomon* ſays, *When the Servant is not amended by words, the ſool is whipped and doth not feel it*; Prov. 29. 19. for a dreadful Plague fell upon this fooliſh People, which in a ſhort time, without any aſſiſtence of the Sword, did ſuch execution upon them, that the living ſufficed not to bury the dead. Neither yet were they ever the better, that the Saying of *Iſaiah* 22. 12. *And God called them to ſorrow and mourning, to baldneſs and the girdle of Sackcloth: but behold they ſell to Riſing of Calves and ſlaying of Rams, to eat and drink, and they ſaid, Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we ſhall die.* And why? the time approached wherein their Iniquities, as in old time thoſe of the *Ammorites* ſhould be fulfilled. For they fell into a Conſultation, what might be the beſt and moſt effectual courſe to prevent the ſo diſmal and frequent Invaſions of the forenamed Nations. Then were all the

Upon which a Meſſage is ſent to *Rome* for aid.

All things tending to ruin.

A third Invaſion.

A ſevere Famine following.

Sect. I.

The Saxons
are invited.Who Land
here.But find fault
with their
Quarters.Making ha-
voock of their
Entertainers.

the Counsellours, together with the proud Tyrant himself, blinded, devising not a Protection, but the destruction of their Country; namely, that those most fierce and cursed Saxons, hateful both to God and Man, should as Wolves into the Sheep-fold be sent for to repulse these Northern Nations. Than which nothing was ever more pernicious, nothing more bitter. Oh the grossest darkness of understanding! Oh the most desperate dulness and blockishness of mind! Those whom absent they dreaded more than death, these foolish Princes invited under the same Roof, giving as 'tis said foolish Council unto Pharaoh.

10. Then did a Kennel of Whelps in three Vessels, called by them *Cynla*, in our Language, faith he, Long Ships, rush out of the barbarous Lionelles Den, with a prosperous gale, and lucky Omen and Auguries, whereby it was foretold by a certain Prelate, *That for three hundred years they should possess that Country, unto which they directed their course; and for an hundred and twenty, or half that space of time, often waste and depopulate the same.* These having Landed, by Commandment of the unlucky Tyrant, first fixed their Claws upon the Eastern part of the Island, as with a design to protect it, but truly meaning to offer violence to it. And their forementioned Dam finding that her first Kennel prospered, sent after them a greater rabble of Dogs, which having passed over in Pinnaces, joyned with the former mil-begotten Crew. Thence it is that the Sprout of Iniquity, the Root of Bitterness, the Virulent Plantation, but suitable to our Delirts, springs up in our Soil, with their extravagant Buds and Branches. But these Barbarians being admitted into the Island as Souldiers, and such (so they ly'd) as were to undergo great hazards for their Entertainers, obtained what was necessary for their subsistence; which being allowed for a long time (as it's said) stopped the Dogs mouth. Howbeit afterward, they complain that they were but slenderly provided for, seeking for colourable Pretences to quarrel; and except their Allowances were increased, they threaten to break the Peace, and to hara's the whole Island. Without delay they back their Threats by suitable Actions. For the cause, viz. their wickedness still continuing the same, and being nourished, the fire by the hands of these Eastern Sacrilegious men, was kindled from Sea to Sea, and consuming the Neighbouring Cities and the Countries adjoining, ceased not, till having in a manner destroyed all the Land with a red and terrible flame, it touched upon the Western Ocean. In this violent Invasion, comparable to that which the *Affyrans* made into *Judab*, is also fulfilled in us according to the History, what the Prophet by way of Lamentation uttered: *They have burnt thy Sanctuary with fire, they have polluted in the Land the Tabernacle of thy Name.* And again: *O God the Gentiles are come into thine Heritage: they have defiled thine Holy Temple, &c.* Inasmuch that all the Colonies by the frequent battering of Engines, and all the Inhabitants together with the Prelates of the Church, the Priests and People, by Swords glittering on every side, and cracking Flames, were at once laid flat upon the ground; and which was a dreadful Spectacle to behold, in the midst of the Streets the stone-works of Turrets and high Walls, sacred Altars, and pieces of Carkales, cruell'd over with a purple bloody Dye, as in one horrible Wine-press to be seen mixed together. Neither was there any Sepulchre other than the Ruines of Houses, and the Bellies of wild Beasts and Fowls; with Reverence be it spoken to Holy Souls, if many such were then found, which were carried by Angels up into Heaven. For that Vine which was formerly good, had so degenerated into bitterness, that according to what the Prophet says, Seldom could a Clufter, or Ear, be found after the Gatherers or Reapers.

11. Some miserable Remains being found upon the Mountains, were butchered by heaps: Others, almost spent with Fame, gave up themselves to the Enemy into perpetual Slavery, if they were not presently killed, which was esteemed the greatest favour imaginable. Others went into Parts beyond the Sea, instead of the Mariners *Celestina* (or Song at their first setting out) howling and roaring under their spread Sails, this Ditty: *Thou hast given us, O Lord, as Sheep to be devoured, and hast scattered us among the Nations.* Others stayed in their own Country, but betook themselves to Mountains, to craggy places, and difficult of Access, to thick Woods, and the very Rocks of the Sea, ever trembling for fear, and having their safety in suspicion. A little time being past, when the cruel Rovers had retired, those that were left behind being strengthened by God, to whom now they flee from all places, as Bees to an Hive upon the approach of a Tempest, most heartily beseeching him, and sending up innumerable Prayers, that they might not utterly be destroyed from the face of the Earth; under

Item quær-
tur non effu-
erunt sibi Ex-
pennia Contri-
bui. Pro Epi-
menia voc
Graeca Popu-
lus Virginis
aliquæ po-
mest Amone,
sed mones yf-
selmus in de
Saxo. lib. de
voculatis in-
terpreters
NEP., l. 6.
Nihil sine
habitationem.
Eph. 73. 7.
Eph. 73. 11.

Psal. 43. 12.

Sect. I.

Conduct of *Ambrosius Aurelianus* a modest Man, who of the Roman Nation alone had survived this Calamity, having lost his Parents therein, who were clad with Purple, and whose Posterity has now degenerated from their Grandfathers goodness; under him they take Arms and Courage, provoke the Conquerors to Battle, and by the Assistance of Almighty God obtain the Victory. From this time forward, faith *Gildas*, now the Natives, and then their Enemies have the better, that this Nation might be tryed, as formerly *Israel* was; whether it would love the Lord or not: even to the Year wherein Mount *Badon* was besieged, and the last defeat given to these Rogues, the forty fourth year (viz. of the Saxons their coming into Britain) as I well know, one Month thereof being past, the same as of mine own Nativity. But even now the Cities of our Country are not inhabited as formerly, but lye waste and desolate, for though External Wars are ceased, yet Civil ones are not. However the remembrance of the Desperate Condition of the Island, and of the unhoped for Relief, stuck fast in the minds of those who were witnesses of both the Miracles: as in this respect Kings, publick and private Persons, Priests and Ecclesiastical Men, every one in his Order.

12. But they being dead, and a Generation succeeding which was ignorant of the condition of the time past, and had only felt the Serenity of the present, all Rules of Truth and Justice were so shaken and subverted, that I may not say no footsteps, but no marks at all of them remain in the late mentioned Orders, few, and they very few, excepted, who in respect of the loss of so great a Multitude which daily runs Headlong to Hell, their Number is so short, that in a manner our Venerable Mother the Church, cannot of those that lye in her Bosome, perceive which are her true and only Sons. After a few more words, he demands why that should be concealed, which not only is known, but upbraided by the Nations round about. Britain, faith he, hath Kings but Tyrants, Judges it hath but wicked ones, often fleeing and punishing, but Innocent Persons, vindicating and patronising, but guilty Persons and Thieves, having very many Wives, but these Whores and Adulteresses, often swearing but forswearing, vowing and then presently breaking, waging Wars, but those Civil and upon unjust Accounts, prosecuting Thieves mightily throughout the Countrey, and having some of them sitting at their own Tables, whom they not only love but reward, bestowing Alms liberally, but on the other side, heaping up vast Mountains of Wickedness, sitting in the Seat of Arbitrators, but seldom enquiring after any Rule of right Judgment, despising the Innocent and Humble, but as much as in them lies, and as opportunity serves, extolling to the Skies all bloody Persons, proud, guilty of paricide, unlawfull Company-keepers and Adulterers, the Enemies of God, and who with the very Name it self were to be destroyed and blotted out; keeping many bound in Prison, whom by their own Craft, they oppress and load with Chains, rather than for any thing, wherein they have really offended: continuing with Oaths amongst Altars, which within a little time they despise as dirty Stones.

13. After this, our Author comes to the Reprehension of particular Persons. First he accuses *Constantine* (whom he terms the Whelp of the *Pannonian Lioness*) of killing, notwithstanding a corporal and most solemn Oath, some Boys of Royal extract betwixt the Altars. Of living many years before in Adultery, having put away his own Wife contrary to Christ's Command. He affirms that he had planted in his Heart, which was like an Earth unable to bear any good Fruit, a slip of Unbelief and Folly taken from *Sodom*, which being watered by many known, though Domestick Impieties, as so many poisonous showres brought forth to the offence of God, this impudent Crime of Paricide and Sacrilege, that still intangled in the Nets of his former Michiefs, by his ancient faults he increases his present Enormities. * After this, saying that he reprehends him as presently whom he knows yet to be alive, by laying before him the Eternal Punishments which were to infuse, and the promises made for his Salvation, he earnestly exhorts him to the amendment of his sinful life. Now after him he takes *Aurelius Caninus* to task, whom he terms a Lion's Whelp, and demands of him whether he be not worse than the former, swallowed up in the Filth of Paricides, Fornications and Adulteries. Whether hating the Peace of his Country, as a Serpent or some deadly thing, by thrusting after Civil Wars and unjust Depredations, he do not rush against himself the Gates of Heavenly Peace and Refreshment. Seeing he was left alone as a withering Tree in the middle of a Field, he bids him remember the idle fancy of his Fathers and Brothers with their juvenile and immature Death. And bidding him not to think to live to the Age of *Me-
thusalab*, *quidam*.

In Character
in general.

As to particu-
lar Persons.

Aggem qua-
si presertim
arguo quem
autem sperasse
non nescio.
f. 25. 6.
Quid tu quos;
ut Propterea
his, Canine
Leone Au-
reli Canine
Agit
Aut Aurelianus
Caninum vo-
cant, Aulor
noster Cani-
num ut his
quon dedit ut
si sequatur.
Ego sum de
indistincta ista
nomen mutasse
exijimave-
rim, quod
ingenio hujus
sacre Jact
thusalab, quidam.

Sect. I.

*Sed monita
tibi profectò
non defunt,
cum habueris
præceptorem
penè totius
Britanniæ
magistrum e-
legantem. Ca-*

tibi quod à Sa-
lomone nota-
tur accidat.
Quasi qui ex-
citat dormien-
tem de grâvi
somnia, sic qui
enarrat stulto
sapientiam,
Eccl. p. 23.

89

Vertigern
chosen King of
the *Britains*.

His Character

**He calls
Council.**

**Who agree
require aid
the Saxons**

Accordingly
Ambassadors
are sent.

Sect. 1.

Plures judica-
bant id decus
defendendum
Vortigeris,
quod esset vi-
r inter viros au-
thoritate, no-
bilitate, vir-
tute summus.
Aagl. Histor.
lib. 3.
Nec manu
conflictus nec
compulsio bonus,
sino ad illece-
bras carnis
promus omni-
umque fere
victorum man-
cipium: quip-
pe quem subju-
garet avaritia
insuperbia,
Malmesbur-
genfis Regum
Anst. 1.

y a Witichind.
 her Gef. Saxon.
 or- Lib. 1.
 the
 none
 lief:
 it to
 xons Germani
 they entes rem m
 scar- le votis pe
 s, as tam à se ul
 ould expostulari
 Ec. Malm.
 Ubi suprà.

SecT. 1. only there, but upon the Sea, as the word *Wippeds-fleet* intimates to us. But *Hengst* being landed, invites *Vortigern* his Son-in-Law to a Feast, together with three hundred of his Nobles; some say the meeting was appointed for a Treaty, to order their Affairs. To be sure, he so ordered his matters, that having a number of his own men, sufficient to overpower these *Britains*, whom he knew to be the chief of those that could perform any thing either in Council or War against the *Saxon* Interest; he first caused them to raise a Quarrel, and then when they were warm with Wine, and more able to brawl than to defend themselves, the Watch-word was given, *Nemet Coar Scanes*, upon which they drew their Scimiters, and murdered all their three hundred Guests in the place. They had another kind of design upon *Vortigern*, knowing he would easily be drawn to what they would have him. He was only bound and kept in custody, till for his Ranfome he assigned them three Provinces, which were afterward called *Essex*, *Suffex*, and *Middlesex*. After this, some Authors tell us, that *Vortigern* returned to his solitary kind of Life in that Country, which from him was called *Guorthigirnauri*, and thence to a Castle of his own building in those parts, now called *North-Wales*, near to the River *Tiebi*; where living obscurely among his Wives, he was, as it is storied, burnt by fire from Heaven, at whole Prayer, whether *German* or *Aurelius Ambrosius*, it's not material to enquire. For the Reader must know that, according to the same Writers, he having committed Incest formerly with his own Daughter, was censured in a Synod, consisting both of Lay and Ecclesiastical Persons, and partly for that Reason, partly for fear of the *Saxons*, by advice of his Nobility, retired into that Country, now called *Wales*; where he built him a strong Castle (in *Radnorshire*), by advice of a young Prophet, by some called *Ambrosius*, and by others *Merlin*. His Son undertook the Government, and in his Absence reigned with great success. After his Death *Vortigern*, either by the power of his own faction, or by universal consent re-assumed the Government, which *Hengst* understood, was encouraged to return and practise upon his Sottishness and Credulity, with that success as we have now related.

23. The *Britains* having lost the flower of their Nation in the Massacre, were much startled at it to such a measure, as they began to think of their wicked Courses, and whither they were now bringing them, and began to be more sober, and to betake themselves to Divine Assistance. They were encouraged by some other Retreat of the *Saxons*, upon what occasion it's uncertain, and by the great hopes conceived of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, who being descended of *Roman* Ancestors, but such as had born Regal Dignity in the Island, and lost their lives against the *Picts* and *Scots*, had with their applause succeeded *Vortigern*; who, if credit may be given to some Authors, as much out of fear of him and the *Romans*, as of the *Picts* and *Scots* themselves, first called in the *Saxons*. Under Conduct of this *Aurelius Ambrosius*, or *Ambrosius Aurelianus* (as *Beda* calls him) they took out (by the Monk of *Malmesbury*) to have made much use in his Wars of one *Arthur*, and what *Arthur* should this be, but him whom others make the Son of *Pendragon* his Brother. But so various and uncertain are the Reports of the *British* and *Saxon* Authors, that although much be written, yet very little of certainty have we either of the one or the other. As for *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, *Ninus*, as we lately hinted about *Vortigern*, will have him to have been famous, before the coming of the *Saxons*; according to which *Alfred* *Sigebert* begins his Reign with their coming into the Island, at the year of our Lord 446; and talks of his Reigning and Fighting against them, for full five and forty years, contrary to the Evidence of all History. Yet do some others tell us such Stories as yet farther cast back his Reign into the 430 year of our Lord, which *Henry of Huntingdon* brings forward again to the year assigned by *Sigebert*, wherein he writes, that at a place called *Arleifren*, he led one Wing of the *Battel* against the *Saxons*, and *Gortimer* and *Catigern*, the Sons of *Vortigern*, the two others: And this he accounts the seventh year after their coming into the Island. *Geoffrey of Monmouth* writes, that he burnt *Vortigern*, who after the death of his Son have happened in the year 496, ending the Reign of *Aurelianus*, and his Life together, in the year 497. *Helio Boetius* the *Scotch* Writer, begins his Reign at treyman *Buchanan* agrees with the *Welsh David Powel* in assigning 19 years to his Government, which he will have begun in the year 481, and ended just in 500.

24. But

24. But concerning *Ambrosius*, none is more out of the way than *Baronius* the Cardinal, who imagined, and that for many Reasons, he tells us, that he lived in Exile under *Odoacer* the King of the *Herali* in *Italy*; whereas, not one tolerable shew of reason can be assigned, more than his very Name, of which there were several Eccides this our *Britain*, who (he says) took the Purple, but not the Name of Emperor upon him, which he himself first attempted, but not his Parents, as *Beda* hath it, who writes, that these things happened in the Reign of *Zeno* the Emperor. The Cardinal as to his matter was also imposed on by the false Copy of *Gildas*, published by *Polydore Virgil*, wherein the Singular number is pend instead of the Plural, which fault crept also into that Copy of *Beda's* Chronicle, which *Paulus Diaconus* used; and the error became so infective, that *Onuphrius Panninus* and *Ottavio de Strada* in their Catalogues of the *Roman* Emperours, talk of the Emperor *Caesar Ambrosius Aurelianus*, *Pius Felix*, *Augustus*, as who was saluted Emperor in *Britain* in the year 475, the 1227 of the City, and slain not long after. So much are we in the dark as to *Ambrosius*, whose Commendations yet we are told that *Gildas* an excellent Historian of the *Britains* wrote, above other Kings; nay, in an elegant style faithfully transmitted his Acts to Posterity. *Geoffrey of Monmouth* indeed writes, that he had a Book which *Gildas* the Authour intituled, concerning the Victory of *Aurelius Ambrosius*. It's to be feared the Title belied *Gildas*, but whatever it was, from it and a *British* Copy brought out of *Armenia*, and given him by *Walter* the Archdeacon of *Oxford*, *Geoffrey* tells a long Story of this matter, whereof learned *Usher* thus gives us the Summ.

25. *Vortigern* being dead, the *Saxons* betook themselves to the Parts beyond *Humber*, where they were no sooner arrived, but *Ambrosius* was at their heels. In his passage he was much affected to behold the Countries so desolate, but especially at the sight of so many Churches laid level with the Earth, which he promised should be rebuilt if he got the better. *Hengst* brought into the field against him, about two hundred thousand Armed men, at a place called *Moribeli*, but engaging in *Battel* was worsted, and he himself, near to the City of *Conan*, by the *Britains* called *Cair-Conan* and *Cuningburg* by the *English*, was taken Prisoner by *Eldole* the Duke of *Claudiofer*. The City being also afterward taken, and they coming to consider what should be done with *Hengst*, *Eldole* the Bishop of *Claudiofer*, the Brother of *Eldole*, a man of great Prudence and Religion, harangued to this effect. *Though all should agree to set him at liberty, I myself would cut him in pieces. For I would imitate the Example of the Prophet Samuel, who having in his power Agag the King of Amaleck, bowed him in pieces, saying: As thou hast made Mothers Childless, so will I make thy Mother thus day Childless among Women. Doe ye in like manner to Hengst, who is another Agag: Which said, Eldole led Hengst out of the City and slew him. This Marlen, the Flowergatherer, writes to have happened in the 489 year of our Lord, adding, that to Hengst succeeded his Son *Offic* in the Kingdom of *Kent*, being named *Afc*, from whom all the Kings of *Kent* to this day are called *Afc-kynges*. He differs but one year in his Account from *Ethelward* and the *Saxon* Annalists, who making no mention at all of the death of *Hengst*, neither of the many Victories which the *Britains* obtained over the *Saxons*, write that *Afc* succeeded in the Kingdom of *Kent* the year preceding.*

26. *Geoffrey* proceeds, and tells us that *Ambrose* besieged *Offa* the Son of *Hengst*, who had shut up himself in *Tork*, and *Eusa* his Kinsman, who had done the like in the City *Alclud* or *Dunbritten*; and constraining them to yield themselves, granted them the Country lying near to *Scotland*. For all his Intent was, how to restore his Kingdom to its ancient condition, his Study how to reform the Churches, renew the vigour and force of the Laws, establish Peace and the course of Justice. Thence therefore he went to *Gwinton*, to repair it as other places; which when he had performed, by the advice of *Eldade* the Bishop, he proceeded to the Monastery near *Cair-Caradoc*, now called *Saleberie*, where lay the Confuls and Princes, when wicked *Hengst* had betrayed. There in the Mount of *Ambrius* (the Founder in old time as is reported) was a Monastery of three hundred Friars. By others this is called the Mount of *Ambrose*, and said to be that place, now known by the Name of *Stakenes*, where the prodigious Piles of Stones were not, as *Polydore* affirms, raised by *Ambrose* in memory of these Princes, as is vulgarly believed, but by the *Britains* in memory of *Ambrose* himself, who at this place ended his life in *Battel*. He tells us this Monument is to be seen in the Diocese of *Salisbury* near to a Village called *Amsbery*, or rather *Ambresbury*, the Name.

Vortigern's Companions murdered by Hengst and his Saxons.

Essex, Suffex and Middlesex, assigned to the Saxons.

Nim.

Malmesb. qui prius.

475

Overthrow Hengst in Battel.

Who is slain. 489

And succeeded by his Son Offic in the Kingdom of Kent.

Joannes Tilmus: the fifth vi- ra Dufrey a- pud Efferm in Primord. Eccles. Britan. p. 447.

Hift. Scot. lib. f. 8, 9. Reg. Scotie 15. in Reg. 45. in Britan. Re- gum Catalogo.

SecT. 1. ad Ann. 476. 477.

Pro induci induci legi- tur.

In Scoticronico apud Ulf. Frithm. p. 449. lib. 4. c. ult.

Lib. 8. c. 34.

Hodie Conisburgh in agro Eboracensi ad Danum vel Danum fluvium.

Polyd. Virgil. lib. 9. 1.

Sect. I.

Name denoting the Village of *Ambrose*, whose name or that of *Ambrius* (if any such there was) the famousness of the Relicks of *St. Melorus* (or *Meltior*) quite buried afterwards in the said Village. But as to the *British* Princes slain by *Hengist*, that their memory might be perpetuated at the suggestion of *Tremous* or *Tremourin* the Archbishop of *Carlisle*, *Ambrosius Aurelius*, as *Geoffrey* tells the Story, sent for *Ambrosius Merlin* a Prophet, and with an Army of fifteen thousand Armed men under Conduct of his Brother *Uther Pendragon*, sent him into *Ireland*, whence he brought from the Mountain *Killara*, notwithstanding the opposition of *Gillomant* King of the Island, that noble Structure of Stones, which he placed in *Salisbury* Plain, where at this day it is to be seen. Though this be no better than an old Wives Tale, *Giraldus Cambrensis* makes mention of it, as that this Structure of Stones, being called *Chorea Gigantum* (because Giants had brought them from the utmost Borders of *Africk*, and placed them in the Plain of *Kildare*) was by the Divine Diligence of *Merlin*, at the desire of *Aurelius Ambrosius* King of the *Britains* brought out of *Ireland* into this Island, and placed in the very same posture they had formerly stood in that place, where the flower of *Britain*, had under pretence of Peace, been wickedly butchered by the perfidious *Saxons*.

Topograph.
dijf. cap. 13.
Non procul à
Castro Nefei.

27. In reference to what *Giraldus* writes of *Ireland*, the late Learned Primate thereof observes, that in the Country of *Kildare*, about two Miles from the Castle he mentions, two such like Piles are to be seen, which in that Country, they call the *Long Stones*, although the Writer of the *British* History seems to have *Killair*, which is situate in the *Western Meath*, where *Giraldus* affirms in his time to have been extant, a certain Stone called the *Navel of Ireland*, as seated in the middle thereof, for which yet at the King's County at *Birra*, another hallowed Stone is at this day shewed. But to that Pile of Stones in *Salisbury* Plain, none in all *Ireland* seems more like than what is to be seen in the Country of *Corke*, near a Town called *Cloughtekilly*, from Stones lying in a woody place; where are also to be seen the Foundations of a very large House, which the Inhabitants report to have belonged to Sir *John Mandeville*, so famous for his Travels of four and thirty years. But for the completing of the Fable (which thence seems to have had its rise, that in *Ireland* such kinds of Maffy piles have been seen) we must take notice of what *Geoffrey of Monmouth* writes concerning the return and Success of the *British* Army. Being arrived with a prosperous Gale, they began with their Stones to set out the Sepulchres of the murdered Nobility. This being made known to *Aurelius*, he sends out Messengers through the several Parts of *Britain*, to assemble both the Clergy and People to the Mount of *Ambrius*, with Joy and Honour to adorn the foresaid burying Place. They being met accordingly on the day prefixed, *Aurelius* sets the Diadem upon his Head, and Royally celebrates the Feast of *Whitsuntide*, together with the three following days. Having bestowed Honours upon such of his Subjects as had deserved, and particularly bestowed the Metropolitan See of *Tork* upon *Samson*, a Man of great fame for Religion, and that of *Caer Leon* upon *Dabritius*, he commanded *Merlin* to set up the Stones he had brought from *Ireland*. He in obedience to his Commands erected them, about the burying place just in the same manner they had formerly stood in *Killair* in *Ireland*, and plainly shewed, that woe prevailed above strength.

28. Such is the Fable concerning *Stoneheng* (which though a Fable the Reader is to know) and concerning *Ambrose* and his Prophet *Merlin*. But as there is no Law against the Improvement of Fables, *Nimius* the other *British* Historian joins King and Prophet in the same Person, making that Child which prophesied to *Vortigern* the Son of a *Roman* Consul, and calling him by the Name not of *Merlin* but *Ambrose*; as that he was concealed by his Mother for fear of the King, who yet as soon as he had confessed his Parentage, either to reward his Predictions or as his Right bestowed upon him all the rest of *Britain*, retiring himself to a solitary Life. Amongst these Incertainties of this, we may be certain from a more sure Testimony of *Gildas*, that whatever otherwise this *Ambrose* was, the *Britains* owed much unto his Courage and Conduct, by which a stop was for the present given to the violent proceedings of the *Saxons*, although their Writers conceal all things, that made against the Reputation of their Nation; recording nothing but Success and Victories on their own side. And indeed shortly after they had sufficient occasion to do it, notwithstanding the real Performances of *Ambrose*, and all the Romantic fine Tales told of his Nephew *Arthur*. For whatever became of *Hengist*, if he was slain in the North, in the South another of his Nation appeared, *Ella* by Name, who made himself King of another part of the Island. In the Year 477, (eleven before the death of *Hengist*, as some place it) with his

Ella and his
Saxons strike
in Suffex.

thrice

three Sons *Cymen*, *Ptering* and *Cissa*, in three ships he arrived at a place called *Cymen-shore* in *Suffex*, whereupon the Inhabitants being cast into a grievous fright flocked in vast multitudes, to the place of their landing from all Quarters. The *Saxons* being tall of Stature, and very stout and vigorous, received them courageously who came hand over head upon them, and notwithstanding their great Numbers put them to flight with such slaughter as might be expected from so unequal an engagement, and drove them into the wood, which the *Saxon* Chronology calls *Andredes Leage*. The *Saxons* seized upon the Maritime parts of *Suffex*, and till enlarged their Territories till the ninth year after their Arrival, wherein the *Britains* found themselves so concerned, that they joined their Forces together, and engaged them near a place called *Mercedeshurnafte*. The Victory was doubtful, both Armies drawing off after much loss to their own Quarters which caused *Ella* to fend for fresh supplies, as *Henry of Huntingdon* writes, though others are unwilling to let him pass out of the Field without Conquest, according to their Custom. However five years after this, *Ella* and *Cissa* his Son laid siege to a little City called *Andredes Ceaster*, and taking it used their Conquest with such severity, that they left not one *Britain* therein alive.

29. Now is *Britain* become the Field of Fortune, News is perpetually brought to the *Saxons*, of the Success of their Countreymen, and there is no one Eminent for Birth or Arms, but promises himself a good share of so fertile a Country, together with a Royal Title. In the forty seventh year after their first coming into *Britain*, as *Henry of Huntingdon*, Count *Cerdic* (or *Certic*) the tenth in Lineage from *Woden*, an old and well practised Souldier, with *Cenric* his Son, and so many men as he could transport in five Vessels, arrived at a place which from him was called *Cerdicesfere*. No sooner did the ships appear, but the Inhabitants of these Parts sufficiently warned heretofore, stand upon their Guard, and as the Invaders endeavour to land, manfully oppose them. But the *Saxons* still advance, and what ground they once gain never more forsake it, till at last, the *Britains* in vain resisting, they get sufficient footing in this Part also of the Island, inasmuch that the *Britains* vehemently suspecting what the Industry and Valour of *Cerdic* and his Son might farther produce, combined against them with all the Power they could possibly make. But within seven years after their coming they had cause to be a little diverted from them by a fresh Onset of new Gamesters, who arrived also out of *Germany*. One *Porr* with his two Sons *Bleda* and *Magla* with two Vessels arrived at *Portsmouth* (so named from him) and without much Difficulty repelling such as unadvisedly made head against them, and having slain a young *British* Nobleman of great Eminency, carved for himself and Followers another share out of the Country. Yet it seems the Adventures of *Cerdic*, made the *Britains* most apprehensive, and therefore seven years after the Arrival of *Porr*, the sixtieth after the first coming of the *Saxons*, the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* reckons *Nazaleod* the greatest King of the *Britains*, a Man both of a great Name and haughty Spirit, (from whom that Region was named *Nazaleodi*, which reached to the Place afterward called *Cerdicesford*), gathered the whole force of *Britain* to engage him. *Cerdic* aware of the danger desired and obtained aid of *Efsai* King of *Kent*, *Ella* King of *Suffex*, and of *Porr*, and his Sons, which done he divided his Army into two wings, whereof the Right he led himself, and committed the left to the Conduct of his Son *Cinrick*, *Nazaleod*, perceiving the Right wing to be the stronger of the two, bent his whole strength and fury against it with such Execution, that after great slaughter made of his men he forced *Cerdic* to run away, but pursuing with more heat than caution, the left wing commanded by *Cinrick* took the Advantage, and falling on his Rere renewed the Battle with such Vigour, that he himself was slain in the place, and with him for Company five thousand of his Followers.

30. Such were the Circumstances of the Battle, if the Archdeacon doth not take the liberty to frame these, and many more of his own head. But who this *Nazaleod* should be is much controverted; for the *Britains* own no such King by this Name. Some imagine it might be the *British* surname of *Ambrose*, who it is certain about this time fought with the *Saxons*, with various fortune. Others think it the Name of *Uther Pendragon* his Brother, whom *Helior Boethius* writes to have governed the *Britains* at this time; but he adds that this *Nazaleod*, was a Man of obscure Original, and that *Uther* made him his General, more out of respect to his Person, with which he had long been familiar, than to his Valour or Military skill; but being the best Captain next the King himself, he was slain in Battle together with fifteen thousand Men. *Matthew of Westminster* tells us how *Uther* *Hamingdon*

Cerdic and his
Followers invade
the Land.

Another invasion
by one
Porr.

To Ambrose
succeeded Uther
Pendragon.

The Saxons
obtain a great
Victory over the
Britains.

Sect. II.

Chorol. Saxom.

Ann. d. 477.

Hep cpm

Alle eo

Bpaeen

lons 7 hir

ill Sunn

Jfuen 7

plencig 7

Cyrpauis

Dym

Cymym on

Baptope

Ba nemeb

Cymener

opa 7 Bep

Orflogon

monige

pearl rume

on fleame

beony pon

olene

pau

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Bep

Sect. 1.

Pendragon now lay sick, and therefore sent this Man whom he calls *Nathanlioth* against the *Saxons*, who slew him and fifteen thousand of his *Britains*. But forasmuch as all the *Saxon Annals* unanimously call him a King, and so doth *Ethelwald* and *Florentius Wigorniensis*, and the Archdeacon faith he was the greatest King of the *Britains*; Learned *Usher* conjectures, that his Name might indeed be *Natanleod*, and that in respect of the great things achieved by him, he might have the Sir-name of *Uther*, viz. Admirable or Horrible, for so *Uther* signifies, *Mab Uter* being an horrible Son in the *British* Language, and *Arthur* an horrible Bear, or an Iron Mall wherewith the *Jaws* of Lions are broken. Could we fix upon this the Chronology of these obscure times might be made much clearer, and the beginning of *Arthur* his Son, that King of whom Writers so much talk, and so much differ.

Another fresh supply arrives

30. Though *Cerdic*, (or *Certick*) obtained the Victory, yet with so much loss and danger, that finding still some difficulties, he was glad to admit of fresh Supplies. Six years after the Battel, came two of his Nephews *Stuf* and *Witgar* with three Ships, and landed at *Cerdicsford*, where they found the *Britains* in a posture of warmly receiving them. For if *Henry of Huntingdon* be to be credited, the Captains had marshalled their men according to the exact Laws of War. When they marched with Advice and Caution, some on the Mountains, and others on the Vallies; as soon as the Sun arose and shone upon their gilded Shields, the very Mountains therewith glistered, and the Air it self became lightened and resplendent, wherewith the *Saxons* were exceedingly affrighted. Yet drawing near to Battel when the two resolute Armies came to joyn, the valour of the *Britains*, became inferior, because (as our Writer takes upon him to judge) God had despised them, and the Victory was evident on the part of the *Saxons*, who hereby obtained places not a few, and the Prowels of *Certic* became terrible throughout the Country. These that came over still prospering in this manner, not a man there was in *Germany* who was either touch'd with a sense of honour, or not well satisfied with his present fortune, but must over into *Britain*, and accept of better, which so easily offered it self. Therefore not long after the War, wherof we write, many more flocked into the Island, and as *Huntingdon* tells us, seized both upon *Easlang* and *Merce*, though they continued some time in confusion, not reduced under obedience of their respective Kings. For many Noble men there were who scrambled amongst themselves, and in great haste and Emulation snatched and seized on such Regions as they could. Hence innumerable Contentions and Battels followed against one another for such and such Territories, of which we are ignorant, as well as of the Names of these Cavaliers, so numerous they were.

More Saxons still come over hither.

31. But for all their successes, it's certain they found great opposition, and were not feldomer (probably oftner) defeated than the *Britains*, who were onely tired out and overpowered by their constant swarming into the Island, there being no end of their Numbers; however the *Saxon* Writers conceal all that makes not for the inhancing of the Valour and Victories of their Ancestours. Great pity it is that, as is usual in great Desolations, the Ruines of *Britain* buried these Monuments in the Rubbish, which should have transmitted the noble Acts of its Captains to Posterity, if any such Monuments there were, if the prospect of Death and Banishment, of the loss of all that was near and dear unto them, did not divert their thoughts, and their deplorable condition afford them no other Ink than Tears, wherewith to describe these valiant Deeds, which how daring and gallant soever, were rendered at length useless and ineffectual, by the Crowds of a perpetual swarming Multitude. *Gildas* was no way partial for his Countrymen, to say any great matters of their Valour, yet from that little he mentions of *Ambrose*, and of the Victory they obtained at *Mount Badon*, as also of the vicissitude of success betwixt the Nations, sufficiently evidence they had Commanders sometimes who gave sufficient proof of their Courage and good Abilities. Though as to the mentioning of any of these Captains, we are destitute of Authentick Writers (*Gildas* excepted) yet Fame, and the Report of some Authours (but such as wrote several hundreds of years after his supposed Reign) make a loud noise with the Name of *Arthur* the Son of *Uther Pendragon*, as *Geoffrey of Monmouth* is pleased to surname him.

To Uther Pendragon succeeded Arthur

32. Concerning the time of this *Arthur*, (suppose his Person to have been) there is more variety of Opinions than concerning that of *Ambrose*, so formerly related.

(a) One placeth the beginning of his Reign, so high as to have it flourish in the year 458. (b) Another bringeth it down nine years, and placeth it at the

Note Ninius
dicta de
Arthur, vide
Usserium in
Primordiis,
p. 466, 467.
De Graecis
Apoc. & ita
Britannus
Arth. Ussum
notat.

(a) Mezer
Fland. Annal.
l. 1.

467 467 year of our Lord, the eleventh of the Emperour *Leo*, and the last of *Hi-Sect. 1.*
lary the Roman Bishop. (b) Some say he flourished in the Reign of *Zeno* the
Successour of *Leo*, and another will have him but to have been born in the twelfth
485 of this Emperour, which fell into the year 485. (b) All these were Foreign-
ers. Of our own Writers, *William* (c) the Monk of *Malmesbury*, *Geoffrey* (d)
of *Monmouth*, *Matthew* (e) of *Westminster*, and the Authour of (f) *Eulogium* quizes. Eccle.
John (b) of *Tinmouth*, and *George* (i) *Buchanan* the *Scotchman*, defer this till his
eighteenth, *Ralph* of *Baldre* was of Opinion, that he began his Reign in the
year DXV, as also was *Thomas Radburn*; *Matthew* of *Westminster*, and *David*
515 *Powell*, place it at DXVI; *Buchanan* at DXXVIII; and *Hector Boethius* casts it
516 back to DXXII. *William* of *Malmesbury* in another place writes, that *Cerdic*
coming into *Britain* in the CCCXCXCV year of our Lord, so beat and terrified the
Britains, that he forced them to submit and yield themselves to his victorious Arms,
and in the twenty fourth year after his coming into the Island, in the Western
part thereof established his Monarchy. But in the place before cited, he writes,
that in the tenth year of this *Cerdic*, *Arthur* began to reign over the *Britains*;
with whom several others, lately mentioned, concur; placing his beginning at
the year DXXVIII. To this one adds, that *Cerdic* often ingaging with *Arthur*,
always came off with Victory, so that *Arthur* being tired out, after that *Cerdic*
had been in *Britain* six and twenty years, took an Oath from him, and gave
him the possession of the two Shires, *Hants* and *Somerset*. *Leland* that re-
nowned Antiquary, from other Authority affirms this done after *Cerdic* had been
in *Britain* but twelve years, viz. in the year DVI. *Thomas Radburn* to his Ac-
count, adds ten years more with this Note farther, that *Cerdic* for an Annual
Tribute permitted to the Inhabitants of *Cornwall*, the free exercise of the *Chri-*
stian Religion.

Several Battels
between Cer-
dick the Saxons
and Arthur
the British
King.

33. But however, *Arthur* was beaten and tired out by *Cerdic* the *Saxon* King:
There is great noise made of his overthrowing the *Saxons* in no fewer than twelve
several Battels. The first of these, they say, was fought near the Mouth of a cer-
tain River, called *Glenus* or *Glenn*; the second, third, fourth, and fifth, near ano-
ther River in the *British* Tongue called *Duglas* or *Duglas*; the sixth at a Rivers
side called *Bassus*; and the seventh in the Wood of *Chelidon*, which in *British* had
the Name of *Cattis Celidon*. *Matthew* of *Westminster* bestows this Flower upon
this Battel. In the year of our Lord DXVIII, *Arthur* King of the *Britains* (faith
he) having got together a great Army, marched therewith to the City, called
then, *Caerlindcoit*, and now *Lincoln*; where finding out the *Saxons*, he made an
unheard of slaughter of them; for in one day there fell of them six thousand
men, of whom some were drowned, others killed in the fight, or in the flight;
for he left not off pursuing them, yot must know, till they came to the *Calidonian*
Wood, when they rallied and made Head against him. *Arthur* perceiving their Re-
solution, caused Trees to be cut down and the Trunks thereof so placed about them,
that they should have no way to escape, resolving there to starve them to death.
Of this they being sensible, begged leave they might return into *Germany*, though
with naked Bodies, to which he consented, after he had spoiled them of all they
had, and taken Hostages for the payment of a Tribute. But enough verily of this
Battel. The eighth was fought near (not the River but) the Castle of *Suinion*,
where all the day he carried the Image of the Virgin *Mary* upon his Shoulders.
The ninth in the City *Leogis*, in *British* called *Caerleon*. The Tenth in the shoar
of the River, which we (faith *Huntingdon*) called *Traethewroit*. The eleventh
upon the Hill *Brenon*, by us (faith he) called *Cathbregion*, or *Catheregion*. And
the last was fought at the Hill of *Badon*, where he himself, without assistance
of any other *Britains*, slew four hundred and forty men. These Battels and the
places thereof, faith the same Authour, doth *Gildas* the Historiographer set forth;
all which places yet are to our Age unknown, which we think came to pass
by God's Providence for the despising of popular air, flattering praise, and transitory
fame. However many Battels were fought, wherein sometimes the *Saxons*, and
otherwhiles the *Britains* had the Victory: But the more *Saxons* that were lost in
fight, the more came to their succour, being invited by the Countries round
about.

34. However true may be his Story of the Battels, the name of this Authour
is false, for *Gildas* it was not, but *Ninius* that was his Relator. For the ele-
ven they must pass, and still continue as unknown, as the Names of the places
where they were fought; but for the Battel at *Mount Badon*, that such an one
there

there was at this Hill, is out of doubt from the certain Testimony of a true *Gildu*, whoever was then the *British* General. Here *Matthew* the Flowergatherer strews his flowers or his Romantick Stories about him, and joyning the matter of this Inengagement, with that of the other in the *Caledonian* Wood, tells us, that it repented *Colgrin*, *Baldulph* and *Cheldrick* the *Saxons*, that they had made an Agreement with *Arthur*. Returning therefore into *Britain*, they landed at *Totnes*, and last besieged the City of *Badon*. *Arthur* receiving the news, commanded the Hostages to be hanged, then hastning toward the Siege, commanded all to be in Arms. He having already on his Corset, sets on his Head an Helmet, whereon is engraven the Image of a Dragon. On his Shoulders he hangs a Target, called *Pridewen*, whereon was painted the Image of the Blessed Virgin, which he often called to mind. Being also girt with the best *Caliburnian* Sword, into his right hand a Lance he takes, named *Iron*; and having given all convenient Orders, boldly sets upon the *Pagans*. They stood manfully to it all the day, and killed many of the *Britains*. The Sun growing low they seized upon the Mount adjoining, and for that Night used it as a Camp, whither the next Morning *Arthur* with his men ascended. But in ascending he lost many of them, the *Saxons* having the advantage of the upper ground. But the *Britains* having with great valour reach'd the Hill top, most dreadfully laid about them, and made as dreadful laughter of their Enemies, enraged at their difficulty and loss. The *Saxons* courageously resisted, not fearing to stretch out their Breasts towards the points of Spears and Swords, and much of the day, was spent, when *Arthur* having drawn his *Caliburn* or Sword, called upon the Name of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, and rushing amongst the thickest Troops of his Enemies, whomsoever he struck he killed without any more to do; neither ceased he to slay till he had slain no fewer than four hundred and forty men. Here fell *Colgrin* and *Baldulph* with his Brother and many thousands of Barbarians. But *Cheldrick* perceiving the danger of his Companions, was so wise as to run away with the remainder of the Army, whom the King commanded *Cador* the Duke of *Cornwall* to pursue. Finding no place of security in stragling Companies, they came at last to the Isle of *Thanet*, whither yet the Duke followed them, and never rested till *Cheldrick* being slain, the rest gave up themselves into his Hands.

35. So doth *Mathew* tell the tale in conformity with *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, who setting it out at length, hath this Circumstance, that the *Saxons* having waded the Country as far as the *Severa* Sea, thence took their way to the City of *Badon*, which they besieged: After that *Arthur* being entred then into the Province of *Somerfet* and perceiving what was done, animated his Souldiers to Battel, who being cheered up by the Benediction of *Dubricius* Archbishop of *Caerleon*, first drove the Enemy up to the Hill, and the day following utterly routed them. This City of *Badon* is, as *Johu of Britann* and others rightly observe, the same with that we now call *Bath*, to the *Trinians* known by the Name of *Caer Badon*, as well as *Tr Exincant* *Twymin*, in *Ptolemy* called *ΒΑΤΑ ΕΡΕΜΙΑ*, in *Antoninus Aque Solis*, and by the *Saxons* *Bepanertep* & *ȝæt Bjar*, and from Diseafed People which flocked to the Hot waters *Acmor cerpen*: In *Stephanus* we read it *Badica*, and in *Latin* by the Name of *Bathonia*. The Hill seemeth to be no other than the very fame, which now is called *Banefdown*, over a little Village near this City, which they call *Bathfene*, on which there are Banks and a Rampire yet to be seen. And the vale which runneth along the River *Avon* is named in *British* *Nrut Bodur* or the Vale of *Badon*.

*Camden in
Somersetshire.*

520

Arthur slays
Howel King of
Scotland.

36. This is the laft Batrel fold to have been fought in the year 2149. *Vide Uffir.*
ons. But many other Exploits are told to have been done by him, as well with *Pride*.
Britain as without. *Howel the Albanian,* or King of *Scotland*, &c. Brother of *p. 677.*
Gildn Albanian (not *Gildas* whose Epistle we have so much firkm, as but one
elder than he) a young Prince of great valour and hopes he flew, which that we
may not take for a Fable were told, by one concerned for the *British* History, that
in *Venedotia* the place is yet to be feen, which retains the memory of the Batrel,
where is erected a great Stone bearing the Name of the said *Howel* according to *In infula My-*
Albania. *See Enricus*

the custome of the Ancients of perpetuating the memory of such like things. But *Matthew of Westminster* presents us with a flower which grew quite in another Garden. He talks of one *Howel of Hael*, King of the lesser Brittain, the Ad Am Gra-
Sifters Son of *Arthur by Diabritius* the King of the *Ammerican Britains*: That *Ardu* the 517.
Chethur having besieged *Lork*, and frighted thence to *London* by the coming of *Chethur*
drick with seven hundred Ships out of *Germany*, sent to this his Nephew to let
him know the distressed condition of *Britain* who, understanding the danger where-
in his Uncle stood, with an Army of fifteen thousand men, and the next fair
wind, arrived at the Port of *Hamon*. He tells us that *Arthur* received him with joy
and honour, becoming his Quality and Relation; and for four yeares after hath
not one word concerning him, till the year after the fight at *Badon*, he writes
how *Arthur* received news, that the *Scots and Pils* had besieged him in the City
Alchid, where he lay sick. Hereupon the Uncle with all speed hastied to relieve
him, which when the Enemy heard, he fled to a place called *Mureif*, whither *Ar-*
thur followed and besieged them. But they fled out by night, and got to the
Lake of Lamony; whereupon he got four Ships together, and for fifteen days
together besieged them in the Island; where being starved with hunger thousands
of them died, which moved the Bishops of the Countrey bare foot and bare leg and
with tears in theyre eyes to beseech him to have mercy on a miserable People, and per-
mit them to inhabit some portion of the Countrey, though under the Yoke of
perpetual servitude. *Arthur*, good man, overcome by the tears of the Bishops,
whom all the water of the Lake could not before this mollifie, granted them par-
don at their request.

don at their request.

Mar. 37. Two years after this, when he had reformed Britain, you must know into his
conscient Estate, he married a Wife called *Guenibonack (having now leisure enough
to doat) one that was defended of the Noble Stock of the Romans, and educa-
ted in the House of the Duke of Cornwall; a Lady surpassing in Beauty all the
Ladies of the whole Island. Now doth he invite all notable Persons from all quar-
ters, and becomes so pleasant in his House, that both by putting on forsooth, and
wearing his Armour & by speaking that the Fame of his Bounty and Honesty be-
come to Emulation; insomuch that the Fame of his Kings, either loved or feared
being divulged through divers Countries, all Foreign Kings, either loved or feared
him. And there was good reason; now behold his exploits abroad. With his
mighty Navy he first Invaded *Ireland, the King whereof, Gillingaur, for all his
Bravado's, being taken Prisoner, all his Grandees were forc't to come and submit
themselves. Then made he nothing of waisting with Fire and Sword, Holland,
Futeland, and the Isles Orades, all which he subdued under Tribute; which done he
returned into Britain. || Here, it seems, he staid to breath himself a matter of 7 years.
Then casting in his mind, and could you blame him, how to become Master of
all Europe; he resolves to begin Northward, and drive all before him. He Sails to
* Norway, whither, when come, he finds Sicbelin the King of the Countrey dead,
who had left Lohb the Sisters Husband of Arthur his Successour, being his own
Nephew, and a young Man of admirable goodness and beauty. As young as he
was, he had a Son by name Walwane, of twelve years of Age, sent to Vigilius the
Pope to breed, from whence he received the Girdle of War. Arthur finding
things at this pass, having subdued the Norwegians, advanced Lohb to the Crown,
and for Joy, would not follow on his Conquest, but returned again into Britain,
but not without a desire to conquer Gall also, which he mightily, yet, exceeding
mightily thirsted after. His thirst continued three years very vehement, and at
length forced him to take the Sea to quench it; which having prosperously pa-
ssed, with no more trouble than what the first Penner of the Hiltory was put to,
he conquered Neustria, afterward called Aquitain, a Tribune in a Duel, had fur-
sted all the Provinces of Gall, killed Frילו a Tribune in a Duel, had conquered all
the City of Paris, and toward the West, conquered all Anjou, Poictou, peplus Orien-
talis metas
Gascogn, and every Foot of Aquitain.

And for
Gall.

Having beaten
the Romans
and subdued
all about the
Alpes, he pre-
pares to con-
quer Rome.

38. The † year following, being certainly out of breath, after he had Conquered
all Gall almost at a bit, he came to Augstodunum or Autun, and there met with
Lucius the Consul of Rome, being thence come to appeale him; but he made no
thing of killing both him and all his Roman Gallants near Lengrix, in a Valley nam-
called (as truly) Seissa. In the second year after this, the Sun was darkened
from its rising till nine a Clock, envious it seems and not willing to behold the
Success of brave Arthur, who having now subdued all the Provinces about the
Alpes prepared to go to conquer Rome. His Name by this time of day was become
mighty throughout the World, whereupon Princes came far and near to live and
learn

Welfmann 1. ad an. 529.
† Idem ad An.
525.
‡ Idem ad An.
533.
§ Regium Ed-
mundi Confes-
soris adjectur-
avit Regnum
Britannie cum
annum, quod
expulsi Saraceni
et iuniores a Reg-
no, cum filio
Ingenui Norwicam
et omnes infulas
ultra com, fuit
ad Britanniam et
Greenlandiam
Suecodiam, et
Hiberniam,
Gurlandiam, et
Scotiam, et Scy-
melundiam,
Windlandiam,
Curlandiam,
Ror, et Fines-
dian, Wircan-
landiam,
Flendriam,
Chierelam, et
Lappiam, et
Finlandiam, et
terras, et insu-
las Orientales
et Occidentales
Russiam, et
Leppia, peflus
Orientales metas
Regni Britan-
nie. Idem ad
An. 536. cum his
regibus uiculis
fulse profec-
tum. Idem ad
An.
536.
¶ Idem ad An.
537.
Idem ad An.
539.

Seet. i. learn under him, and to be refreshed with his facetious manner of converse. But left you should think this a wonder, you must know all this was foretold by *Merlin* the Prophet of the Britains, who affirmed, That oppressed Britain should prevail, and resist the Cruelty of Strangers. For a * Boar of Cornwall should succour it, and tread his Feet on the Necks of the Enemies. The Islands of the Ocean should be subjected to his Power, and he should possess the Gallican Forests. The House of *Romulus* should tremble at his Fierceness, and his Exit should be doubtful. But he should be celebrated in the Mouth of the People, and his Acts should be meat to them that sit gemini.

39. But, for all this, heavy tidings! this Boar is forced back again to recover his own *Stre*, whilst he is in his way to take up his Quarter in the best Palace *Rome* can afford. You must know, that *Arthur* at his setting out of Britain, Idem ad An. had committed the Care thereof to *Mordred* his Nephew, together with his Wife *Guenhumar*. *Mordred*, his back being turned, usurps; sets the Diadem on his Head, and takes *Guenhumar* to be his Bedfellow; joining in Confederacy with those *Saxons*, who came in eight hundred ships which they fitted out of Germany, and all now became Servants to *Mordred*. As soon as the News of so horrid Villany reached the high Ears of *Arthur*, who had now began to climb the Ladder of Italy, viz. the Alps, that he might get up into *Rome*, the highest Chamber of the Empire; out of Anger he would mount no more, but down he comes in a dump, and returns with the Kings of the Islands only in his company toward Britain, burning with such a Rage toward *Mordred*, as all the water in the Sea could not quench, so that as great a thirist he had upon him at his return, as at his setting out. And it was not for nothing, that about this time so dreadful a Comet appeared in *Gall*, the Country through which this King Errant passed, that the Heavens seemed to be on a flame. The same year also to usher in and betoken the gore blood, which should be shed when doughty *Arthur* laid about him, true blood dropped from the Clouds, a certain House was found besprinkled with it, and a grievous Mortality followed. Noble *Arthur* hasting towards Britain resolved to land in the Port of *Rutupus*, afterward called *Sandwich*, whom *Mordred* there with a great Multitude opposed, and made great slaughter of such as attempted to come on shore. Here fell gallant *Argus*, the King of *Albany*, and *Walwane* the King's Nephew, and well-away others innumerable. But at length after vast pains taken, and much very much blood shed, *Arthur* and his Mengot to land, and so hotly, too hotly, pursued his Enemies, that he drove *Mordred* and his Army after no small loss received, I assure ran away to *Winchester*. This being also brought to the tender Ears of *Guenhumar*, without looking behind her the ran away to *Caerleon*, and hid her head under a Nuns veil, professing her self a (chaste) Nun in the Monastery of *Julius* the Martyr. *Arthur* almost mad with Anger comes to *Winchester*, and there besieges *Mordred*; who the next Morning is so fawcy as to fall upon the King, and the Villain did much mischief; but for all that still thought one pair of Legs worth two pair of Hands, and ran away again towards *Cornwall*.

40. *Arthur* would not balk him an Ace but followed as fast as he ran, and caught him napping at the River *Cambian*. Would you believe the Rogue, for all this, would let his fellows in order, and give brave *Arthur* battle? He did it, resolving to dye rather than run any more away, for he knew not whither to run, his shoes not being corked to take the Ocean. A sad fray followed. Abundance of Blood was shed, and the Cries of the wounded, and dying would have pierced ones very Bowels. They had fought almost a whole long day (a whole long day till Noon, as did *Robin Hood* and the Pinder of *Wakefield*) when *Arthur* rushed, not like a Boar, but a Lion into the place where he knew *Mordred* stood, and easily making way with his Sword, and removing the Enemies as he could do his own Servants with his Sickle, he made most bloody work on't, cutting down the ranks like Corn with his Sickle, nay even there where they were the thickest, and then thrashing them. What shall we say? The battle grows hotter and hotter, and the Air rings again, and sounds with the very blows that were struck. The Villain, the Traitor himself fell, and with him the *Saxon* Whelps *Cheldrick*, *Elaph*, *Egbrith* and *Braming*, and many thousands with them, and the Victory was *Arthur's*. But woe and alas! he was mortally wounded in the fray, and was carried to be cured, if it might b; into the Island of *Avalon*, since cyeleped *Glacon*. Despairing of Life, when he had caused his Enemies to be slain, he yielded the Diadem of Britain to *Constantine* his Kinsman, the Son of *Cador*, Duke of *Cornwall*. The good Soul being ready to depart hid himself, left Enemies should insult over such a Mischance, and his Friends be troubled. Hence it happens, that Histories making no mention

Mordred U. surpa.

Several Pre- faces of Mif- chief, ensuing.

Is set upon by King Arthur.

And after se- veral bloody Battels is slain.

Arthur dies of his wounds.

of the death of *Arthur* or his Burial, the Britains for the Excessive love they bear him, contend that he still liveth. Here's an end of an old song, to the tune of *Arthur of Bradley*. A Fable which deserves not confuting. Pity it was not writ in verse, as well as the brave Adventures of *Roland*. Alas, poor *Arthur*, that being greater than he both as to Royalty and Achievements, greater by far than *Achilles*, thou shouldst be so * unfortunate as not to have as brave a Bard to make thee Immortal by Verses dipt in *Caustian* Fountain! as brave a Trump to sound forth thy Virtues. Blind and bald Chanters they were indeed, who took upon them to publish thy Glories.

41. No height of indignation can be too great against those ignorant Scriblers, who by the deformed brats of their brains, have so imposed upon an ignorant and unwary World. May a blot lye upon their Memories, who sending their Follies abroad, did not cloath them in such Garments, as might discover them to be what they really were. Course enough indeed their Drefes are, and the fancy where- with they are invested is of a very thick-spun thread. Yet Wifemen indeed are also often meanly clad, (true Histories coarsly writ) but Fools should be dressed in fools Coats, a Romance writ like a Romance, a Poetick figment appear like a Poetick figment. Let it dance on six or seven Feet, and jingle with Rithm at every turn, or be set out with the party-coloured Coat of Extravagant fancy, and Effeminate Language, not clad in the grave, serious and substantial, (though coarse) Habit of an History. Certainly, Reader, if the Sin and Injury of a Lye

* confists in this, that it takes away a Man's Right and Liberty of judging or know- ing, whereupon he that took away the means or ways of Knowledge was said by the Hebrews to steal the Heart, and the greater or more considerable the thing is which should be known, the greater is the Injury, they that belye our Progenitors, and take away the means of our understanding the Originals of our Nations, must needs be guilty of a Theft greater than all others, in the Opinion of a generous Man, who by Nature it self is stirred up with a desire of knowing the State of his own Country, the condition of that stock, whence he or his Relations are derived. But though Britains and English are most concerned, yet hath this Injury extended to † Foreigners, who have, in reference to *Arthur*, in the same manner been imposed on. That *Arthur* should thus lay about him, doe such wonders as never had been done before; that he should conquer both Eastward and Southward, subdue *Gall* and pierce into *Italy*, and no notice of him taken by any Historian at that time, or any time else till *Geoffrey of Monmouth* began to collect the old Wives tales of his Country, and publish them in the *Latin* Tongue; that he should goe and seek work abroad, when he had so much to doe at home, where so many thousand Saxons had taken up their Habitations, and already seised several Kingdoms; is a thing that no serious Man with Patience may endure to read or hear.

42. These Romanick Tales have produced this Effect upon some more wary minds, that the shadows have brought the substance it self into suspicion; al- though as we say there could not be so much smoke, but there must have been some fire, and one || of those that questions the very being of *Arthur*, builds his Conjecture upon a weak Foundation, and is himself in other matters extravagantly credulous, and obtruding. Against this opinion possibly too extreme on the o- ther side it may be objected, that the Sepulchre of *Arthur* was found in *Glaffenbury*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Second; being buried there, as one of the Monks of that Monastery wrote, in the Year DXLII. having come into that Island of *Avallonia*, to have his wounds cured, as writes the so often cited *Geoffrey of Mon- mouth*. Nay after *Geoffrey* himself was dead and buried, the Sepulchre of *Arthur* was found out, as several testify, and might have been seen in a great Table of the Monastery, whereon was written to this purpose: In this Island, which is called *Primord*, the Island of *Avallonia*, yea in this burying place of *Saints*, at *Glaffenbury* ref. 116. Sc. the renowned King *Arthur*, the flower of the British Kings, and *Guenhumara* his Queen. Who after their Departure, were honourably buried, by the old Church, betwixt two stone Pyramids in time past nobly engraven; and for many years there they rested (viz. six Hundred and twenty Eight Tears) till the time of *Henry* de Soli; who was Abbat of the place after the burning of the said Church. Now this Abbat being often importuned by very many Persons, gave order to some to dig betwixt the Pyra- mids, and see if they could find the Bodies of the forementioned King and Queen: and before they began to dig, they hung up Curtains, and surrounded the whole Plat of ground. Having digged very deep, at length they light upon a great wooden Coffin close shut, which having opened, they found his Body therein with a certain leaden Cross,

* For not to have been dipt in Lethe Lake Could have the Son of Tiberis from to die.

But that blind Bard did him Immortal make

By Verses dipt in dew of Causty.

Which made the Eastern Conquerour to cry,

O fortunate young Man, whose Vertues found

So brave a Trump thy noble Acts to sound.

Spencer.

King Arthur and his Wife Guenhumar buried at Glaffenbury.

Seet. i

* Vide Gra- tian de Jure Belli & Pacis, lib. 3. c. 1.

† Vide Aluon de Insulis in Merlini Pro- phetias, lib. 3.

|| Genebrard in Chronogr. ad An. 498. Dicit ex Beda posse intelligi Arthurum Nequequam extrinsecus quia illius mo- nio non me- morat. Vide Offic. in Primord. ref. 116. Sc.

Idem ibid. Vin- centius Bello- naci Specul. Hist. lib. 21. cap. 74. Alan. in Mer- lin. lib. 1. Redulph. Nig.

Sect. 1.

55. We find them therefore at this time in *Armorica*, but still the Controversie remains undecided, how first they came there. One who was born in that very Country, lived near to that very Age, and wrote the Life of St. *Wingolus* the Confessor, committed this also to writing, that *A Progeny of the Britains embarked via S. Wic. in Flotes, arrived in that Land on that side the British Sea, at such time as the Barbarous Nation of the Saxons fierce in Arms, and uncurial in Manners, possessed their Native and Mother Soil. Then (saith he) this dear Off-spring seated themselves close within this Nooke and secret Corner. In which place, wearied with travail and toil, offering in they fate quiet for a while without any Wars. But our English Writers report it as a truth, that long before this time our Britains seated themselves in this Tract of Gall, and particularly at such time as Maximus usurped the Roman Empire. The Monk of Malmesbury relates, that Constantinus Maximus being saluted Emperor by the Army, carried away with him a great Power of British Soldiers, through whose Courage and Industry having attained the Empire, such of them as were past Service, and had done bravely, he planted in a certain part of Gall Wellward upon the very Shoar of the Ocean; where at this day, saith he, their Posterity remaining, are wonderfully increased even to a mighty People, in Manners and Language somewhat degenerate from our Britains. True it is that Constantine concerning Military men made this * Edict, Let the old Souldiers, according to our Precept, enter upon the Vacant Lands, and hold them for ever freely; and moreover possibly here these might be placed to help to restrain the then frequent Inroads of the Saxons. Yet doth he also affirm a Colony of Britains to have been planted in *Armorica* by Constantine the Great; and another will have the same thing done by Constantius Chlorus his Father. Generally those that write the British History, are confident that Maximus there placed his British Souldiers; but others as earnestly contend, that there was no Plantation there till after the coming of the Saxons.*

56. This indeed makes something against the other Opinion, that *Gildas* speaking how Maximus drained the Island of his Men, mentions nothing of his planting them in *Armorica*. But neither doth he speak of this Country when he tells us how the distressed Britains were driven beyond the Seas, though it was above forty years from the Victory at *Badon Hill*, to the time of his writing his *Epistle*; and consequently the Colony, or Commonwealth of the *Armorican Britains*, must have been grown up to that eminency, as provokes him to make mention of them; if any thing could divert that angry and querulous Writer from his Theme. Some might be planted there by Maximus, as others think, and the Children of these old Souldiers might gladly receive these distressed Britains that fled out of their Country under Conduct of *Rional*; but the truth is, such Authors, are rather of better credit and more considerable. Whenever they came thither they turned within a little time the edge of their Weapons most ingratiously upon those their Friends that gave them harbour, as evidently appears from their Testimonies, and by these words of *Regalis Bishop of Vannes*, We living in Captivity under the Britains, are subject to a grievous and heavy Yoke. The Native *Armoricans* being by little and little subdued, the Name of Britains grew so great where they were newly seated, that generally all the Inhabitants passed by degrees into their Name (as of other parts of Gall into that of the *Franks*) so that the whole Tract was called *Britannia Armorica*, and by the French Writers *Britannia Cismarina*. In the first times they courageously maintained themselves under petty Kings, and afterward under Dukes and Counts against the *Franks*, as we have already shewed out of their Writers, particularly *Gregory* the Bishop of *Tours*, in which Author we meet with the Britains in Gall, but never before the time of *Childerick* the First, who began his Reign much about the same time as did *Hengist* in Kent, over the Saxons. It seems their Quarter was not much better than what their Countrymen obtained, whom they left behind them in the Island. For their Wealth, as one writes, was only Immunity from publick Taxes, and plenty of Milk. And if you will believe our Monk of Malmesbury, they were, and he lived some 550 years ago) being hired by foreign Money, and purchasing a laborious and painful life. If they be well paid, they refuse not so much as to serve in Civil War one against another, without all regard of Right or Kindred, but according to the quantity of the Money, ready with their Service, for what part soever you would have them.

57. This

Sect. 1.

57. This Description of them as to their Manners and Disposition suits well enough with what *Gildas* and others write of their Countrymen. However so Industrious and Valiant they were, as to bring under all the Inhabitants of that Tract, and had they had as constant Supplies out of Britain, as the Saxons had out of Germany, might have done as much for the rest of the People of Gall, and been before-hand with the *Franks*. In this they equalled them, that as they gave Name to the places they conquered, so did they. But herein they exceeded them, that whereas the Language of the *Franks* being German, was swallowed up, and devoured by that, then spoken by the Provincials, or by the *Basild* Latin, we now call improperly French. Theirs either quite conquered and overcame that of the *Armorican*, or finding it much the same with it itself, as we said the British and ancient *Gallick* were the same, preserved it self and it unmixt and uncorrupted. Our Welch men hence prove that the *Cornish*, and the *Armorican Britains* were the same Nation, because the Names of their Kings were alike to both, as *Conanus*, *Meriadoc*, (by which Name a part of *Denbighshire* in North-Wales, is still so called) *Howel*, *Alan*, *Theodore*, *Rhyallon*, and the rest; and almost all their words are the same, although they differ a little in Syntax of Speech, as often it happens in the same Country. The Country it self is by our Britains called *Lhydaw*, which *Cambden* interprets, coasting upon the Sea, and so signifying the same in British, as doth *Armorica*. But it seems it's no proper British word; for *Lhwid* thinks it came from the Latin word *Litus*, as being a Region of the *Gallian* Shoar. For as the Latin Writers in our words (saith he) turn *D* into *T*, so our Countrymen in like manner change *T* into *D*, and *L* in the beginning of words they always write with an aspiration. For Example, *Lhwadon* with us signifies *Robbers*, the word being borrowed from the Latines.

58. But as some of our distressed Britains fled over Sea into *Armorica*, which they called *Little Britain*; so we are told that others of them went into *Holland*, where at the Mouth of the *Rhine*, as it falls into the Sea, near to *Catwyck*, they divided their Sails: and there they built a most strong Castle, which they called *Britann*, and subdued unto themselves the Neighbouring People. This Castle in the *Teutonic* Idiom, as we are told by the same Author, is called *Die burck te Britten*, as if you should say, Britains Burge, or the Castle of the Britains; being in the same sense at this day, by the Neighbouring *Hollanders* called *Het Hays te Britten*, or *The Houfe* of Britain. This Castle was placed in the *Batavian* Shoar, at the middle Mouth of the *Rhine*, and the Ruines thereof are to be seen at a very low Water. It was built four-square, and took up the compass of two Roman Acres. And that it was indeed a Roman Fort, besides other things, the ancient Coins, Stones and Bricks, which here were found with Inscriptions, do in Brit. Offer. demonstrate; with the view which *Hadrianus Junius* in his *Batavia*, and *Petrus Scribervius* in his Tabulary of *Holland* Antiquities hath presented us. As therefore it cannot be granted this Chronographer that the Britons built this Castle, (which might be called Britten Hays, because it stood over against Britain) so might it, being now left desolate by the Romans, be seized by the Britains, who might also, as he writes, subdue the Neighbouring People. That this may not be thought incredible, a place of *Procopius* is cited, who in the time of *Justinian* wrote, that *Brittia*, distinct from *Britann*, was inhabited by three most numerous Nations, the *Angles*, *Trifons*, and the *Britains*, who had the same Name with the Island. And if what he saith be true, that it was placed in the Ocean just over against the Mouth of the *Rhine*, this could be no other than the Island of *Batavia*.

59. Neither ought it to be wondered at that here the *Trifons* inhabited; forasmuch as it's certain, that not only in the time of *Pliny*, and *Tacitus*, the *Frifigi* here had their Seats, but in later times part of *Frifia*, the Province of *Vetere* was also accounted, and the Western *Holland*, which still retains the Name of *West Freifeland*, and in time past gave to the Earls of *Holland* the Title also of Lords of *Frifia* or *Freifeland*. But whence the *Angli* or *Angli* should thither come, is to be considered. * One Historian of that Country reports out of their Annals, as a certain truth, that a great Number of *Angli* came out of Britain into *Frifia* under Conduct of *Hengist*. † Another from the like Authority relates, that the City of *Leiden* was first founded on the Bank of the *Rhine* by *Hengist*, the Son of the King of *Frifia*, being beaten out of Britain, and having built a Castle upon the Eastern Bank of the said River, made Governour thereof or *Borchgrave* one *Dibald*, to procure safe Passage to Travellers, with free Access and Recess to Merchants; whereupon the City in the Vulgar Tongue had the Name of *Leiden*. But *John Gerbrand*,

They preserve their Language unmixt and uncorrupted.

Another Company of the Britains plant themselves in Holland.

Joan Gerbrand Chron. Belg. lib. 1. c. 13.

Vide Cambd. ancient Coins, Stones and Bricks, which here were found with Inscriptions, do in Brit. Offer. demonstrate.

in Primord. p. 418.

Lib. 2. c. 18.

Glester Regib.

* Suffrida Pe. certain truth, that a great Number of Angli came out of Britain into Frifia under Conduct of Hengist. † Another from the like Authority relates, that the City of Leiden was first founded on the Bank of the Rhine by Hengist, the Son of the King of Frifia, being beaten out of Britain, and having built a Castle upon the Eastern Bank of the said River, made Governour thereof or Borchgrave one Dibald, to procure safe Passage to Travellers, with free Access and Recess to Merchants; whereupon the City in the Vulgar Tongue had the Name of Leiden. But John Gerbrand,

Seçt. 1. *brand*, who himself was born at *Leiden*, relates the Original thereof with more Circumstances. Having said, that *Hengist* gathered Military men together out of the Lower *Saxony* or *Frisia*, his own Countrey, and with the *Slavenes* or *Hollandenes*, having passed into *Britain*, after this relates what was done by that part of the Army which returned home. The *Saxons* *Frisons* with the *Slavenes*, that is, the *Hollandenes* being returned home, the rest being dismissed, when they had now no employment, neither knew what to doe, nor whither to turn themselves: they went along to the *Feirce Wood* with a strong band, and there at the Courfe of the River *Rhine*, built a great Castle, which now is called *Leids*. In the same Castle of *Leide*, by consent of the Elders, they ordained and appointed for the Custody of the Forest, a certain *Burggrave* or *Castellane*, a Valiant man, with many others like himself, to defend and secure the Merchants going and coming from the said Castle to that of *Wilttenborch* and *Slavenborch*: And therefore that Castle was called *Leyden*, that is, *Duilio* or *Leading*. The common Chronicles of *Holland* relate the same also concerning the *Burg De Burch*, built by *Hengist*. For we must not be so injurious to that Noble City, as to conceal that *Lugdunum Batavorum* was much ancients both from *Ptolemy*, and the Itinerary Table.

60. That a considerable part of *Hengist's* Army, after the defeating and dispersing of the Inhabitants, returned out of *Britain*, we have already shewn from more ancient Authours, as *Gildas* and *Beda*. But whereas some will have *Hengist*, a Dane by Original, (which we shall hereafter discuss) it would if it could be known whether he being beaten out of *Britain* with his *Angli* (as the *British* Histories affirm) or being Victour, and pursuing the flying *Britains*, planted here a new Colony, and built a new Castle to keep in awe and bridle that which they had formerly seized. For *Procopius* doth not say that these three sorts of People, viz. The *Frisians* being *Indignas*, and the *Angli* and *Britains* being new Comers made up one People, but signifies that each of them was subject to their own Kings: and indeed from *Brittenburg* or *Alays te Britten*, that *Burch* is distant but about two hours Sail, (so they of these Countries reckon, and not as we, by Miles) from which the *Burgaves* of *Leiden* of old had their Title. Yet another * Authour will have it not built by *Hengist*, but by one *Mandeth* the Son of *Lemann*, the first of that Name King of the *Batavi*. *Philip* † *Cluverius* also thinks it was built by the *Romans*, the Stones of it seeming as ancient as those of *Brittenburg*. And || others think it to have been the work of the *Normans*. But c. 26. these seem more singular in their Opinions. However, finding that our distressed *Britains* were, by Authours of this Countrey, said hither to have fled for Refuge, and settled themselves; we thought our selves to let the Reader know so much, whom we leave Judge of what on all sides hath been said.

61. We thought we had now done our part as to the Text of *Gildas*, (the best course we could take to write the History of these obscure Times, small credit being to be afforded to other *British* Writers) but due favour and respect both to the dead and the living violently calls upon us to take some consideration of that part also of his Epistle which so vehemently inveighs against the Manners and Dispositions of the ancient *Britains*. What he says of the Layety we have already seen of late, and how he paints out the Manners and Behaviour of those of his own Rank, the Reader may see in the Account we give of Ecclesiastical Matters. Most profligate he makes both sorts, as well the one as the other, and as to those we have at present to deal with, he charges upon them breach of trust and perfidiousness, perpetual Emulations, Factions, and Tyranny over one another, makes them to be of a sleepy Nature, as easie to be beaten as ready to rebel, given up to all manner of Riot and Debauchery, and what he says seems not to be meant only of that time when he wrote, but of their general temper and demeanour in all precedent Ages, whereof he pretends to have the knowledge, viz. as far as the Invasion of *Julius Cæsar*. Hereupon several modern Authours have been emboldened to vilify the *British* Nation, *Polydore Virgil* in particular, who taxeth it as mean and cowardly in the general course of its Actions and Concernments: And some learned Men of that Original are very much concerned to wipe off that dirt he throws upon it. In this endeavour they urge that *Cæsar* found them at his landing so courageous and Martial, that they put him fore to it, forced him to contain himself in his place, and indeed put him to flight, which he in his own behalf cunningly expresth, by drawing back the Legions to their Camp; for that a flight it was, they thence prove, that a little after Midnight being past, he stole to his Ships and so departed. But here was not the strength

In Chronia.
Belgic. l. 1.
c. 9. 10.

* Corn. Hæm.
rodicus in Ba-
taviis.
† Antiquit.
German. l. 2.
c. 26.
|| John. Lati-
us in Descrip.
Holland. c. 9.

Cæsar ad læp-
fendium bo-
stem & Com-
muniendum
prælium alic-
num esse tem-
pus ostendit,
ipse locum con-
stituit, & bre-
vis tempore in-
termissis legio-
nis in Cæstra
reducit.

nor courage of all *Britain* employed, only a small Company of those of *Kent* hastily gathered together. From *Cæsar* himself it's evident, that they fought with great earnestness from their Chariots, fell with violence upon his Camp, and so discouraged the *Roman* Cohorts, that having lost *Labienus* the Tribune, it's said, they made a safe Retreat. Now what doth this Retreat signify, but that they escaped away by flight? He confesses that *Cæstruclann* when he sent Ambassadors to him about Peace, was thereto moved by the Revolt of *Mandubratius* and others his Countreymen.

62. They farther use the Testimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, who writes, that the *Britains* being *Aborigenes*, and living after the manner of the Ancients, used Chariots in Fights, as the ancient Greek Heroes are reported to have done in the Siege of *Troy*. That as to Manners they were simple and upright, being far remote from the craft and cunning of those to whom he was related. That they contented themselves with simple and mean food, being absolute Strangers to the delicious living of Rich men. *Tacitus*, they plead, doth wonderfully extoll the Acts of *Caratacus*, and confesses, that after his Captivity the *Romans* were often beaten by only one Nation of the *Silures*. He writes that *Pennius* (whom he calls fierce, and an utter Enemy of the *Romans*) beat not only the *Romans*, but the *British* Auxiliaries also. He denies not that the Queen *Boadicia* (by *Dion Cæsius* called *Boudicca*) being exasperated, put to the Sword seventy thousand of the *Romans*: And both he and *Dion* with long and evident Speeches celebrate and extoll the more than Manly courage of this Woman and her Facts, which may be compared with those of the most famous Emperours. In the Life of *Agriкола*, his Father-in-Law, having told us, that the *Galls* and the *Britains* were very like in their Ceremonies and Superstitious Perswasions; and that their Language differed not much; he adds, that betwixt them there was the like boldness in courting and setting upon dangerous Enterprises; when Dangers were come, like fear in refusing: But that the *Britains* made shew of more Courage, as being not then mollified by long Peace, for the *Galls* (saith he) were once also as we read, famous in War, till such time as giving themselves over to Idleness, Sloth crept in, Shipwrack was made both of Valour and Liberty together, which also befell to those of the *Britains* that were subdued of old, the rest remain such as the *Galls* were before. Their Military strength consisteth in their Foot, some Countries fight in Waggon also; the more considerable Person guideth the Carriage, and his Dependents fight. In former times they were governed by Kings; now by their great men they are drawn to Factions and Parties: Neither is there any thing that more benefits us when we have to doe with the most-powerfull Countries, but that they do not unite and consult together. Seldom it hapneth that two or three States agree together to propulse the common danger; so whilst each fight for themselves apart, all are overcome. A little after he adds: That *Britains* endure Levies of Men and Money, and all other Burthens imposed by the Empire, patiently and willingly, if Injuries be forborn; these they cannot endure, being subdued to remain as Subjects, not as Slaves. Again; The Noble Mens Sons, he (meaning *Agriкола*) took and instructed in the Liberal Sciences, preferring the Wits of the *Britains* before the Students of the *Galls*, as being now desirous to attain to the *Roman* Eloquence, whereas they had lately rejected the Language. After that our Habits began to grow into Esteem, and the Gown was much used among them; and by little and little they proceeded to the Provocations of Vices, to Galleries, Baths, and exquisite Banquettings; which things the Ignorant counted Civility, being in reality a part of Bondage.

63. They urge farther, that *Dion Cæsius* in the Account he gives of *Cæsar's* Expedition into the Island, delivers such things as make for the honour of the Inhabitants; and namely this, That they did not accept of Peace before they had oftentimes experienced adverse Fortune; that he so far forth his Actions at his return to *Rome*, with Glories and Flourishes, that a Supplication was decreed upon this account, for twenty days together; elsewhere this same Authour reports Passages tending to the repute of the Nation. So doth *Herodian*, giving this Character of it, that it was most Warlike and greedy of Slaughter, contenting it self as to Arms with a narrow Target and a Lance. *Eutropius* in like manner speaking of *Cæsar's* Adventure, saith he was tired out with bitter fighting, and being seized by a Tempest, returned into *Gall*, whence returning again into the Island, at the beginning of the Spring following, his Horse at the first Incounter was routed by the *Britains*, and there *Labienus* the Tribune was slain; and in a prosperous Fight at length, but with great loss of his own men, he beat and put

Seçt. 1.

Dionysia
apud Xiphil.

As to their
Courage.

As to their
Manners.

A Comparison
betwixt the
Galls and
Britains.

An Assertion
upon the *Brit-
tains*.

Which is
largely confir-
med from the
best of Au-
thours.

An account of
their Valour.

Sect. I. hatred to any Nation, but the love of my Country, which undeservedly is ill spoken of, and the desire of illustrating the truth, have caused me to write what I have written. In such like words, and very modest, doth *Hamphry Lluid* of *Denbigh* end his Epistle to *Ortelius*, or his Fragment of the Description, a Piece the Author of which deserveth what the Publisher hath put into it Title Page, that *The Reader will admire his Diligence and Judgment*, and pity it is that with it he ended his Life, and had no longer time to study and publish more, which he seems to promise. His Zeal is to be commended, and if it caused him to believe such Stories, as perhaps upon another Subject he never would (for he useth the silence of *Roman* Writers to confute the Fables which *Beestius* uttereth, and never considers this in his own *Arthur*, and other Passages of his *British* History) his love to his Country, and his Virtues lately mentioned, may easily procure his Pardon.

68. As to that work of *Gildas*, and this Person's endeavours to beget a contrary Opinion of his Nation; Prudent and Moderate Persons, as in all such Cases, will scarcely chuse either of the Extremes but the middle way. That Age whereof *Gildas* wrote, was undoubtedly very corrupt, effeminate, and debauch'd, and made way for the Ruine, which is ever ushered in by such Practices. But that *Gildas* was a Priest and a Preacher, and used such a Pious Art as others of his Profession for the amendment of their lives, to whom he wrote, we can easily yield and add, not of what another Countreyman of *Lluid* hath written, though not of the general design of his Book. He (*viz.* *Gildas*) seems to have propos'd this only thing to himself in this little Book, that he thought at least his *Britains* would blush and repent, if he rather collected all that was blame-worthy in them, and set it before their eyes, than if he should mind something worthy of Commendation, which either they themselves or their Ancestours had performed. Therefore he partly overwhelms them with all sorts of Accusations, partly smites them with the Divine Oracles, that none might suspect he did it out of hatred to them. And if the Ghost of *Lluid* will permit the Name and Testimony of *Polydore Virgil* here to be used we shall add what he himself saith in this Case as to the decay of Religion amongst the *Britains*: That a few retained the true sense of Christian Religion, whom *Gildas* calleth Good Men, the rest of them, and especially the Priests erring so through the iniquity of the Times, he chastiseth and labours to reduce into the way. This was to be said in this place, that every one might know that *Britain* did not beget evil Priests, but that the Cruelty and Impiety of men was the cause; forasmuch as this first of all Provinces received the Christian Religion, and at all times (saith he) and even at this time, hath had and hath a most Religious People. Thus far *Polydore* ascribing this decay of Religion amongst the *Britains*, to the ancient Persecutions of the *Romans*. Here now we must leave our poor *Britains* in the Mountainous places of *Wales* and *Cornwales*, or else shifting for themselves in strange Countries, and now come to those Intruders who possessed themselves *Saxons* & Lin. of their Country, and drove them out, whom retaining the old word they still call *Saxons*, and their Language *Saxonaeg*, not knowing what *Englismaeg* or *Englismaeg* means. First therefore let us see what these *Saxons* and others that invaded *Britain* in Conjunction with them, were. Then let us come to a view of the several Kingdoms they erected in the Island. And of these in their places.

Prifem Hiffor.
Britannicæ De-
fcript. G. lib.

Unde venit
quod Nigritas
primum rei-
venit nomen,
Angles omnes
Saxones & Lin-
gum erant
Saxonaeg ap-
pellant, me-
quid sit Anglus
ant Anglica in-
gula. Lloyd lib.
figra. fol. 14. b.

The Country
called *Saxonaeg*
and that Lan-
guage *Saxi-*
naeg.

SECT. II.

SECT. II.

The Original of the Saxons, Angles and Jutes, which planted themselves in Britain.

I. THE *Getes* or *Goths*, as we have formerly shewed out of *Scandia*, in most ancient times, not only made Inroads into the *Chersonesus*, and the Islands of the Baltick Sea, and the more Northern Parts of *Germany*, but into several Parts both of the *Afan* and *European Sarmatia*, and *Scythia*, whence driving out the Inhabitants, they there seated themselves, as well as in *Thrace* and several other Provinces. In the *Afatick Scythia* or *Sarmatia*, was there a City called *Afgard*, as the Northern Writers tell us, the Inhabitants whereof *Agardiani* are by some thought the same with those whom the *Greeks* knew by the Name of *Aspurgiani*, both sorts of Authors placing them near to the Lake *Maotis*, where the River *Tanais*, with great fury empties it self into it, and if some have not wrongly apprehended him, *Ptolemy* the Geographer himself, called the City by the very Name of *Afgard* or *Agard*. The Country in which this City stood was in a peculiar way called *Afia* by *Strabo*, and the People thereof *Afai*, and *Afiota* by the other Writers. As for the Names of *Agard* and *Aspurg* they denote but the very same thing, *Gard* to the *Goths* signifies the same which *Purgos* did to the *Greeks*, *viz.* a Tower or Castle. Such of the *Goths*, as inhabited this Country were also called *Turcae* or *Turks*, as *Mela* witnesseth, who makes them the same with the *Tyrgetae*, those that at this present bear that Name having long time after entered into these Quarters descended by the *Goths*, after they returned back into *Europe*. These *Aspurgiani* had their Kings, the Dominions of whom extended to the farther Mountains of *Scythia*, within *Imaus*, where the *Saxones*, *Syebi* and *Iota* inhabited, whom *Strabo* comprehends under the very Name of *Aspurgiani*.

The first
Seat.

Whence their
King.

Who chuse
12. Senators
to be Over-
seers in sacred
and civil Af-
fairs.

2. Of this *Aspurgia* or *Afgardia* was King, amongst the rest, one *Orthin*, as an ancient Chronicle of *Norway* calls him, though he has many other Names different in found yet easily to be apprehended of the same Original, for *Gothick* they all are though variously written, and pronounced according to the several *Gothick* Dialects. The Reader will find him called *Orthin*, and *Othen*, *Oden* and *Voden*; *Gundan* and *Gundan*, *Eowthen* and *Eowden*; sometimes concisely written *Wade*, *Ode* and *Othe*, *Gode* and *Guode*, *Woen* and *Goen*, but most commonly we find him *Woden*, and from him is the third day of the week named *Wodenfack*, (our Wednesday) as also *Woenfack* and *Gorenfack*, neither are there wanting other Names and Epithetes, whereby he is known. He is reported to have been a stout and expert Captain, as well wife and cautious, as hardy and daring, and famous for the Art or Faculty of foretelling. Some will tell you, that he was expert in the Art Magic to such perfection, that he would change his shape into that of a four footed Beast, Bird or Fish as often as he listed; in the twinkling of an Eye could remove himself into what place he pleased, with his word alone could restrain the heat of Fire, the fury of the Sea, and do many other things which far exceed the Power and Capacity of Man, whereby he procured to himself no small Esteem, and Reverence; even as much as was attributed to the highest Deity. This well fitted him for the place of Chief Priest, which he bore in his Country, where very frequent Sacrifices were offered to Idols. Twelve of the chiefest Senators he chose from amongst the rest which excelled in Goodness and Wisdom, and made them Overseers not only over Religious matters, but Ministers of Justice to the People. They were called *Diar*, that is Gods or Divine, and *Drotuar* or Lords, and the People by turns were bound to assist and serve them in their Ministration. While they governed the People at home, he conquered many Kingdoms and Countries abroad; being so prosperous in all his Enterprizes, that in none he failed. When to his Captains he committed any Expedition or other sort of Service, he laid his hands on them, and as it were consecrated them to that Affair, who thereby concluded, that as by a certain Spell they were rendered incapable of any

Sect. 2.

Lib. 2.

Turcae quæst
Taurica à
monne Tauris
ad cuius Re-
gionis habita-
bant, eos dic-
tos putat non
verum.

Apud Stephe-
nium.

Sec^t. 2. into *Saxony*, from an Ancient Chronicle said to have been written by *Snorro*, the Son of *Sturlay*, an eminent Man in *Iceland*, about the year of Our Lord 1220. And with this Relation, for the main, agrees the *Edda of Iceland* a most Ancient Monument, *Johannes Martini* an Ancient Writer also, as *Job. Meffenius* hath it, and another old *Sæo Gotrick* Chronicle published by the said *Meffenius*, from several Manuscripts which agree in all things almost with the Relation made by *Snorro* the Son of *Sturlay*.

7. The Edda makes mention of *Odin* his making a long stay in *Saxony*, that he possessed the Country far and wide, and distributed it amongst his Sons, whereof *Veddeg* obtained the Eastern *Saxony*, *Begeg* *Welfphalia*, and *Sig Franca*. It adds that having done this, he himself went into another Country called then *Redgotland*, afterward *Jutland*, of which he had to himself as much as he pleased, and over it he set his Son *Skidde*, who was Father to *Frideife*, whose Posterity was called *Skialdwagar* or *Skialdrades*, from whom the Kings of *Denmark* are descended. Afterwards relating how he went into *Suithiud* or *Suecia*, it adds that he built the City from him called *Sigtun*, and now enjoying Royal dignity, called himself *Njord*. Therefore in the *Annals* it is found, that the first King of *Suecia*, was *Njord*, because *Odin* the most magnificent King there reigned, though before him other Kings there ruled. Lastly it relates how *Odin* constituted twelve Persons, for administering of Law to the People according to the *Turkish* Customs, in imitation of what was done at *Troy*. *Johannes Martini* tells the Story how *Woden*, with twelve Judges of the Kingdom called *Drotmarii*, his Wife *Frigga*, and Children, and a great Army went into *Rysland*, over which having happily conquered, he appointed Governour his Son *Bo*. His Affairs having so prosperously succeeded in *Rysland*, he sailed over the Sea into an Island of *Denmark*, called *Oden So*, which to this very day faith he from *Woden* his inhabiting there keeps its Ancient Name. Having also made some stay in the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, and then returned into *Suecia*, having left *Hilfatia* under the Rule of seven of his Sons, he departed thither and a long time lived at *Sigtun*, where he obtained great Fame and Veneration amongst the *Sweones*, who were amazed at the things formerly related which he did by Magic, and particularly at this, that he could pass vast Seas in a little Skin or Pelc which he was wont to fold up together like a Bag. Dying at last at *Sigtun*, he was with much Honour, and no small Quantity of Gold and Silver burnt, and by how much higher the smoke ascended from the kindled pile by so much they esteemed him placed in an higher degree, in the other World. The *Saxogothick* Chronicle relates, that *Woden* being Prince and also Priest of *Asgardia*, killed and offered Men as well as other Animals unto Idols. That coming with all his *Diarii*, and a great multitude of other Men into *Rysland*, thence he proceeded into *Saxony*, which he committed to the Government of his Sons, and by Sea passed to a certain Island called *Odenssea* in *Fronia*, at the writing of that Book. Having understood, that there was a good Land near *Lagere*, thither he went with his *Diarii*, and took a piece of ground to himself which he called *Sigtun*. *Njord* placed himself at *Naburg*, *Freyar* at *Ufsal*, *Hymdel* at *Hymburg*, *Thora* at *Trundwage*, and *Balder* at *Bredrebbike*, where they introduced the Customs of sacrificing. Here is to be understood, that after *Woden* and his *Diarii* came into the Northern Parts, Art Magic came in use, but prevailed especially in *Finnmark*. Concerning his wonders performed by this Art, his death and honours, he relates the same with *Snorro* the Son of *Sturlay*.

8. Such is the Account we have of the return of the *Gotes or Gaths* into *Germany*, under Conduct of *Woden*, from these most ancient Northern Writers: a story the Reader cannot but a little flatter at, as favouring of such Poetic fancy, and Romantick humour, as usually covers the Originals of Nations, under the Veil of Obscurity. That such fancy and humour is prevalent in this Story cannot be denied, especially as to the Persons and Practices of our wonderful *Woden*. We must confess, that these Northern Parts have abounded with Tales inserted into their Magical Songs and Incantations, and that *Edda* the ancient Monument, we have cited, was no other but a Store-house of Allegories and Fancies, a shop out of which Poets were to gather materials, and furnish themselves with fit Conceits, for their Superstitious Dirities. And to speak the utmost, it's to be feared that these ancient Chroniclers from it and Tradition had their greatest Collections. Indeed as *Kranzius* observes in his History of these Northern Countries, it's difficult for any Man to write the Original of any Nation, and not to touch upon some Fables; not only the *Greeks*, but each other People have their Heroick Story. Yet

His Body is
burnt.

CHAP. II.

as in these of the *Greeks* as most think, is involved much also of truth, and real things covered with fictions, which may be discovered to have been real, by constant of other Circumstances of times and places; so perhaps upon disquisition we may find the same in this Subject, whereon we now insist. In the first place, to grant such Stories as are told of Magic to have been general Fables and Rumours of the People; yet this we must say, that to any one who has either travelled into these Parts or hath been conversant in the Histories of these Northern Nations, it will appear, that they have been in former time (wherever they are at present, and let this be considered) most propense to Incantments, direfull Imprecations and other Magical Charms and Tricks. Many Monuments of their ancient places of burial with their *Runic* Inscriptions, sufficiently testify enough of this matter at this very day.

9. But to put our velitary or weaker Arguments in the Front of our Engagement, that *Woden* and his Companions came from *Asia*, bears some resemblance of truth; becaufe his surname is *Aas*, and they have that of *Afiani*. *Afer* in the plural is the fame as *Asiaticks*, whereof the fingular is *As* or *Aas*, given to *Woden*, in an extraordinary manner with too great an Adjunct, as *Den Almæſte Aas*. This is more evident from that ancient form of an Oath, which in old time was uſed in *Norwey*, *So help me Frier, and Niordar, and that omnipotent Aa*, meaning *Woden*, whom they facrilegiouſly elevated into the place of the higheſt Divinity. Hereupon the Ancient *Goths* to witneſs their deſcent from theſe their Deities, *Woden, Thor, Skjold*, and the reſt, were wont to add the word *Aa* unto the Names of their Children, ſignifying with them as much as Divine or Saint. *As Abhiron* (or as the *Danes* write it *Eſberne* (we *Osborn*) *St. Beare* or *As Beare*, *Asgeir*, *As-Speare*, *Asgrimur*, *Aſwalfe*, *Aſkeitil*, *Aſdog*, *Aſalark*, (the *Danes* call it *Axell*) that is *Dius Famaſus*, or *As ſervant*, and as theſe and others belong to Men, ſo ſome there were that appertained to Women. Farther, that in *Sarmatia Afatica*, there was really ſuch a place called *Aſgardia* or *Aſpurgia*, and People known by the Name of *Aſiæta*, and *Aſiani* a Countrey by *Strabo* expreſly and peculiarly called *Asia*, we have already ſeen. Hence when *Woden* and his Followers came into *Germany*, was the Name of *Aſiguburg*, or as now it is called *Aſburg*, given to an ancient City there mentioned by *Tacitus*, this being far more probable than that it ſhould be founded by *Ulyſſes*, it being the Outſome of theſe *Gothick* Nations, to give the Names of the places from whence they came, to their newly acquired Conqueſts. In the Preface to the *Edda*, the Countrey whence *Woden* came, is called *Turcia*, and *Mela* witneſſeth that the Inhabitants of *Aſpurgia*, were ſome of them called *Turce*; being the fame with thoſe *Goths* called *Tyrſagæta*, who from the Mountain *Taurus* might receive ſome denomination. And as ſuch like Denominations, when they come to be fixed upon Nations or Families commonly ſit; ſo probable it is, that after the *Saxons* came into *Britain*, the Name of *Turk* ſtill continued, though the reaſon of the Name might be in the dark. For in the Countrey of *Lincoln* upon the *Trent*, ſome four or five Miles from *Gainsborough*, there is a Town now called *Torkſey*, which the *Saxons* in their Language called *tuſ-cette* or the Iſland of *Turks*. But as we ſaid before the preſent *Turks* came into theſe parts of *Asia* long after, when the *Goths* returning into *Europe* had forſaken them.

10. Farther, that *Woden* came into *Ryoland*, is made probable from the proper Names of several Places there. In the Borders of *Livonia*, formerly accounted part of *Ryoland*, was a Province from him called *Odenpoe*, as much as to say, *Upon Woden*, denoting as some think, that all their Hope and Expectation was upon him. In the Bay of the *Sarmatian* Sea, is also a certain Island from him called *Wodeholm*, by the *Danes* *Odenholm*, and *Vodeholm*. *Woden* leaving *Ryoland*, left King over that Country, his Son *Bo*, as both *Saxo Grammaticus*, and *Johannes Magnus* relate, calling the said *Bo* King of the *Rutheri*, the Land of whom by the *Goths* was called *Ryoland*, *Roxilania* in the *Latin* Tongue, and in times past *Ruffia* extending from the Mouth of the River *Vistula*, as far as the Bank of *Meotis*, and *Tanaïs* with the *Rhipæan* Mountains, in the Circle of which are at this day contained *Prussia*, *Livonia*, and a great Part of *Moscovy*, with other Countries. Now that from *Ryoland*, *Woden* by Sea came into the Northern Parts of *Germany*, besides what is said by *Johannes Martini*, other Circumstances render very probable. First it has been the constant opinion and tradition of the *Saxons* themselves, that thither they came not by Land but Sea. Then as in other Places, so in these *Quarters* of *Germany*, *Woden* left several marks of his Name. From him otherwise called *Wodan* and *Godan*, *Sialand* formerly called *Werallabeeth*, received the Name of

Magical Incantation
much used

His Surname
was *As.*

H's Countrey
Aspurgia.

Part where
was called
Turcia.

Settles his Son
Bo in the
Kingdom of
Ryfland.

Seft. 2. Goths and Jutes, for it ought to be read *Jutis*, and not as it is most vitiously printed, *Judis*. In respect of those *Jutes* it is that the King of *Danemark* retains still the Title of King of the *Goths*; and with reference to their Progeny may that of *Belisarius* be interpreted in *Procopius*, which has put so many to a plunge, where in his Treaty with the Ambassadors of the *Goths*, he tells them, we also permit the *Goths* to have all Britain, being far better than Sicily, and though it was in times past subject to the Dominion of the Romans.

De Bell. Go-
thico. lib. 2.

The Name
whence.

19. But be it that some Copies have it *Vita*, this might easily be changed for *Jutite*, the first Letter being taken away or omitted; and *J* might easily be changed into *G*, as in the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor they are called *Gute*, by reason of the nearness there is in the force of these two Letters. Be they *Jeta*, *Juta*, *Juita*, *Jota*, *Jotui*, *Geta*, *Geatui*, *Giora*, or *Gute*, it's the same Name as well as thing, the Orthography and Terminations according to the diverse fancy of People, and their pronunciation being only various, as happens usually in all other Names, scarcely any Nation or Town being written and called every whit the same in any two Languages. Some therefore seem to approve of the present Copy of *Beda*, calling them *Witi*, whereof one tells us, that at several times going out of their own Country, some came into *Britain*, others passed the *Rhine*, and seized on part of *Helvetia*, being afterward called *Suiri* and *Suicri*, which Name still continues; but to speak impartially, the *Suiri* with more probability some derive from the *Suiri*, but *Abbo Flouensis* in the Life of King *Edmund*, calls the *Jute* by the Name of *Viti*, and this is not to be neglected that the Grandfather of *Hengist* is called *Vita*; and Sir *Henry Spelman* upon other Quotations, approves the reading of the Word *Witi*: *W* and *G* being ordinarily used for each other, as in the Word *William* and *Guilielmus*. The *Jute* therefore being the same with the *Gute* or *Geta*, the same Original of Name, whether from *geat* a *Gyant*, or from their Goodness the Reader may call to mind what we have said in another place. There was far more ancient than either that of the *Angles* or *Saxons*. As for the *Saxons*, *Isidore* was so good a Latinist, and had so little skill in the Teutonic Tongues, as to derive their Name from *Saxum* a *Stone*, because they were an hard and robust Nation, excelling all others in Piracy. Others fetch it from *Aschanes* the Son of *Gomer*, but with what tolerable Reason we are to seek. Doubtless the Name as well as the People was *Gothick*, and as to this, *Fe-De-Cisnerus* in *Prof. ad Kyantunum* Sberingium *de orig. Saxon.* c. 11.

Fabricius
Chemnicus
de orig. Saxon.
lib. 1.

The Saxons
Derivation.

20. It's to be imagined that he that first mentioned this had read of *Nemec* coun *reaxon*, what the *Saxons* did with the *Britains* on *Salisbury* Plain, and it's well his Learning was not so *British*, as to make them first called *Saxons* from that base Action here; but it was not much better, for they had that Name, as several Learned Men have evinced, long before this *Thuringian* War, or the Name of the very *Thuringians* was heard of. Most therefore and with most Reason take their Name from *Sax*, which signifies a Knife, or a crooked foot of short Sword, having teeth like to a Saw, or from *Seison* or *Saison*, which signifies a *Sickle*, for that such like Swords were in use with the *Getes* is very manifest, and the ancient Arms of *Saxony* (as *Pontanus* tells us, were two such like Swords placed across, the one over the other. This Derivation is as probable as can be brought in Matters that are conjectural, it were to be wifhed we could satisfy our selves so well about the Original of the Name of *Angli*. *Saxo Grammaticus* derives it from *Angulus* Son of *Hamulus* King of the *Danes*, but what it signifies, and of what Language it is, he doth not tell us; neither do we hear any thing of the *Angles* being in *Denmark* in the ancient times, we find several Marks of them, several Towns which took Names from them in *Germany*, as *Ingolfstadt*, *Engelburg*, *Engelrute*, and *Ingelheim* famous for the Birth of *Charles* the Great, but no footsteps of them in *Denmark*. *Widsifd* a *Saxon* will have the *Saxons* called *Angli* from a certain Island placed in a Corner or Angle of the

Orig. Francie.
Lib. 2. cap. 2.

The original
the name
Angli.

the Set, which they subdued: Others more truly (saith *Cisner*) interpret *Anglia* or *England* as an Angle or Corner of the World (but what is this to the purpose) and all these fetch the Derivation rather from the *Latin* than the *German* Tongue. *Aventinus* and *Goropius Becanus* will have it of *German* Extraction. *Aventinus* acquaints us, that *Angel* or *Engel* in this Language signifies three things, an Hook or Sling, an Hinge, and a Border or Limit, and hence in a general sense, he thinks that *Proten* calls them *Angli*, and *Tacitus Angli*. *Goropius* makes choice of the first Interpretation, whereby is signified a Fishing or Angling Hook, as we even at this day call it, and he is of Opinion that the *Saxons* so called themselves as Hooks which caught all that was in the Sea: And as for the *Suevi Angli*, they might well also have this Name, because living near to the *Sicambri* and *Ubi*, they hook'd in all they could snatch from their Neighbours. Amongst these Opinions (if one may interpose) I cannot see any Reason why the Names of other German Nations should be *German* or *Gothick*, and this of theirs only taken from the *Latin*; certainly this is no common, but an extraordinary thing; and I believe they were called *Angli* or *Angli*, before the *Romans* had much knowledge of these Parts, for certainly *Tacitus* did not give them the Name but found it before his time fastned on them. In so Conjectural a matter where it is free for any one to declare his Opinion, I must confess I side with *Cisner*, who deduces it from a general rather than a special signification and force of the word, leaving the choice thereof to the pleasure of the Reader. From some accident in respect to their Habitation, they might be called Borderers at some certain place and time, and this might stick by them afterwards; or rather being, as we find, a Roving, Wandering People, it was not for nothing they moved and wandered, but for their advantage, to seek, doubts, what they could farther snatch or hook in to themselves. It's no strange or unordinary thing for Nations, from their Preying and Rapine to receive Names.

21. So much for their Places and Names after these three People came into *Germany*. We must now look upon them all under the general Name of *Saxons* awhile, and see what they did till such time as they invaded *Britain*. For a long time we find them struggling with the *Danes*, for the *Cherowings*, or that Country called *Jutia*, in which Contest they had such success as War affordeth, sometimes coming off with loss, and otherwhiles driving out their Enemies; but at last they were quite driven out themselves, and forced to leave that about which they had so long contended. But the very first Quarrel betwixt them and *Swedes* was not about *Jutland*, but a Love business, if we give heed to what *Krantzius* in his *Germania* writes, but what scarcely himself believed. One *Strabulus* King of *Denmark* and *Finland*, had a very fair Daughter, and on her *Gram* the King of *Denmark* and *Sweden* was so enamoured, that he must needs quit his former Wife, yet the daughter of the late *Swedish* King, whom he had conquered, and marry her. Yet was he not in such haste but that he could lay from Contumacious any Marriage quickly, you must know he was contracted to her now, and then, separated into *Norweg*, whither his Military Affairs called him. Being there intangled in such Difficulties as was judged he would hardly matter, *Strabulus* began to repent him of what he had done, and Married his Daughter to *Henry* King of the *Saxons*, a People he knew to be fierce and Warlike, which would probably be upon his Back, in case he invaded *Finland*. But *Gram* was aware of the Plot, and having timely notice of what they were about, came upon them unexpectedly and quite spoiled their sport; killing the Bridegroom &c. he could enjoy his Bride, which he took instantly from her Father. This is the first occasion of the *Saxons* in the *Danish* Antiquities, and I assure you upon a Marriage made. But this Feast, and especially the last Course stuck in their Throats, they would spoil *Gram's* sport also in *Norweg*, where they joyed with him, and within a little time made him pass mocking, sending him after their good King *Henry*. Neither was it difficult for our *Saxons*, who long before this were potent at Sea; from *Jutia* to pass into *Norweg*. But now, saith our Author, doth time change all things! Then did the *Saxons* there Wage War, and Intermarry, whither now, a vigorous trade on the Coasts of *Germany* bounding in the hands of the *Saxons*, scarcely any would vouchsafe to Sail, who got their living upon the remotest Seas. But hence you may take a scanning of the greatness and strength of this Nation by its Warring abroad, and thus being courted to Marriage and Alliances.

Henry their
King kill'd on
his Wedding
day by *Gram*
King of the
Danes.

Seft. 2.

Sic Saxones
que Prefatur.
Genui Saxo-
num primu-
m et origi-
nem &c.
(quas putant)
antiquitates,
apud nostras
relegimus pa-
der occupant
& consilio fac-
cisi: ita pue-
ritibus fabulis
& ambulis be-
livantem omnia
nihil in his fili-
confiter, nihil
quadro. Una
est omnis
sententia, ali-
unde profect-
um gentem
novum a ma-
Nor adventasse:
Sed unde &
quo tempore,
non inter fore-
novis conce-
nit, &c.

SECT. 2.

They lose the
possession of
Juteland.

22. The next King of the Saxons mentioned by *Krantzius*, is *Sifrid*, who lived in the time of *Fladding* King of the *Danes*, with whom he had some skirmishes, but still he kept possession of *Jutia*, which was lost by *Hundinck* his Son, who was worsted in a single Combat, to which he was provoked by *Roe* the *Danish* King, who founded *Roschild* a Town once famous in *Danemark*. From this time the Saxons never had the entire possession of *Juteland*, though sometimes the Dukedom of *Sleswicke*, the principal part of it was in their Dominion. The next Adventure made by our Saxons was about another Love business, liking it seems in such to intermeddle. *Hother*, you must know, the King of *Sweden* had a Mistress he much affected, and a Rival one *Balder*, his Subject by Birth, and so in this respect his Inferiour; but Superiour to him in the Opinion of the People, which for his Magical tricks, as it seems, had fanned him to be a God. To War they went, a supposed God, for a Mortal Woman; and he did not so confide in his Divinity, but that judging himself too weak for his King, he fought to *Gelder* the King of the Saxons for aid, a Person that very readily complied with his Demands. Though the Saxons had now lost *Jutia*, yet their Ships they had not, which had transported them into *Sweden*, but that that King's Fleet met them by the way and freight engaged them. Now, as our Author observes, a supposed Divinity could not prevail against the Arms of poor Mortals. *Balder* is beaten and runs away. The Saxons stick to it, and are slain every Mothers Son: Which the Enemy perceiving, made a fair Funeral Pile of their Vessels, and therewith most nobly and gently consumed them. A Fact, doubtless to be compared with that Generosity which *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* shewed towards slain *Marcellus*. The next Act of the Saxons shewed but little of Generosity. They would have hector'd *Wermund* the King of *Danemark* out of *Jutia*, being now very old and blind, and having a Son, in whom for his reputed Stolidity, he had no pleasure. The Ambassadors in a jeering way offer a Combat betwixt this Son and their Masters, which contrary to all expectation, the Fool accepts; nay, offers to meet in the Field both him and his Squire, and that with such success, that he first doughtily slew the Squire, and then his Master.

Another de-
feat.

23. By this means the proud Saxons were forced to submit their own Necks to the Yoke which they had been fitting for others, though not long they continued in that condition. For shaking off the Yoke of Servitude again, in the days of *Dan*, the third of that Name, King of the *Danes*, they sent another proud Challenge to them, either to pay Tribute, or to expect them to come and fetch it; but in this Adventure our daring Saxons were once again beaten. Here *Krantzius* satisfies the wonder of his Reader, why he should so much hear of Sea Expeditions, and nothing of the Mediterranean Parts; why the *Danes* should still come off with Victory, and the Saxons ever with loss and discredit, a thing which did not so fall out in after times. He tells him there's no Body has written of these Matters but *Saxo Grammaticus* an Islander, one who made it his design to extoll the *Danes*, as all other Writers *Greek* and *Roman* have done by their Countrymen; had *Saxo* been a *Saxon* by his Country as well as by Name, he would have done the quite contrary, and not obtruded these Fables upon the World, but perhaps others as bad on the contrary side. Doubtless he is very fabulous and partial, and for that cause we refer the History of these Northern Kingdoms to another Period, when he may have something certain whereon to fix; but when we have certain footing as we have in the case of the *Britains*, *Saxons*, and others, then judge we it necessary to give the Reader an hint of Fables, though Fables, which by that habit we dress them in, and that distinction we put upon them he may easily discover from rational and probable Stories. Then comes *Krantzius* to write the History of the *Cimbri*, which made War in *Italy*, and other places, which we have heretofore dispatched in the Accounts we have already given of those Nations, against which they made War. We have already told the Reader, that unto the *Greeks* and *Romans* the Saxons were first known, as well as others, by the Name of *Cimbri*; but so were all down to *Gall*, and even the *Galls* themselves, of which Nation these *Cimbri* that invaded *Italy* and *Greece*, seem to have been. And whereas *Krantzius* faith they were Saxons, we shall grant them so to have been, in a large acceptation, as their Name was also communicated to all that inhabited, even as far as the *Sched*.

24. After this he reanimates his Story of the War betwixt the Saxons and *Danes*. They paid Tribute to *Fronte* the Great, who reigned when our Saviour was born, and to his Son *Fridleve* as valiant and victorious as himself, but grudging to do so to his Son *Frothe* a Child of but twelve years old. They rebel, and the

They have the
worst again.

the Armies meeting, the Controversie is referred to another Duel between one *Starcaer* on the side of the *Danes*, and one *Hama* on the *Saxon* part, who came by the work, having his head cloven asunder, from whom the Writer guesseth the Town of *Hamburg* might receive its Name. Yet still would not the Saxons rest, but shortly after passing the *Elbe* (for they had lost to the *Danes* all lying beyond that River) they were again overcome and lost their Captain *Hane*, from whom he thinks *Hanofer* might also receive its Name; and truly one as likely as *specius* *Lombes* *Origines* *Hamburgensis*. But for all this *Suerting* the other Captain of the Saxons would not be discouraged, and presuming he should do nothing by force, betook himself to Wiles and Craft. He invites the King of the *Danes* to his House, and then sets it on fire, willingly therein perishing like another *Decius* or *Sanfon*, that thereby he might destroy his Enemy. The Sons of this *Suerting* took off his Son and Succellour from revenging his death, by giving to him their Sister in Marriage, which procured for good an understanding betwixt them, that they lived lovingly with him in his Court for a long time, till stout *Starcaer* returned thither. He (you must know) so rated the poor young King for harbouring these Snakes in his bosom, that to prevent stinging he knock'd them on the Head, notwithstanding what their Sister and her Children could do to preserve them. Yet could not he get any Tributes from the Saxons, who now stood upon their guard and stoutly defended their Liberty.

They pay for
their Leache-
ry once more.

25. What was done in the mean time in the Island Countries by the Saxons; *Krantzius* complains that we are ignorant, blaming *Tacitus* for being too much taciturn in this Particular. He then mentions in short what was done in *Germany* by *Drusus* and *Germanicus* in the time of *Augustus*, concluding, that those they had to do with were Saxons, although such they be not called. After this he tells us another Tale of one *Sivar* a Nobleman amongst them, who had got the consent of the young Queen of the *Danes*; but one *Haldan* of *Norway* who had had a Months mind to her, but was diverted, by some Wars he waged with the *Russes* hearing of the Wedding, came as *Gram* had done upon them on the very day, and cruelly slaying the Bridegroom, took the Bride away with him: And these are the *Saxon* Antiquities (and goodly ones they are) which *Saxo* the *Danish* Writer (in Name alone being *Saxon*) hath communicated to us; the rest are buried in Oblivion. From these goodly Antiquities he passeth to what was done against the *Bataui* in the time of *Vespasian*, but insists on this Subject but little, as unproper by his Confession. Next he falls into a grievous Complaint that none hath transmitted to Posterity the Actions of the Saxons in the Inland Countries, not doubting but that such as had been so stout at Sea, would not be Cowards at Land, but have acted something against or with the *Turingi* and *Vandals*. He doubts not but they had an hand in that War of the *Marcomans*, in the days of *Marcus Antoninus*, which afflicted the *Romans* no less than the *Carthaginian* Wars had done. But neither any of the *Marcomans* nor Saxons committed any thing relating hereunto to writing; we only enjoy what the *Romans* wrote, which they did, as all other Stories, for the advantage and grandeur of their Empire, only being silent as to the valiant deeds of their Enemies. We see a Man hath plainly the advantage of a Lion, because a Man was the Painter. Could a Lion have painted, we should have seen another kind of Picture. Of these things we may complain, but cannot amend them. Thus *Krantzius* Wittily.

26. He farther observes, that till about three hundred years after the Birth of Christ, there is no mention made of the Saxons in any *Roman* Writer. The first that mentioned them, is *Eutropius*, and after him *Orosius*, in the Reigns of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*. *Eutropius* relates how *Carausius* being appointed to clear the Coasts of the *Armorican* and *Belgick* Seas, which the *Franks* and *Saxons* infested, though he often took many Barbarians, yet neither gave up the Booty to the Provincials, nor sent it to the Emperours, was suspected for favouring the Pirates, that he might rob them as they passed by, and for this reason being commanded to be slain by *Maximian*, took upon him the Purple at *Bononia* or *Budeign* in *Picardy*. This is related by *Orosius* in well nigh the same words, and by *Beda* in his *Britannia*, as he calls it. Here our Author insults upon two sorts of Writers, as well he may; First, such as fetch the *Franks* from the Lake of *Matris*, in the time of *Valentinian* the Emperor, who was not yet born; then over those who deduce the Original of the Saxons, from the times of *Theodrich* King of the *Franks*, who was neither in being two hundred years after: This is to be taken special notice of, that in those days the Saxons exercised Piracy upon all these

Scct. 2. these Coasts, and that as well the *British*, as the *Gallick*; so false is that which some have affirmed, that before the coming over of *Hengist*, they were unknown to the *Britains*. For *Claudian* the Poet, inveighing against (a) *Eutropius*, who about the year of our Lord 400, makes mention of their Infesting the Sea in general, (b) in another place of the *Orchades*, and in (c) another introduces *Britann*, speaking how *Stilico* had Fortified her both against the Invasions of *Picts*, *Scots* and *Saxons*. Moreover, (d) *Sidonius Apollinaris*, about the time of their coming into the Island, describes most elegantly their Piracy, both in his Epistle to *Lampadius*, and in his Panegyric to his Father-in-Law.

Infesting Sea
and Land.

27. Moreover, in the *Notitia* of the Dignities of the Western Empire, we have mention made of the *Comes litoris Saxonici per Britannias*, of the Count of the *Saxon Shore* throughout *Britain*. Now the *Saxon Shore* was all that Tract from the *Cambrica Cherfonesus* on that side the Sea, as far even as the Western Part of *Gall*, where the *Saxons* were wont both to rove and rob upon the Sea, and all land and make depredations on the Continent; and from this Shore it is, that a very Learned Man of our own will have the Count of the *Saxon Shore* throughout *Britain*, to have received his Title, denying that this Shore of *Britain* could be called the *Saxon Shore*, because here they never landed, but onely robbed off at Sea. In a matter of truth we must be impartial, and affirm him strangely overween when he saith that, * We read not any where that the Saxons had at that time, either settled themselves upon the Shores of Britain, or were wont to visit thence, or that they infested any thing of Britain, except the Sea. From the verses of *Claudian* lately cited, it sufficiently appears that *Britain*, as he brings her in, did not fear the *Saxon* roving, but the *Saxon* coming, and how could he properly be said to come to her except he landed? But *Ammianus* himself, whom that Learned Man so often cites, sufficiently clears the controverfie, where he relates that a message came, how *Britain* was extremely vexed by Conspiracy of Barbarians; that *Nectarius* the Count of the Maritime Tract was slain, and *Bochobandus* the Duke was circumvented by their Hostile lying in wait; now what Barbarians these were, is evident from his words which follow, that the *Saxons* were at this time wont to Conpire with the *Attacotts* and *Scots*; and in another place he writes, that as the *Allemani* did depopulate *Gall*, and *Rhetia*, and the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi* *Pannonia*, so the *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Attacotts*, vexed the *Britains* with continual miseries. Can we imagine that these Rovers would not land any where, where they could get booty; and that *Britain* should be so poor and beggarly, that it should not afford them Incouragement, as well as the waterish places of *Holland*, and the barren Coasts of *Brabant*? their aim, if they rightly understood their Trade, should be to prey at Sea upon the *Batavians*, whose ground could scarcely maintain them, as at this day, and plunder the Land of *Britain* more fruitfull, affording more incouragement than the other. We find by *Claudian* they landed in the *Orchades*, and were the *Orchades* Islands more tempting than the Island of *Britain*? As for the opinion of *Pancirollus*, that the *British* should be called the *Saxon Shore*, because the *Saxons* were before called in by *Vortigern* to assist the *Britains*, and there inhabited, in those times, it is a mighty oversight also, the *Saxons* being called in long after there was a Count of the *Saxon Shore* throughout *Britain* in the times of the *Romans*. But it was but an oversight not worthy to be charged with ignorance by that Learned Man, *Pancirollus* being sufficiently known to have been excellently skilled both in History, the series of Times, and other Learning.

28. That our *Saxons* then were great Pirates and Rovers at Sea, it's granted on all hands; but as one of our Learned Men denies they landed or made any abode in *Britain*, so another as eminent in things of this nature also, will not yield that before the coming of *Hengist*, they had so much as passed the *Elbe*, and seated themselves upon that Shore betwixt it and the *Rhine*, so commodious for Riding of Ships and Navigation. He grants that in the time of *Domitian*, through the Tract of *Belgica* and *Aremorica*, they infested the Sea, as *Eutropius* witnesseth, and that the *Saxons* were a Nation adive, in Piracy on all the Coast from the River *Rhine* to the City *Donia*, now called *Danemarc*; at such time as they were called into *Britain*, as *Fabius Eitelwerdus* affirms in the second little Book of his Annals. He denies not that they exercised Piracy in that Maritime Tract: but cannot yet, he saith, find that they fixed any where in the Continent of that Tract: For, whereas it is read in *Zozimus*, that the *Quadi* Part of the *Saxons* seized upon *Batavia*, having thence beaten the *Franci Salii*, and that *Julian* taking upon him the defence of the *Salii*, reduced the *Quadi* into obedience, he cannot

(a) Regnum
to Princeps
populi
Non lingua
doctus, do-
muit quod
Saxone Tite-
lius

(b) De quo Con-
sulatus Hono-
rit
Madu-
rus Saxone
sajo
Orchades.

(c) Me quoque
cimus per-
uincen gen-
tus rugus
Mauris

Stilico.
Illos efflu-
can se bella
sincom
Scotice, ne
Pictum tre-
nem, ne li-
tore toto
Frigiferorum
divis con-
cursum Saxo-
na venis.

(d) Sic Sax-
ona corum
videm
Affertur ante
simum
Cujus vericis,

Quis et A-
remoris pi-
ratum Sax-
ona voluit
Speras, &c.
Seld. in
Mar. Clauf.
Lib. 2. c. 7.

Lib. 27.
Lib. 26.

Offerit in
Ejornd. Es-
clap. p. 599.

Lib. 13. p.

affent to it first, because the *Quadi* were no part of the *Saxons*, and then because (a) *Eunapius Sardiarius* (whose History (b) *Zozimus* rather transcribed than wrote on himself) neither said they were *Quadi*, neither *Canchi* (whom *Cluverius* would substitute in their Rooms) nor *Saxons*, but *Chamani*; (c) *Julian* himself in his Epistle to the Senate and People of *Athens*, setting forth what he had done to the same purpose. But to this may be opposed, first, that they made many Inroads, and these Inroads made by them were not small and contemptible, but to some extent; for (d) *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that in the days of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, the Coasts of *Gall* were wasted by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, bordering upon them, each making excursions as far as they could by Land or Sea, with grievous plunderings, firings, and slaughters of such as they took Prisoners. And farther, the *Saxones Batavici*, or the *Saxons of Batavia*, are mentioned by *Gregory of Tours*, as ancient Inhabitants upon the Shore of *Aremorica*. It's not the opinion onely of *Krantzius*, that the *Saxons* long before their coming into *Britain*, had enlarged their Borders from *Holfatia*, on this side the *Elbe*, almost as far as the *Rhine*, but *Ammianus* placeth the *Saxons* between these two Rivers, even in the days of *Augustus Cæsar*. Some Eastward extend their Dominions through all the *Sarmatian Sea*, even almost as far as the River *Tanais*, which separates *Europe* from *Asia*. And an ancient Chronicle in Rhime alleges from other Books, much more ancient, that all the Country beneath *Neomagus*, was in old time called the lower *Saxony*, and that the River *Scheld* taking in its Waters from the *Meuse* and the *Rhine*, was its Western Border. To be sure that after the removal of the *Franks* into *Gall*, by degrees they settled themselves in their Seats, and not onely possessed the Maritime Coast betwixt the *Elbe* and the *Rhine*, but pierced into the inward Parts of *Germany*, on all hands is agreed. These things speak the extent of the *Saxon Power*; which indeed was so terrible both at Land and Sea (wherever they planted) that amongst all other Nations, in the decay of the Empire, they by the *Romans* were most feared.

Are chiefly
feared by the
Romans.

29. We have now presented our *Saxons* ready to take Ship, or their Keels for *Britain*, to which Voyage they were sufficiently inclined, doubtless from the knowledge they could not but have of the Island. And so great inclination they had, that some there are who speak nothing of an Invitation, but say like unwellcome Guests, as they preyed, they came absolutely without fending for; yet partly because they could not stay at home. For *Ninius* will have them driven by their Relations out of *Germany*, which another limits unto *Frifia*, as the *Galls* of old when their Country was not able to maintain their growing Multitudes, sent out as to travel, three hundred thousand of their Breed, to seek out new Habitations; so *Geoffrey of Monmouth* would have us believe it to have been the Custome in *Saxony*, to send out their Numbers by Lot, to free themselves from a superfluous Multitude. But we have good security from *Gildas*, *Beda*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and many others, that they were sent for over by *Vortigern*, whom *Gildas* calls a proud and unlucky Tyrant, and *Witchind* makes a formal Embassy to be sent, as we have before related. Therefore *William* the Monk of *Malmesbury* will have both Causes to have concurr'd, which is not improbable. It pleaseth them all (saith he) to send for the *Saxons* and *Angli* out of *Germany*, being valiant at their Arms, and a wandering People. Eternely would accrue double profit, for being invincible, they would easily beat back their Enemies; and hitherto being uncertain where to fix, they would take it for a mighty favour, if they might have but some rough and barren Soil, some dry and hungry Heath to inhabit. They never imagined they would at any thing against their Country, the fresh memory of this favour would so oblige them and soften the fierceness of their Disposition. This Advice being approved, Ambassadors are sent into *Germany*, men really of quality, who would worthily discharge themselves of that publick Character. The Germans hearing they were courted to a thing which they themselves a thousand times had desired, quickly condescended; the pleasure they took in the Enterprize, spurring them on to all expedition imaginable. Bidding therefore farewell to the Places that bred them, and renouncing the Affections of their Parents, they commit themselves to the favourable Gale of Fortune and the Winds, which in three long Ships, which they call *Ciules* or *Keels*, waft them into *Britain*. Now at this time and afterward they came from three sorts of People in *Germany*, viz. The *Angles*, *Saxons* and *Jutes*.

30. For, almost all the Land which lies under the Northern Pole, because it doth germinate so many Men (so the Monk plays with the word) is not underseizedly called *Germany*, though distinguished by many Limits of Provinces. Wherefore in like manner, as they whose work it is, are wont to cut off the Luxuriant boughs of a

(a) In Eclog.
Ergo, ab Eclog.
Christi Edit.

(b) Flor. lib.
1. c. 57.
(c) Opor. Ju-
lian. par. 1.
Pag. 514.
(d) Lib. 27.

Lib. 5. c. 25.

Boier. Amal.
lib. 2.

Vide apud
Shorlingham.
cap. 2.

Jpl. Gerbani
Christi. Belg.
1.1. c. 9.

Hist. Britan.
1.6. c. 1.

De Gofit Reg.
Angl. 1.1. c. 10.

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to have been *Ebsfleet* in the Isle of *Tanet*, which Isle being the Eastern part of *Kent*, as *Kent* is of *Britain*, several Authours affirm to have first been given up into their Hands. They shew'd themselves so valiant against the *Picts* and *Scots*, against whom the Nation intended them, and so cunning withall for their own ends, that by the means and methods we have formerly shewed, they got such footing in *Britain*, that of Friends they turned Enemies, and from Guests would be Masters and Owners of all; and driving the poor *Britains* up into the Mountains, and barren places of the Island, or forcing them upon Rocks, or beyond the Seas into foreign Parts; the best part of the Country they seized, where their Posterity at this day continueth, notwithstanding what alteration was afterward made by the *Danes* and *Normans*, in its possession of their however got Inheritance, their very Language, notwithstanding too much altered by ridiculous affectation of worse words, still surviving. Having for a time considered them all as *Saxons*, now we shall distinguish them again, and acquaint the Reader what parts of *Britain* were seized and planted by each several People. First then the *Jutes*, or such as came out of *Jutia*, possessed themselves of *Kent*, the Isle of *Wight*, and part of *Hamshire* lying over against that Isle, where the River *Umble* enters the Ocean; for though afterward it fell to the Province of the *West Saxons*, yet in the first times of these *English Saxons*, the Inhabitants were called *Jutnacynn* or of the Nation of the *Jutes*. The *Saxons*, or such as came out of *Saxony*, properly and anciently so called, came to be distinguished into Southern, Eastern and Western. The *South Saxons* possessed themselves of *Suffex*, which still bears their Name; not that they were so called in their own Country, but from the Situation of their newly acquired possessions. The Eastern *Saxons* obtained for their share *Essex*, which still bears their Name, with *Middlesex*, and that Southern Part of *Hertfordshire*. The *West Saxons* anciently called *Genniss*, got to themselves that which we now call *Surry*, all *Hamshire*, that part excepted which we said was seized by the *Jutes*, *Berkshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Devonshire*, and some part of *Cornwall*; for, most part of it is still retained by the Remainers of the ancient *Britains*.

36. The *Angli*, or those that came out of *Anglia* (which *Beda* calls *Angulus* and saith it was so exhausted by this Plantation, that to his time it remained desolate, but it was afterward replenished by the *Jutes*, as we may perceive by *Adamus Bremensis*) had the greater share, and therefore it was reasonable they should give denomination to the whole, though there might be another occasion. They gave Original to four sorts of People, viz. the Eastern *English*, the Midland *English*, the *Mercians*, and *Northumbrians*. The Eastern *English* possessed these Provinces called afterward Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Cambridge* with the Isle of *Ely*, and as some think, part of *Bedfordshire*. The Midland *English* inhabited *Leicestershire*, which was subject to the Dominion of the *Mercians*. The *Mercians* by the River *Trent*, were divided into Southern, and Northern. Within the extent of the Southern *Mercians* were comprized the Counties of *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, and (what was once a Part of it) *Rutland*, *Huntingdon*, *Bedford*, the Northern Part of *Hertford*, *Buckingham*, *Oxford*, *Glocester*, *Warwick*, *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Stafford* and *Salop*. Within that of the Northern *Mercians*, the Counties of *Chester*, *Derby* and *Nottingham*. Lastly the *Northumbrians*, were they that lived beyond the River *Hummer*, who were distinguished into the *Deiri* and *Bernicii*. The *Deiri* dwelt in *Lancashire*, *Torkshire*, *Westmorland*, and the Southern Part of *Cumberland*, on this side the River *Derwent*. The *Bernicii* were Masters of *Northumberland* (which at this day only bears the Name of that large Kingdom,) the Northern Part of *Cumberland* with some Portion of *Westmorland*, contiguous to it, with the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and the Southern Part of that we now call *Scotland*, lying betwixt the River *Tweede*, and the *Firth* of *Edenborough*. For though the Name of *Scotland* came afterwards imposed upon that Country, yet that the People inhabiting there, and possibly farther Northward were the Offspring of the *English* is evident from their Language, which being *English Saxon* could not have conquered and over-powered the true *Scotch*, but by the great Multitudes of them that spake it.

37. Now last of all before we take our leave of this Subject, what *Britains* were expelled by what other sorts of New-comers, whether *Jutes*, *Saxons* or *Angles*, we shall inform the Reader, that of his own Country he may receive as full information as we can give him. Know then that *Kent* retains the old Name, being by *Cæsar* as well as others called *Cantium*, and as *Camden* guesseth from a Gallick word, signifying a Corner, which the *French* still call a *Canton*; for, a certain Nook or Corner in *Scotland* is called *Cantir*, the Inhabitants of another part

The Possession of the Jutes.

The Possession of the Saxons.

The Possession of the Angles.

Sect. 2.

part of the Island are by *Ptolemy* termed *Cantæ*, the *Cangane* in *Wales* were possessed of another Corner, and the *Cantabri* in *Spain* amongst the *Celtiberians*, dwelt in another *Angle*. Certainly *Kent* is a *Canton* or *Angle* of *Britain*, looking toward *Gall*. And to take the rest rather as they lay in the Island, than as we have named them in respect of their New possessors, *Cornwall* and *Denbire* were before inhabited by the *Damnonii* or *Damnonii* so called in *British*, either from the Mines of *Tinn*, called by them *Moina*, or from their dwelling under Hills. *Dorsetshire* belonged to the *Durotriges*, so named possibly from *Dour* or *Daur* water, and *Trig* an Inhabitant, the Coast lying for about fifty Miles full of turnings or windings upon the *British* Sea. *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hamshire* were the Possession of the *Belge*, who as most hold passed over from the *Belga*, a People of *Gall* into *Britain*, being originally *Germans*, having passed over the *Rhine*. The Isle of *Wight* adjoining, was probably peopled by them. The *Atrebatii*, who came also from the *Atrebat* in *Gall*, were Masters of *Berkshire*. The People called *Regni* of *Surry* (or *Southrey* from its Situation Southward from the River) *Suffex* (or *Southsex*) and the Sea Coast of *Hamshire*. The *Dobuni* of *Glocestershire* and *Oxfordshire*, so named from *Daffen*, signifying low places lying under Hills; their Successors the *English* were termed *Wiccii* from *Wic* in *Saxon*, signifying a Creek, for they inhabited round about the Mouth of *Severn*, which is very full of small Creeks and Reaches. The *Cattiacblani*, being as is rationally conjectured first called *Cassii*, inhabited the Countries of *Buckingham*, *Bedford* and *Hertford*. The *Trinovantes*, those of *Middlesex* and *Essex*, rationally thought to have taken their Name from *Tre Nant*, or *Towns in a Vale* by the side of the River *Thames*.

38. Next to the *Trinovantes* lived the *Iceni* (possibly so called from *Iken* a wedge in *British*) and possessed what was afterward called East-England, viz. the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge* and *Huntingdon*. The *Coritani* spreading themselves very far through the Mediterranean Part of the Island, inhabited as far as to the *German* Ocean, the Counties of *Northampton*, *Leicester*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham* and *Derby*. The *Cornavii* dwelt in *Warwickshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*. The *Brigantes* whose Territories were afterward contained within the Kingdom of the *Deiri*, held *Torkshire*, the Bishoprick of *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmorland*, *Cumberland*. The *Offadini* (who rather should have been called *Offatini*, for that they lived beyond the River *Tine*) had their Habitation in *Northumberland*. The *Gadeni* were next to them, and were seated in that Country, which lies betwixt the Mouth of the River *Tweede*, and *Edenborough Firth*. All these were by degrees dispossessed by these resolute and hardy Incomers, and either killed or driven out of the Island, or forced up into *Cornwall* or *Wales*, which once signified all lying beyond the *Severn*, but afterward was much contracted, and when the *Romans* ruled in *Britain*, was inhabited by three sorts of People, the *Silures*, *Dimetæ* and *Ordovices*, who held not only the twelve shires as they now call them of *Wales*, but those two also beyond *Severn*, viz. *Herefordshire* and *Monmouthshire*, which have been now long reckoned amongst the Counties of *England*. What sorts of People were dispossessed by *Jutes*, *Saxons* or *English* properly so called, the Reader may distinguish by comparing what has been said, and may farther understand by that to which we have now brought him, viz. a particular Description of the several petty Kingdoms, these New Planters founded in the Island. Of which severally according to the measure of our Intelligence.

The Trinovantes, the Cantabri, the Damnonii, the Iceni, the Coritani, the Brigantes, the Offadini, the Gadeni, the Silures, Dimetæ and Ordovices.

S E C T. III.

S E C T. III.

The Kingdom of the Jutes in Kent, from the first founding of it by Hengist, to the Conquest of it by Egbert King of the West-Saxons.

The Space of three hundred seventy four Years.

456
455
Sect. 3. ^{1.} **H**engist the Son of *Vitigise*, whose Father was *Vitta* (*Veta, Wehta, or Withar*) the Son of *Woden*, after the death of his Brother *Horfa*, as *Mathew Florilegus* writes, or as all the *English Saxon* Annals concur in the year CCCLVI; the same wherein the *Battel* was fought betwixt them and *Portigern* the Son of *Portigern*, about the very same time that *Childerick* the First, King of the *Franks*, of the Race of the *Merovingii*, or the Son of *Meroveus* began his Reign; the Affairs of the *Romans* now every day more and more going down the Wind in these Parts, and the *Goths* and *Suevi* being together by the Ears about the shares of that Country.

2. This same year he is said thrice to have fought against the *Britains*; but as the said *Flowergatherer* tells us, was not able to resist the skill and prowess of *Portigern*, but was glad to flee to the Isle of *Thanet*, where being daily vexed with Sea Fights, at length the *Saxons* being scarcely able to recover their Boats, leaving their Wives and Children, returned into *Germany*. *Henry of Huntingdon* writes, that once he fled to the Isle of *Thanet*, and once to his Ships, and sent into his Country for such as were gone away. If these Writers say he was beaten, we may be assured *Ninius* the *Britain* will swear it, who plies you with his Verbs *Conclufit, Obfedit, Percuffit, Commiuit, Tenuit*, meaning *Vortimer*, (or *Guoribemir* as he calls him) his *Welsh* Blood being up, as it had reason to flee out against these Infidels, these that were wretched Unbelievers themselves, and like Miferants had broken all Faith and Covenants, and of Hirelings and Servants turned Tyrants and Masters; who being called to protect, were now turned Destroyers, and with Fire and Sword prolecut the *Britains*, the true and right Proprietours of the Country. But being thus beaten, he saith, they sent Messengers into *Germany* to bring more Keels full of a great number of stout and lusty Warriors, and afterward fought against the Kings of our Nation. Sometimes they overcame and enlarged their Borders, other whiles they were worsted and driven back. And *Guoribemir* greedily fought four Battels against them, whereof the last was by *Lapis Tituli* upon the Shore of the *Gallick* Sea (still called *Stonar*, as we said, in the Isle of *Thanet*) where the Barbarians were overthrown, and he remained Conquerour. They ran away to their Keels, and got fearfully into them like so many Women, and he died not long after. He of *Huntingdon* agrees with him as to the death of *Gortimer* (so he calls him) with whom, he adds, that the hope and success of the *Britains* died. After this, *Hengist*, and *Aesc* his Son having received fresh Supplies out of their Country, and being much encouraged by the death of *Gortimer*, prepare themselves for another Battel at *Creganford*. The *Britains* bring forth against them four Bodies of men, each conducted by a most valiant Captain; but coming to the Engagement, find themselves over-matched by the Numbers of their Enemies. For those that were newly arrived being fresh, and all of them choice men, with their Axes and Swords so laid about them, that they made great slaughter of the *Britains*, who yet left not off till they saw their four Captains dead upon the place. Then being frightened and discouraged beyond belief, fled from *Kent* as far as *London*, and never after durst come thither for to fight. That this Battel fought at *Creganford* (a Village in *Kent*, so called, because situate upon the River *Creke* or *Crey*, about a Mile and an half from *Dartford*, in the Bailiwick of *Sutton Dartford*, Hundred of *Little and Lefweth*, lately of *Sutton* at *Hone*, West Division of the County, and at this day called *Creiford*) was fought in the year CCCCIV, wherein *Leo* the Elder began his Reign. *Fabius Ebelward* also testifies, besides *Florence* of *Worcester*, the *Saxon* Annals both of *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*, and the

Is beaten to his Ships by *Vortimer*.

But in another Battel he beats the *Britains* quite out of *Kent*.

the other of *Peterbrough* continued, although in others it be referred to the preceding year.

A Maffacre.

But *Ninius* tells us another kind of Tale of what happened after the death of *Guoribemir*, and after the Return of *Hengist* with his Troops. The *Saxons* then began to consult how they might craftily circumvent King *Guoribemir* and his Army. They sent their Ambassadors to make a Peace and a perpetual League and Amity with them. Hereupon *Guoribemir* called his Council, and consulted what was to be done; the Result whereof was, that they would accept of a Peace, and with this Answer the Messengers returned. After this a friendly Meeting was agreed on, and Caution was given, that neither *Britains* nor *Saxons* should come to the meeting with their Arms; the more to suffer their Minds and Affections to unite and strengthen. But that most wicked *Hengist* commanded his Followers, that each of them should carry his short Sword with him, saying, when I call to you and say *Nemet* our *Saxes*, then draw your Knives (or Swords) and fall upon them courageously. But kill not their King, but for my Daughters sake, whom I gave him to Wife, keep him safe, that he may redeem himself. The place was appointed, and they met together. The *Saxons* cunning Foxes seemed very kind, giving marvellous good words, and they fate down man by man very sociably. But *Hengist*, as he said, gave the word, and all the three Hundred Noblemen (*Seniores* † he calls them) of *Guoribemir* were slain, he alone being taken Prisoner and put into Chains. And for his life he was constrained to give them large Countries, viz. *Baifex*, *Southfex* and *Mid-dlefex*. *Geoffrey of Monmouth* tells us, that this Meeting was near the Convent of *Ambrift*, not far from *Salisbury*, where † four hundred and sixty Persons were slain, the Bodies of whom were buried by *Eldade* the Bishop of *Gloucester*, with Christian Burial, not far off in the ordinary place. The Chronicle of *Leiden* mentioned but three hundred Princes of *Britain* to have been slain, which account he mentions in another place twelve, whom he calls *Duces Britanniarum*, as being the chief in Place and Dignity. But these Outlandish Writers confound the Affairs of *Britains* and *Saxons*. What they say concerning *Hengist* his being beaten out of *Britain*, and his founding the City or Castle of *Leiden* upon the Bank of the River *Rhine*, let the Reader remember what has been said before, that we may not here again repeat it.

4. In the year CCCLXV, *Hengist* and *Aesc* his Son again engaged with the *Britains* at a place called *Wippedfleer*, and therein indeed slew twelve Captains of their Nation, as both *Fabius Ebelward*, *Florence* of *Worcester*, and the *English Saxon* Annals do testify, these they might mistake, for having been slain in the *Primard* Maffacre. But still about that Maffacre there is more variety of Stories. *Geoffrey of Monmouth* talks of *Hengist* his having associated himself for this Enterprise, of Evil Merry-day, no fewer than three hundred thousand men. As to the number of the slain, our *Caxton* and *Johannes Major* in his *Scotch History* will have *Hengist* to have entered *Britain* with fifteen thousand men, and *John Harding* will have the *Saxons* to have killed there near *Salisbury* treacherously, one thousand and threescore of the *British* Noblemen. A certain *Scotch Chronicle* agrees with *Geoffrey* in the number of four hundred and sixty; and *William of Malmfbury* sides with *Ninius* in the smallest number of three hundred. As for *Hengist* he having been the death of so many *Britains*, at length was slain himself at *Coningsburgh* near the River *Dun* in *Torkshire*, as we have told already, if that be true which the *British* Writers relate of him. There is a great suspicion that he came to some such kind of end, because the *English Saxon* Writers say nothing of his death, as neither of any of the Victories obtained by the *Britains*; what made against the honour of their Countrymen they conceal, but are zealous to publish their Conquests and Trophies. *Matthew* the *Flowergatherer* placeth his death in the year CCCCXXXIX, and from him *Ebelward* and the *English Saxon* Annals differ but in one years computation. According to both their Accounts he reigned then thirty and three, or as *Florentius Wigornienfis* hath it thirty and four years; so false is that which *Suffridus Petrus* writes of his being but four years in the Island. He was by consent of all, a most stout Warrior; cruel enough, and as cunning as courageous, knowing very well, in case the Lion's skin was too scant, how to piece it up with the Fox's. As his Brother had his Name from that Noble Creature we still call an *Horse*, so he from the Male of that Species intire as Nature leaves him, without any mutilation of Members. And he being a man deserving Honour in his Country, from that great Planta-

Hengist is slain at *Coningsburgh* in *Torkshire*.

Pro veteri voce *Hors* nuncur boderni *Batavi* Parat, at equum integram quem *Franci* vocant *on chevalier*, non *Stout* dicitur *Hors*, dicitur *Hors*.

Sect. 3.
Who being
bought off,
Withred
Reigned.

intruded. In the seventh year *Withred* the Son of *Egbert* having by his great pains and industry taken off the Envy and Prejudice which lay upon himself and Family, and by Money bought off the publick Enemy, obtained to be King, and much ingratiated himself with his Subjects, who conceived extraordinary hopes of him. At home in his own House he shewed all manner of respect and civility to his People, Religion he every way countenanced and promoted. Abroad he was famous for having enlarged the extent of his Dominions, and after three and thirty years continuance in his Government, dying full of Age and Honour, left three Sons behind him as his Heirs in due time and place, if need should so require; the greatest felicity which usually is accounted can happen to Mortals.

To whom
succeeded
Egbert.
Then *Edilbert*
and *Alrick*.

9. Of these his three Sons *Edbert* the eldest succeeded him, of whom nothing ill is recorded, though nothing good. After he had reigned twenty and three years he gave way to his Second Brother *Edilbert*, who reigned other eleven, his Reign being only unfortunate in the accidental burning of the City. He dying after these eleven years, *Alrick* the youngest Brother took his place, and held it for four and thirty, the lustre of his Reign, as his Brother's by the fire, being much obscured by an unfortunate Battel, which he fought against the *Mercians*. So saith *Malsbury*, if any ill Accident happen, it shall be sure to be mentioned, but if any good luck or accident, it will be forgotten in Chronicles, whether so it be done on purpose and by design, or it so falls out through the badness of our Nature, through which it comes to pass that the memory of good things quickly is obliterated, but any thing that causeth smart and sorrow is never forgotten. But though this may be true as to matters that happened among themselves, yet the Monk's Observation is much amiss in reference to the Wars betwixt them and the *Britains*, their Annal talking aloud of their Victories, but wholly silent as to their Defeats. But in these three Brothers the Royal *Kentish* stock quite withered, the generous blood was extinct, fairer our Authour, and every impudent Fellow, whose bold Tongue had procured him Wealth, or Faction and Turbulency had rendered formidable, would aspire after Tyranny, and dare to assume the Royal Diadem.

After whose
Death several
Usurp the Government.

Of these *Edilbert* or *Pren* having governed the *Kentish* men two years, to shew himself a King indeed would attempt greater things against the *Mercians* than he was able to perform, and being taken Prisoner by them was kept in custody, whence not long after he was yet dismissed by them, but could obtain no entertainment from his late Subjects, and to what end he came is utterly uncertain. After him one of the same Faction succeeded to his pitifull condition, and was King only in Name for eight years more. The last of all was *Baldrede*, whom *Malsbury* calls an Abortive Brat of the Royal Dignity, who after he had rather besieged than governed *Kent*, for other eighteen years was by *Egbert* the King of the West Saxons driven into Banishment. So this Kingdom of *Kent*, which from the year CCCCXLIX had stood for the space of CCCLXXIV years became subject to another Jurisdiction. So writes *William of Malsbury*. The end of the Kingdom of *Kent* is noted in the *Fasts* to have fallen out in the twenty fourth year of the Reign of *Egbert*, the third year of the Reign of *Michael Translus* Emperor in the East. The tenth of *Ludovicus Pius* who bore that Title in the West. A. D. DCCCXXIII.

But are driven
into Banishment
by *Egbert* King
of the West Saxons.

SECT. IV.

SECT. IV.

The Kingdom of the South Saxons in Suffex. From the founding of it by Aella to the Ruine thereof.

1. THE next Kingdom that was founded by these New Planters in Britain, Sect. 4.
was that of the South Saxons in Suffex by Aella, who as we have already said with his three Sons landed in that Country, and for several years fought with various success against the *Britains*. The place where he first landed is by the Saxon Annals called *Cyrnnes ora*, and *Camden* tells us, that near to the Haven of *Chichester* is a place called *Witering*, where, as the Monuments of the Church testify, Aella the first founder of the Kingdom of Suffex arrived. How he and his Sons cunningly drove off the *Britains*, who flocked to him at his landing, we have already said, and still enlarged their Bounds, till nine years after their Arrival, when another Battel was fought at a place called *Merix desburnansfede*; where, though the Victory is said to have been doubtful, and the Saxon Annals are very unwilling to let him go out of the Field but with flying Colours; yet that his Victory was none, or such as did much weaken him, appears in this that he sent for new Supplies out of Saxony. Whereas he is said in his first Engagement with the *Britains*, to have beaten them into a Wood called *Andredelesage*, by the Annals the Reader must know that this Country in old times was hardly passable by reason of Woods. For the Wood *Andradwald*, or *Canisani* & *Andredesage*, in the British Language *Coid Andred*, having its Name from *Andred*, the City next adjoining, took up in this Quarter an hundred and twenty Miles in length and thirty in breadth. Of this vast Wood are (or lately were) Remnants toward the West, the Forest of *Arundell*, *St. Leonard's* Forest, *Ward Forest*, *East Gremsted*, *Asfdown* Forest, and *Waterdown* Forest.

The Country
very full of
Wood.

alii Wolden, sed falsè vocitant: Nam Anglo Saxones Sylvam Walden ut nunc Germani. Wolden uerò planitiem sive arboribus appellabant; ut in nominibus Corfevalden & Pothevalde apparet. Hæc Lingdæ f. 13. b.

Aella King of
the South-
Saxons.

2. Aella found it seems so much opposition, and was so long in subduing such an Extent of Ground as would brace the Title of a Kingdom, that some Fourteen years he staid without the Title of King, which at last he took by the Name of King of the South Saxons, in the fourth year of *Esc* King of *Kent*, first of *Anastasi* the Emperor, A. D. CCCCXCI. In the third year after the death *Hengist*, *Huntingdon* tells us, that new and great Supplies came to him out of his own Country, with which he went and besieged a most strong City called *Andredelesage*, supposed to be that now called *Newenden* in *Kent*, in Latin *Anderida*, as in the *Notitia* of the Provinces, and in British *Caer Andred*, being that we now find to have given Name to the Wood of *Andredelesage*. For the constant Tradition of the Inhabitants testifies it to have been an old Town and Haven, whereof they still shew the Plot. Then is it situate by the Wood *Andredeleswald*, that took the Name from it, being separated from Suffex but by the River *Rother*. And lastly because the English Saxons seem to have termed it *Camden* in *Brittenden*, (as they also called *Segontium* an ancient Town of the *Britains*) or *Canisani* the Vale of the *Britains*, whence the whole Hundred adjoining is named *Selbrittenden*. The Romans to defend this Coast against the Saxon Rovers, placed here the Band and Captain of the *Abulci*. *Hengist* after his Arrival being resolved to drive the *Britains* quite out of *Kent*, and thinking it would much quicken his work to increase his Numbers by new Supplies out of his own Country, sent for this Aella out of Germany with a strong power of English Saxons, and while he gave a violent Assault to this Town *Anderida*, the *Britains* out of the adjoining Wood where they lay in Ambush, so fiercely fell upon him, that at length, after much loss on both sides, when he had divided his Army and routed the *Britains* in the Wood, and at the same time forced the Town by Assault, his

Seçt. 4. his barbarous heart was so inflamed with desire of revenge, that he put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and levelled the Town with the very ground. The place lying thus desolate was shewn (as saith *Henry of Huntingdon*) to those that passed by many Ages after. Till the *Friars Carmelites* newly come from Mount *Carmel* in the Holy Land, who fought for such solitary places, built them here a little Priory in the time of King *Edward the First*, at the Charges of Sir *Thomas Albeger* Knight, and presently after there rose up a Village, which in regard of the old Town demolished, began to be called *Newenden*, or the New Town in the Vale. Thus *Camden* in his Chorography of *Kent*.

Refuges An-
dred-sefter.

3. Who when he speaks all in one course of Speech of *Hengist* his sending for *Alla* out of his *Germany*, and his laying Siege to this Town, is to be understood with that distinction of time we have lately mentioned, not that after his coming he set presently upon it, as the uninterrupted course of words would seem to intimate; for that it was after the Auxiliaries came to him, which arrived in the third year after *Hengist's* death, *Huntingdon* plainly affirms, and the *Saxon* Annals do confirm. The said Writer tells the Story with some Circumstances, but such as well suit with a People unwilling to be turned out of their ancient Possessions, to be utterly ruined. He tells us the *Britains* upon notice of his coming flocked to the place like Bees; by Day they overmarched the Besiegers by Wiles and lying in wait, by Night with Onsets; there was neither Day nor Night wherein some sorrowfull Message did not afflict the *Saxons*. But by each loss they were but the more provoked, and the City was plicd with continual Allarms and fresh Attacks; though the *Britains* were fill upon their Backs, and gored them with their constant Showers of Darts and Arrows. The *Pagans* therefore were constrained to intermit their work at the Siege, and retire back upon them, who then being more nimble of Body than their Enemy, betook themselves into the Woods, and as the *Saxons* retired again toward the City, failed not to fall upon their Rere. By these means were the Besiegers tired with their work, and great Slaughters were made of them, till such time as they divided themselves into two Bodies, that while one plied the Siege the other might divert and keep the other *Britains* in action. Hereby they did their work vigorously in both places, no interruption being given, but each Party solely intending what it was about, till the poor Besieged being weak with hunger, and more violently than ever charged, could not endure another shock, were with their Wives and Children all pitifully butchered, inso much that not one escaped. And the Strangers because they had received so much loss, would not suffer the Town a Monument of their disgrace to stand, but so destroyed it, that it was never after rebuild: Only the place of a most noble City is shewed to such as pass by; so the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, who calls this Town a most fortified City, a most Noble City, though the Translatur of the Chronology or *Saxon* Annals hath interpolated the word *Urbeclum*, for which he had no ground in the Text.

Which is taken
and read.

4. By the violence and severity in this place used by *Alla*, we may conclude there was vigorous opposition made by the *Britains*, who it seems, notwithstanding all the endeavours of *Hengist*, kept some footing still in these Quarters till after his death. This evidences that they were not easily beaten out of their Inheritances, nor sheepishly quitted their Country, though perpetual Supplies to the very exhausting of the places from whence they came, at length overpowered them: And pity it is we have so small intelligence of so great and famous a Revolution. But, to return to *Alla*, as he began his Reign with so terrible a blow to the *Britains*, so he followed on the course of valour and victory with such success, that as *Beda* testifies he had under his Power and Command all the Dominions of the *English Saxons*, being the first of these seven Kings he mentions who extended their Authority over all the Southern part of their Provinces, which was limited by the River *Humber* and the places adjacent. He Reigned twenty four years as the *Fasts* have it, or twenty seven as writes *Henry of Huntingdon*, and was then succeeded by his Son *Cissa*, or *Scissa* as some call him, who being mentioned the last of his three Sons which came over with him, it seems was the only one that succeeded him, or else for his Courage and Prowess was appointed his Successor, being indeed still named with him by the Annals in any great or dangerous undertaking. After his Fathers death there is little memorable of him, but that from him a little Village or Hill, called *Cisbury* in *Suffex*, took its

Cissa succed-
him.

its Name, where there is a Fort compassed about with a Bank rudely cast up, wherewith the Inhabitants are persuaded that *Cæsar* entrenched and fortified his Camp; but the Name of the place sufficiently testifies it was the work of this *Cissa*; and that he built the City *Chichester*, which though in Latin it be called *Cheshira*, and in *British* *Caerrei*, in *Saxon* is read *Cyrranceap* or the City of *Cissa*. It lies in a Nook of *Suffex* in a Champion Country. Yet before the Conquest it was of small or no Name, known only by a Monastery of *St. Peter*, and a small Nunnery. But in the Reign of *William* the First, as witnesseth *Dooms-day Book* in the Exchequer, there were in it one hundred Hages; it was in the hand of Earl *Roger of Montgomery*, there being in it threecore Hages or Mansion Houses more than there were before. Fifteen Pounds it paid to the King, and Ten to the Earl. But afterwards a Decree being passed in the days of the said King, that the Sees of Bishops should be removed out of small Towns to Places of greater Note and Resort, it was honoured with the Residence of the Bishop of the Diocese, which formerly was at *Selsey*, and by this and other helps began to rise to some degree of eminency, which had been greater but that the Haven is bad, and somewhat at too great a distance.

Who builds
Chichester.

5. After *Cissa* Reigned some of his Posterity, but through the Vicissitude of Humane Affairs, or some defect in him or them, lost quite that Power and Reputation, to which *Alla* their Predecessour and Founder of the Kingdom had arrived. By degrees their Dominions lessened, and after the Reigns of several inglorious Persons, few of whose Names are now extant, they became a Prey to their Neighbour Kings, and were for the most part either subject to those of *Kent*, or of the West *Saxons*. Indeed the second King that after *Alla* had Dominion over all the other *English Saxons*, as far as *Humber*, was *Ceaulin* King of the West *Saxons*, by whose greatness and Neighbourhood it's more than probable that the Fortune of these South *Saxons* was curbed and much abated. Then when the fortune of *Ceaulin* abated, grew *Ethelbert* the *Kentish* King, and their Neighbour on the other side, to that great Power wherof we have spoken, that *Beda* makes him the third, whose Arms and Authority extended as far as to *Humber*. By this means lying betwixt such potent Neighbours, the Kingdom of *Suffex* so dwindled, that after *Cissa* scarcely is any of their Kings mentioned, except *Adelwold*, whose memory continues upon this Account, because he was the first King that imbraced the Christian Religion. After him *Brentius* is mentioned. And *Aldwin* was the last, whom *Ina* King of the West *Saxons* depoyled both of his Life and Kingdom. For after the decay of *Ethelbert's* greatness, and that his Son had made Shipwreck of that great Power he had, and could hardly defend what *Hengist* left them; this Kingdom of the West *Saxons* got ground, and though it received some Checks and Rebukes, at length prevailed over all the rest, as in due time and place will be discovered.

Aldwin the
last King, de-
prived of Life
and Kingdom
by *Ina* King
of the West
Saxons.

Cæsar pen-
ria scriptum
est fons ob-
sura recedit
præter Regem
Adelwold qui
jure adhuc no-
men habet,
qui primus
nomen Christi
agnovit. Hen-
ric. Hunting-
lib. 2. in fine,
qui autem
Huntingdon-
ensis *Adelwold*
alii *Adil-
wold*.

SECT. V.

S E C T. V.

The Kingdom of the East Saxons in Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. From the founding of it by Erkenwin, to the conquering of it by Egbert King of the West Saxons.

The Space of Three Hundred and One Years.

SECT. 5. **T**HE next Kingdom in order after that of the South Saxons, was the other of the West Saxons; but, forasmuch as this swallowed up all the rest at length, though we assign it here its place, it's most convenient in the last place to speak of it. The next after it was the petty Kingdom of the East Saxons, in Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. It was begun by Erkenwin, in the sixteenth Year of Otho King of Kent, the first year of Justinian the Emperour, the Consulship of *Mavrosius*, and the year of Our Lord DXXVII. This Erkenwin was the Son of Offa, he of Biedcan, he of Sigewolfe, Sigewolfe of Spowez, he of Gefac, Gefac of Andesc, and Andesc of Saxna. After Erkenwin succeeded his Son Slede according to *Huntingdon*, who by the Monk of *Malmesbury*, is made the first of these East Saxon Kings, and the tenth from *Woden*. He married *Ricula* the Daughter of *Ermerick* King of Kent, and Sister to *Ethelbert*, by which Lady he had a Son named *Sebert*. This *Sebert* first received the Christian Faith at the preaching of *Mellitus*, and his Monument they shew to Passengers in St. Peter's Church at *Westminster*. He dying, his two Sons *Sextus* and *Seward* (*Beda* saith he left three) being always Pagans in their Hearts, banished *Mellitus* from his Cure, but not long after engaging with the *Geniis*, or the West Saxons in Battle, they and all their Men were cut off. *Sigbert* surnamed the Little, the Son of *Seward*, succeeded them; and dying, left the Kingdom to *Sigebert* the Son of *Sigebald*, who was Brother to *Sebert*. This *Sigebert* being in amity with, and often using to visit *Offa* King of *Northumberland*, was persuaded to relinquish his Idols and be baptized, which done, he caused the Christian Religion to be restored in his Kingdom.

2. Having embraced Christian Religion, he was murdered by two of his Kinsmen (two brothers) for obeying the Christian Doctrine, which bids us pass by Injuries, and forgive our Enemies, they which conspired had angred and provoked them to commit the Fact. After him reigned *Swidhelm*, the Son of *Secald*, said by *Malmesbury* to have been his Brother, who also was baptized by Bishop *Leda*. He being dead, *Sigber* the Son of *Sigebert*, surnamed the Little, and *Sebba* the Son of *Seward*, held the Kingdom jointly together. *Sigber* died first, and left *Sebba* sole King, who reigned thirty years, and at his death took the Habit of Religion upon him. He left two Sons, *Sigebard* (who by *Beda* it should seem was a Monk) and *Snefred*, both who succeeded him, though how long they reigned, or what they did we are ignorant. They both being dead, *Offa* the Son of *Sigber*, a young man of a pleasant Countenance, sprightly wit, in the flower of his Age, and extraordinarily beloved by the People, for some time governed this Kingdom; but as *Beda* writes, left his Wife, his Lands, Kindred and Country, and going to *Rome*, there lived and died in Monastical life; *Malmesbury* saith, that by the Council and Advice of *King Wulfila*, Daughter of King *Penda*, whom he had taught in Marriage, being taught to breathe after Celestial loves, he went to *Rome* with *Kenede*, King of the *Mercians*, and blessed *Egwin*, Bishop of the *Witii*, and there being shaven, at his time passed to the heavenly Kingdom. To him succeeded *Selredo* Son of *Sigebert*, surnamed the Good, and reigned thirty eight years. He being slain, one *Switthede* reigned over the East Saxons, and in the same year that *Egbert*, King of the

the West Saxons conquered the Kingdom of Kent, was by him also driven away and ousted of his Royalty. Yet was London, and the parts about it, subject to the Kings of the *Mercians* so long as they continued. But such end had this petty Kingdom of the East Saxons, which most commonly was under command either of the *Mercians* or West Saxons, in the same year that the *Kentish* Kingdom was subdued, as writes the Monk of *Malmesbury*, but the *Fagti* continue it four years longer, and make it to be united to that of the West Saxons, in the year of our Lord DCCCXXVIII, so that according to this account it must have continued (in this mean condition) the space of three hundred and one years. Of the extent of the Reigns of the Kings there's little certainty, as also of those of the Kingdom of the East Angles, therefore it is that no certain years can be assigned.

S E C T. VI.

The Kingdom of the Northumbrian Angles in Britain. From the Founding of it by Ida to the Conquering of it by Egbert King of the West Saxons.

The Space of Two Hundred Eighty One years.

1. **T**HE Kingdom of the Northumbrians was founded by *Ida*, in the one and twentieth year of the Emperour *Justinian*, in the days of *Childbert* King of the *Franks*, the sixteenth of *Ermerick* King of Kent, and the thirteenth of *Kenrick* King of the West Saxons, A. D. DXLVII. His Ancestours are thus reckoned, *Eope* (or *Coppe*) *Els* (or *Efe*) *Inguim*, *Angemut*, *Alock*, *Beonock*, *Brand*, *Belder*, *Woden*, *Fredelaf*, *Fredculf*, *Fin*, *Godnulf*, *Heata*.

2. It must be remembered that *Hengist* after he had fixed his footing in Kent, sent to *Otha* his Brother and *Ebusa* his Son, Men of tried experience in military matters, under a specious pretence of repelling thence the *Picts* and *Scots*, to seize upon the Northern parts of Britain. They being there arrived, at length with much labour and travel performed that for which they were sent; for very often engaging with the *Britains* in Battle, at length they brought them under, and forced them quietly to submit unto their yoke. But if these two were *Otha* and *Eosa* the Son and Brother (for so it ought to be, and not the Brother and Son as we read it in *Malmesbury*) of *Hengist*, of whom *Geoffrey of Monmouth* writes, that at such time as *Ambrose* took and slew *Hengist* at *Coningsburgh* that themselves up in the Cities of *Tork* and *Dunbritton*, others tell other Tales concerning them. *Geoffrey* writes that after they had surrendered themselves, *Ambrose* granted to them part of the Country lying near to *Scotland*. *Matthew of Westminster*, from those *British* Writers, saith, that *Ambrose* having laid siege to *Tork*, *Otha* being of opinion that he could not hold the place against such a multitude, took advice with those that were with him, and with the Nobility that accompanied him, came out of the Town and spake to this purpose. *My Gods are overcome, and I am content that thy God reign who compells so many Noblemen to come to thee. Take us, and if thou wilt show no mercy, bind us and use us as thou wilt, for we are willing and ready.* With these words *Ambrose* was moved to pity, and shewed himself merciful to them: And by this pattern *Eosa* and the rest were moved to come in and submitted to *Ambrose*, who gave them a Country near to *Scotland*, and made a League of Friendship with them. Though he tells us of this Country bestowed upon them here, yet in another place, and nineteen years after, he tells us another story, that their Keepers being corrupted, let them out of Prison, where they had led a miserable life, and fled with them into Germany, whence with a great Fleet they returned, to the destruction of Britain. Hereupon his *Other* *Pendragon* committed the Army of Britain to one *Lorb*, a Consul and a most valiant Man. But though he often gave Battle to these Strangers, instead of driving them out, they got ground of him; for the *Britains* would not obey him.

Galfrid. Monmouth. l. 8. c. 9. Ad. An. 490.

Idem ad An. 509.

to their Numbers, went out thick and threefold to give him Battel, but fell into the Ambushes he had laid for them and were defeated; but the Monks especially felt his Rage and Fury, who had flocked thither to pray for the success of the Army. Of their incredible number still in our Age, are sufficient marks, the ruinous Walls of the Churches of the Neighbouring Monastery, so many turnings of Cloysters, so great heaps of Beams and Rafters, as can scarcely be seen in any now turned into a Bishoprick. *Ethelfrid*, having all things succeeding thus according to his wishes, and desirous to remove all occasions of domestic Broils and civil Quarrels, banished *Edwin* the Son of *Alia*, a young Man of good worth, who wandering up and down, and in his adversity, as generally it happens, finding but small encouragement, at length came to *Redwald* King of the Eastern Angles, to whom deploring his present condition, he was kindly received; but presently after him arrived the Ambassadors of *Ethelfrid*, requiring the Fugitive to be given up, or upon refusal, War was denounced. *Redwald*, being by his Wife earnestly moved never to break his Faith given to the distressed Prince, got ready an Army, and unexpectedly fell upon *Ethelfrid*, who absolutely surprized was slain, while he manfully made resistance, and sold his life at a dear rate, killing *Reiner* the Son of *Redwald* before he fell. To this end came *Ethelfrid*, after he had Reigned twenty four years, a Warriour inferior to none of the highest eminency, but utterly ignorant of the true Religion. By *Acta* his Wife, the Daughter of *Alia*, and Sister of *Edwin*, he had two sons: *Ofwald*, a Child of twelve years old, and *Ofwin* but four; who when their Father was slain, were by the care of those that brought them up speedily conveyed out of the way, and carried into Scotland.

8. Thus much *Malsbury* tells us of *Ethelfrid*, in short, which as he confesseth he had from *Beda*. This Authour indeed calls him a most Valiant Prince, and one most desirous of Glory, who more than all the Captains of the *English*, having killed the Nations of the *Britains*, so that he might seem comparable to *Saul* the King of *Israel*, only he was ignorant of the true Religion. For no Captain, no King ever subdued more of their Country, and by rooting out or conquering the Inhabitants, made them either be possessed by the *English*, or Tributary to them. To him might that be applied which the Patriarch when he blessed his Son, spake as to the Person of *Saul*, *Benjamin* is a ravenous Wolf, in the morning he shall devour the Prey, and at night he shall divide the Spoil. Hence by his success, *Edan* King of the *Scots*, which inhabit *Britain*, being moved, came against him with a vast and strong Army, but being overthrown, fled away only with a few in his Company. For in that most famous place which is called *Degeffan* or the stone of *Degea*, almost his whole Army was cut in pieces. And in this Fight *Theobald* (*Malsbury* hath it *Tedbald*) the Brother of *Ethelfrid* was slain, with all the Party of which he had the Conduct. This War was finished by *Ethelfrid*, in the DCIII. year, from the Incarnation of our Lord, and of his Reign, which continued twenty four, the twelfth; the first of *Ptoecar*, who was then Emperour of the *Romans*. Neither from this time forward to this very day, durst any of the *Scottish* Kings offer to fight against the Nation of the *English*. So much *Beda*, concerning this War betwixt *Ethelfrid* and *Edan*, as for what he writes concerning the Siege of *Chester*, and the slaughter of the Monks of *Bangor*, we must speak of it in our Ecclesiastical matters, because of a question wont to be moved about it concerning *Augustine* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. As for what he says, that none of the *Scottish* Kings durst fight against the Nation of the *English*, to that day, it is to be understood till the year of our Lord DCCXXXI, where at ending his History in another place thereof, he also signifies that the *Scots* which inhabited *Britain*, being content with their own limits, practised nothing against the Nation of the *English*, by craft or fraud. But farther, as to the death of *Ethelfrid*, *Matthew of Westminster*, writes that *Redwald* challenged him to fight, and they met in the Country of the *Jutes*, Eastward of the River, which is called *Idle*. Thence saith he, came a Proverb at this very day in use, that the River *Idle* was defiled with the Blood of the *English*. He adds, that *Edwin* had lived in exile with *Redwald* seventeen years. As for the place of the Battel, it was fought upon the said River *Idle*; which springing in the Forest of *Shirwood* runneth into the *Trent*, near to *Idleton* in *Nottinghamshire*. And whereas *Matthew* the Flowergather placeth this River in the Country of the *Jutes* (which we know not how it should be so called, except the Brother and Son of *Hengist*, when they were sent into the North, here planted the Colony) the

Bartholomew Ed.
win.

Who flying to
Redwald King
of the East
Angles, is pro-
tected.

Thence a war
who rein *E-*
thelfrid is
lost.

*Qui plus am-
munt Anglo-
rum Principi-
bus gentem
vastabat Bri-
tanniam. Eccl.
Epi. lib. 1.
c. 14.*

Gen. 49. 27.

Ad Ann. 617.

the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* writes, it was on the Borders of the *Mercians*, which suits well with this place in *Nottinghamshire* now mentioned.

Edwin King.

9. *Ethelfrid* being slain, *Edwin* came to the possession of his Hopes and Wishes, viz. the two Kingdoms of the *Deiri* and *Bernicia*, in the seventh year of *Heraclius* the Emperour, in the days of *Clothair* the second King of the *Franks*, in the first year of *Eadbald* King of *Kent*, A.D. DCXVII. Being of sufficient years, and taught large Experience by his long Afflictions, he first settled his matters very well at home, and then began to look towards his Neighbours, all whom he compelled to trundle under him, and so far extended his Power or Authority, that of these seven Princes, which during the Hepharchy till the time of *Beda*, commanded the Southern Parts from the River *Humber*, he is reckoned the fifth in order, being in this respect superior to them all, as well as others hereafter to be mentioned, that whereas Limits or bounds to their Power were set by the River *Humber*, the Border of his Paternal Dominions, and they never pierced into his Power, reached through the extent of their Territories. *Beda*, to explain what he said of the extent of his Power, affirms, that with greater might than any other before him, he ruled over all the People which inhabited *Britain*, as well *Britains* as *English*, these of *Kent* excepted; he subdued to the Command of the *English* Nation, the *Menavia* Islands of the *Britains*, which lie in the Sea betwixt *Britain* and *Ireland*. Now whereas the present Copies of *Beda* read it, *Menavia*, *Camden* tells us, that *Menavia* is the right reading, and that *Beda* calleth two Islands by that Name, whereof one he terms *Menavia Prior*, which is *Monao* or the Isle of *Anglesey*, and the other *Menavia Secunda*, which is the fame with that called *Mona* by *Cæsar*, *Moneda* by *Ptolemy* (that is as one would say *Monethir*, or the more remote *Mona*, to put a difference between it, and the other *Mona*, viz. *Anglesey*) by *Pliny* *Monabia*, and by *Orosius* *Menavia*, the fame which we call the Isle of *Man*, being known to the *Britains* by the Name of *Menow*, and by that of *Maning* to the Inhabitants. As for what *Beda* writes of their situation, betwixt *Britain* and *Ireland*, The first *Mona*, or of these *Menavia* now called *Anglesey*, since it was conquered by the *English*, but anciently *Mona* by the *Romans*, by the *Britains*, *Mon* and *Tir-Mon*, or the Land of *Mon*, and *Twi* *Dowl*, that is a shadowed or dark Island; and by the ancient *English* Saxons *Mones*, lyeth over against the County of *Caernarvan* (which took Name of the chief Town therein, as the Town from the Island) being separated from the Continent of *Britain*, but by a small narrow Strait, and on all parts else is beaten upon by the surging and boisterous *Irish* Ocean. As for the other, or the Isle of *Man*, it is stretched out just in the Mid-level, as *Giraldus Cambrensis* describes it between the Northern Coasts of *Ireland* and *Britain*, and about it, namely to whether of the Countries it ought of Right to appertain, there arose no small controversy amongst the Ancients, which was decided at length by this evidence, that it fostered venemous wormes carried thither for trial, whereupon by a common censure it was adjudged to belong to *Britain*. Yet do the Natives both in Language and Manners come neighest to the *Britains*, yet so as therewith they also favour of somewhat derived from those of *Norwey*.

The Situation
of the Island
Anglesey.

Of *Man*.

The East
Angles
swear obe-
dience to him.

And with *E-*
thelburga and
his Wife *Kent*,
and the neigh-
bouring Pro-
vinces obey
him.

10. But more of these Islands upon farther occasion, let us farther enlarge upon what *Beda* saith in short, concerning the Greatness and Power of King *Edwin*. The Monk of *Malsbury* tells us, that the stiff-necked *Northumbrians* having submitted themselves, the sudden death of *Redwald* was added to the heap of his felicity. For the People of East *England*, during the time of his Exile amongst them, having had good experience of diligence and vigour, unanimously swore obedience to him, who suffered the Son of *Redwald* (as lest he could not do out of gratitude) to enjoy the bare and empty Title of King, but he managed all things at his pleasure. At that time all the Hope and Help of the *English* were in him, neither was there any Province in *Britain*, which observed not his Orders; and were ready to obey him, but only those that inhabited *Kent*. Them he suffered to enjoy their freedom and repose because he had a great desire to marry with *Ethelburga*, the Sister of *Eadbald* their King, which Lady having long been a Soutour to, at length he obtained, whereby the two Kingdoms became most like, both as to Government, and the manners of the People. For upon this occasion by the preaching of *Paulus* *Edwin*, after mature Deliberation, as we shall shew in its proper place, embraced the Christian Religion, and procured it to be received by his own Subjects. After this so great Blessings were heaped upon him, that not only the Nations of *Britain*, as the *English* Saxons, *Picts* and *Scots*, but the Islands *Orkades*, and the other called *Menavia*, both feared his Arms, and adored his Power.

Seet. 6.

Beda, lib. 2.
c. 5. & 9.

De iis *Beda*
lib. 2. c. 9.
Quorum prius
quæ ad Angli-
am est & sua
emphior, &
trigum pro-
veniu aquæ
liberate feli-
citer, mungen-
torum (scilicet
ginea familia-
rum mensu-
rationem justæ
Anglorum,
secundæ recen-
sarum & ultæ
spationem
tem.

Sect. 6.

er. Then was there no publick Robber, no domestick Thief, all such as laid wait for the violation of conjugal Modesty were removed afar off, the Invader of another Man's Inheritance was not to be found, a thing extraordinary, as to his Commendation, and in our Age: His Empire was so far propagated to this effect, that Justice and Peace flourished together, and most happy might the State of the Commonwealth have continued, if immature death, the Step-mother, as the Monk terms it, of temporal happiness, after a kind of ugly Sport, had not deprived his Countrey of him.

A Rebellion.

In which Edwin is slain.

His commendation.

11. His sudden death as we are informed by *Beda* himself, was brought about upon this occasion. When he had ruled the Nation both of *English* and *Britains*, most gloriously for the space of seventeen years, whereof five of them he had fought under Christ his Banner, *Cadwalla* the King of *Britains* rebelled against him, who had drawn into his assistance a most stout Captain, viz. *Penda* then King of the *Mercians*. They engaged in a great and bloody Battle at a place called *Ethelfield*, where *Edwin* on the fourth day of the Ides of *October*, in the year of our Lord DCXXXIII. was slain, being seven and forty years old, and his whole Army was either slain or routed. In the Battle before him a most courageous Son of his called *Offrid* * fell, another called *Eadfrid*, necessity compelling him, went over to *Penda*, who afterward in the Reign of *Osvald* slew him, contrary to his Oath. To this end came this most valiant and prudent Prince, being as *Malmesbury* writes a miserable Spectacle of humane Variety, or that Vicissitude which is incident to humane Affairs, a Prince whom the Course of his Actions and great Success, speak great both in the one Capacity and in the other. As for the Halcyon times which this People enjoyed under his Government; it will not be amiss to note what *Beda* himself observeth of them. At that time, faith he, so great a Peace is reported to have been in *Britain*, whithersoever the Empire of King *Edwin* reached, that (as yet the Proverb is) *If a Woman with a Child in her Armes newly born would travell through the whole Island from Sea to Sea, she might do it without any Let or Molestation*. The said King moreover so much consulted the Good of his People, that wherever he beheld any Fountains or Springs by the High-ways, there for the refreshment of Travellers he caused Potts to be erected, and brazen Dishes to be hung upon them; neither would any body touch them except for their present use, either for the greatness of the fear they had of him, or of the Love they bare unto him. He was of such esteem in his Kingdom, that not only in Battle were Banners born before him, but in time of Peace as he rode through the Cities, Towns or Provinces together with his Attendants an Ensign-bearer was wont to goe. Nay when he passed along in the Streets in all places, that kind of Banner which the *Romans* call *Tufa*, and the *English* *Thunf*, were wont to be born before him.

The Conquerour's Cruelty.

12. *Edwin* being slain in Battle, the Provinces of the *Northumbrians* were in a most sad Estate. Of the two Captains that overthrew him, the one being a Pagan, and the other as he terms him a Barbarian, both Religion and all other civil went to wreck; while the one raged against the Church, and the other against the Laity, of which he spared neither any Sex nor any Age or Condition, subjecting as well Women as Men, innocent Babes, as those of ripe years to death, and most cruel Tortures, which continued no small time; for *Cadwall* studied how together with their destruction, he might root the whole *English* Saxon Nation out of *Britain*. And though a Christian he was himself, yet did he not shew any respect to their Religion, the Customs of the *Britains*, faith *Beda*, being at this very day to sit at nought the Faith and Religion of the *English* Saxons, neither will they have any thing to do with them more than Pagans. The head of the slain King was brought to *Tork*, and there deposited in the Church of *St. Peter*, which he himself had begun, and *Osvald* his Successor perfected. All things being in confusion in those Parts, and no refuge or safety any where to be expected. *Ethelburga* the Queen returned by Sea into *Kent*, together with *Paulinus* the Archbishop, that brought her where she was very kindly and honourably received by *Eadwald* her Brother. With *Bassus* also a most valiant Souldier of *Edwin's*, went *Eusebia* the King's Daughter, as also *Offred* his Son, and *Isa* the Son of his Son *Osfrid*, whom their Mother afterward for fear of *Eadwald* and *Osvald*, the Kings, sent into *France*, to the King her friend to be brought up; and there they both died in their Infancy.

13. But after the death of *Edwin*, *Offrick* the Son of *Elfrick* his Uncle by the Fathers side, obtained to be King of the *Deiri*, from the Province of whom he was issued, and had received his Royalty as well as Birth. On the Kingdom of

* Cum God-
baldy Regis
Orchadamini
quis Manb.
Florilegiu. Ad
Ann. 634.

Lib. 2. c. 16.

Beda lib. 2. c.

11.

Sect. 6.

In Bernicia
Eadfrid ob-
tained to be
King.

Both slain by
Cadwalla the
Britain.

Who was af-
terward killed
by Osvald
his Successor.

four.

the *Bernicia* seized *Eadfrid* the Son of *Edelfrid*, who in like manner was issued out of this Province. For during the Reign of *Edwin*, the Sons of *Edelfrid*, with many more of the younger sort of Nobility lived in Exile, either with the *Scots* or *Picts*. Both these Kings abjured the Christian Religion, which they had learnt, and professed in banishment, and were shortly after cut off by *Cadwalla* the *Britain*, who now thinking the time might be come to drive the *English* Saxons out of their once unjustly obtained possessions, and to restore the Island to its ancient Owners, omitted nothing that might rationally tend to the bringing of this about. In the very Summer following the death of *Edwin*, he fell suddenly upon *Offrick*, when he never expected him, and cut him off with his whole Army. After this he raged like a cruel Tyrant in these provinces for a year, at the end whereof, when *Eadfrid* came to him, but with twelve in his Company to treat of peace, he treated him in the self same manner. That year, faith *Beda*, is full at this day accounted unlucky and hateful to all good Men, both in respect of the Apostacy of these *English* Kings, who renounced their Baptism, as for the self Tyranny of this *British* King. Whereupon it was agreed by all, that computed the times of these Princes, to abolish the memory of these peridious Kings, and to assign the said year to the Reign of blessed King *Osvald*, who after the death of his Brother *Eadfrid*, coming with a small power of Men, but fortified by faith in Christ, that cursed Captain of the *Britains*, with his vast Army which he boasted nothing could resist, was slain in a place which in the Language of the *English* is called *Denisfesburna*, or the Brook of *Denis*. The place, faith our Author, is shewn at this day, and had in great Veneration, where *Osvald* being to fight erected the sign of the Cross, and kneeling down, besought Almighty God that he would Succour his Servants in this day of their Necessity. He himself laboured at the Erection of the Cross, which finished, he spake aloud to the whole Army: Let us kneel down and jointly pray unto the Omnipotent living and true God, that he would mercifully defend us from the proud Enemy, for he knows that we undertake a just War for defence of our Nation. The place is in the *English* Tongue called *Heofonfeld*, or Heavenly Field, lying near to the Wall which the *Ravens* built from Sea to Sea, for the restraining the insolent Inrodes of Barbarians.

14. It's still at this day for the same reason, as some would have it, called *Fladen* near to *Schlesker*, in the Wall in the County of *Northumberland*; where was a Church built in Honour of *St. Cutbert* and *Kind Osvald*, but the Name of the King hath so obscured the light of the other Saint, that the old Name being quite gone, it's now known only by that of *St. Osvald*. For the place where *Cadwalla* was slain, the present Printed Copy of *Beda* hath it *Denisfesburna*, and King *Alfred's* Translation *Denisfesburna*, but *Camden* read it in *Beda*, *Devilesburna*, a little River running into *Tine*, which gave to a Mansion House upon it, the Name of *Direlston*, as in old Records it's found written, now called *Dilston*, belonging in his time to the *Raustiffs*. After this Victory achieved, *Osvald* governed his Dominions with great Justice and Tranquillity, being so humble, so tender hearted, and bountifull to the poor, that he behaved himself indeed as a true Father of his Countrey. This his Goodness is said to have been crowned with remarkable Success, so that his Empire, he extended farther than any of his Predecessors; for as some write all the Nations * of *Britain* submitted to his Command, not only the *English* and *Britains*, but the *Picts* and *Scots* themselves, which good Fortune did not puff him up, but he continued as humble and mercifull as ever. But that neither he nor any other good man might place his happiness in this world, at last an alteration was made, and attend happened to him, contrary to his beginning. By his Industry and Prudence the Provinces of the *Deiri* and *Bernicia*, which formerly had disagreed, were lovingly and fast united together: But in reference to his Neighbours abroad, matters stood in another posture, who, however they might for a while submit unto him, and acquiesce under his most mild Administration, yet it seems either counting this subjection, how mild soever it was, a slavery, or provoked by the Rulers of the *Britains*, and especially *Penda* the King of the *Mercians*, they were persuaded (a great Party at least) to revolt from their professed obedience. The matter flew so high, that *Penda* led his Pagan Subjects the *Mercians* forth against him, and they met at a place called *Mafesfeld*, where a great and most bloody Battle being fought, he had the same ill fortune his Uncle *Edwin* had (whose Nephew he was by his Sister *Assa*) being with Multitudes of his followers slain upon the place on the fifth day of *August*, in the third eighty (or the thirty seventh, as King *Alfred's* Translation hath it) of his Age, when he had reigned nine years, as the Ancient Annalists reckoned, but

Penda and his
Mercians re-
bell.

In the conflict
Osvald is
slain.

Vide dicunt
Iudei Cadwal-
lae Drevi cur-
jus coecavit.
Hunting. 13.

* Denique om-
nes Nationes
et Provincias
Britannicas,
que in quatuor
linguas, (id
est Britonum,
Frisorum, Scot-
torum, Anglo-
rum) divisae
sunt in discre-
tos acceptas,
&c.
Beda lib. 2. c. 6.

Unde dicunt
Campus Mafa-
feld (antrum
canis) offridi,
Hunting. 13.

Sect. 6.

Sept. 6. but in this Number must be included that year which, as we formerly said, the Apostasie of the *English* Kings, and Tyranny of the *British* rendered so odious to them, as that they would not assign it to them, but rather abolish its memory. *Penda* the cruel Pagan after he had slain him, contented not himself with his bare death, but having killed him, tore his Body in pieces and fixed it upon three Stakes as a Spectacle of terror. The Place is at this day called *Oswestre*, or *Oswestre*, in *British*, *Croix Oswalds*, a little Town upon the West Frontier of *Shropshire*, not far from the River *Severn*. It was not long since inclosed with a Ditch and a Wall, and it had very good Traffick; especially of flint and thin *Welsh* Cottons. It seems to have had its first Original from Devotion to this King and Saint. But it was built by *Modoc* the Brother of *Mereduc* (as *Caradoc of Lancarvan* wrote) and the *Fitz Allans* being *Normans* and Earls of *Arundell*, who afterwards came to be Lords of it, walled it about. The Eclipses of the Sun in *Aries* have been most dangerous unto it, for twice when that Luminary was in that Sign, did it suffer very great Calamity by fire.

In *Bernicia*
Oswi.

In *Deira Of-*
win succeeds.

Who differ.

And *Oswin* by
the others
command is
slain.

His Character.

His Character. called *Ingeringum*. This *Oswin* was a Man of a beautiful Aspect, tall of Stature, Affable, Courteous, and very Bountifull, whose Endowments both of Mind and Body procured him such Reputation, that he was by all men beloved, and many most Noble Persons out of all the Provinces thought themselves happy if they could but get into his Service; but above all, his Humility and singular Modesty were remarkable, whereof *Beda* gives us this Instance. *Oswin* belov'd an ex-
 "cellent Horse upon *Aidan* the famous Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, but the Bishop
 "upon a Poor Man asked Almes, gave him the Horse with all the rich Furniture
 "upon him. The King hearing of this, as they were going in to Dinner, said to
 "him: My * Lord Bishop, Why would you give that Royal Horse that was for
 "your own Saddle, to a Poor Man? Have we not many worse Horses and other
 "things which would serve the Poor, instead of this Horse I made choice of
 "for your own Person? The Bishop instantly replied, King, what do you say?
 "Is that Son of a Mare more dear to you than that Son of God? With that
 "he went in to Dinner, the Bishop to his Seat; but the King being come from
 "Hunting, fate him down by the Fire with his Attendants. But remembering
 "what the Bishop had said, he rose suddenly up, and giving his Sword to
 "his Servant, went hastily to him, at whose feet he fell and besought him
 "not to be angry, affirming he would never fear speak or concern himself
 "whatever he gave of his Money to the Children of God. The Bishop was
 "wonderfully amazed, and rising hastily, raised him up; telling him he was
 "very well pleased if he would but sit down to Dinner, and be cheerful. The
 "King then at his Request began to be merry, but the Bishop began to be
 "very sad, so as he shed Tears, of which his Priest taking notice, in their own
 "Language (they were both *Scots*) which neither *Oswin* nor his Servants under-
 "stood, demanded the reason. I know (saith he) that the King will not live
 "long: For till this time I never beheld an humble King; whence I apprehend,
 "that he will speedily be taken away by Death; for this Nation is not worthy of
 "such a Governour. Not long after was this sad Prefage of the Bishop fulfilled in
 "the Murder of *Oswin*. *Aidan* lived but till the twelfth day after his Death,
 "dying himself on the last of *August*.

* Domine a
 Rex, quod
 effes, quod
 Rix, affred
 Domine B
 op, Batevi
 the fimitie
 sacerdotu
 eale Domini
 filios ad
 non erat in
 fu, one ce
 pellatio in
 diernam, d
 Lord, tranf

16. *Ospizi*

Sect. 6

Ossi and Penda
quarrel.

16. *Ofwi* having removed his Equal, whom he much grudged, yet did not find himself freed from trouble by that unworthy Act. He found continued fears and trouble from the *Mercians*, *Peada* their King never ceasing to cast one Rub or other in his way. Yet passed there several Acts of kindness and indurance, as one would have imagined betwixt the Families. *Peada* had a Son called *Peada*, who being a young man, for his good Endowments accounted worthy of a Kingdom, was by his Father appointed to the government of their Nation. He came into *Northumbreland* to *Ofwi*, desiring his Daughter *Alkfreda* in Marriage, which he could not obtain except he and his Subjects received the Christian Religion. He upon hearing what was preached concerning the promise of an Eternal Kingdom, the hope of a Resurrection and Immortal Life, professed himself a Believer, though he never should obtain the young Lady, being much induced to this Belief by the Persuasions of *Alfred* the Son of *Ofwi*, his Friend and Kinsman, who had married his Sister *Cynibird* the Daughter of *Peada*. Notwithstanding these Alliances, *Beda* tells us, that *Ofwi* suffered frequent, much bitter and Intolerable Eruptions from the said King of the *Mercians* who had slain his Brother. Necessity often enforcing him, he often presented him with Gifts innumerable, therewith to purchase Peace, and prevent the utter ruine of his Dominions. The perfidious Prince did not conform himself to his Desires, but resolved to root out and destroy all his People little at great, which *Ofwi* perceiving, betook himself to Divine assistance, vowing, in case he obtained the Victory over him, to Consecrate his Daughter as a Nun to perpetual Virginity, and to pass over twelve Possessions for the building of Monasteries. Armed more by Faith than any Carnal Hope he could have of Victory, he gave Batrel to the Enemy, who is said to have brought into the Field thirty times as many men, thirty Legions whereof each was headed by a skillful Leader. These Forces he and *Alkfred* his Son engaged with a very small Army. He had another Son *Egfrid* by Name, who was at this time an Hostage in *Mercia* with *Cinoid* the Queen.

A Battel ensues in which *Penda* is slain.

the 77. *Ethibwald* the Son of *Ofmald* who ru'd in *Deira*, though he ought to have been affuiling to them, as good *Beda* observes, was at this time on the contrary side, and commanded a Party which was to engage against his Country and his Uncle, but when they came to fight he withdrew himself, and in a false place expected the event of the Battel. When they joynd, thirty Pagan Captains were soon slain or routed, and all the Auxiliaries in a manner cut off; amongst whom was *Adilhere* the Brother and Succellour of *Auna* King of the East Angles, who had blown the Coals betwixt the two Kings, and been the great Caufer of the War. The Battel being fought near the River *Fliard*, which then through excess of Rain was overflown, it happened that more perished by the Waters than by the Sword. It was fought by King *Ofni* in the Countrey of *Loidis* on the seventeenth of the Calends of *December*, and the thirtieth year of his Reign, to the great advantage of both the Nations. For he both freed his own People from the Hostile Invasions of the Pagans, and the other of the *Mercians* and the Neighbouring Provinces, *Penda* their Head being now cut off, heruced quickly to the Christian Faith. This *Loidis* is that eminent Town in the West Riding of *Torkshire*, now called *Leeds*, which became an Houfe of the Kings when *Cambodanum* was burnt to the ground, a rich Town (so lately it was) by means of clothing. The very place of the Fight Writers call *Winnidfeld*, which Name we may suppose was given it of the Victory; like as a Place in *Westphalia* were *Quintilius Varus* with his Legions was slain, is the Dutch Tongue called *Winnfeld* or the Field of *Victory*, as *Ortelius* hath observed. The little Region or Territory about it, which *Beda* mentions, was in old time called by the Name of *Elmet*: and was conquered by *Edwin* the Son of *Alla* King of *Northumberland*, after he had thence expelled *Carecicus* the British King in the year of our Lord 1000.

To the joy of
all men.

18. The death of *Penda*, who had been the death of so many *Kings*, caused in all places out of his own Territories very great rejoicing, which as well the Affinity and Confraternity wherein several were conjoynted to them he had slain, may persuade us to believe, as the Song that was made upon this occasion. *Ojivi In Winwed amne sendi*

Regum Sigeberti & Egrici, cades Oswaldi & Edwini. Sic Math. Florileg. ad Ann. 655. at vero Huntingdon hoc modo; I Winwed annu vindicata est: cades Aune, cades Regum Siebert & Egnice, cades Regum Oswald & Edwine.

to

Sect. 6.

Peada's Son
murdered.

Ofwi Dies.

Egfrid suc-
ceeds.Who chastise
Wulfere the
Mercian for
retroting.Fights Ethel-
rede the Mer-
cian King.An Agreement
made betwixt
them.He Invades
Ireland.

to his beck all the Kingdom of *Mercia* for three years after the death of *Peada*, to-
gether with all the other Southern Provinces (as his Brother before him had done)
and the greatest part of these belonging to the *Piſts*. Yet was he so good natured
as to bestow on *Peada* the Son of *Peada*, because he had Married his Daughter,
and was his Kinsman, the Kingdom of the Southern *Mercians* separated from the
Northern *Mercians* by the River of *Trent*, whereof the Southern in those days con-
tained five thousand Families, and the Northern seven. But the *Esſter* following
Peada was murdered, and that as was reported by Conspiracy of his Wife. Three
years being completed after the death of *Peada*, *Immin*, *Eaba*, and *Eadherb*, ad-
vanced to the Throne *Wulfere* his Son a Youth whom they hid from danger,
which done they revolted from *Ofwi*, whose Governors driving away, they valiantly
defended the Liberties of their King and Country. Of *Ofwi* there's not
much more remarkable. His good demeanour to his People in great measure ob-
literated that bloody Crime of murdering *Ofwi*; but this *Beda* testifies of him,
that with very great pains he maintained his Dignity, which is not only applica-
ble to the great Industry he used for attainment of that power, at which he ar-
rived (he being the seventh of the most powerful Kings amongst the *English* *Regni* *Saxo-*
Saxons, as his Brother *Ofwald* is by *Beda* reckoned the Sixth) but in relation to
the perpetual troubles and dangers he underwent, not only brought upon him by
Peada the *Mercian* King, but by *Ethilwald* the Son of his Brother, who by some
is said to have succeeded *Ofwi*, nay his own Son *Athfrid*; this being the ordinary
Lot and Portion of men of blood. He reigned most painfully twenty and eight
years, and died on the first of *March* in the fifty eighth year of his Age.

19. *Ofwi* being dead, *Egfrid* his Legitimate Son succeeded him in the third
year of *Constantine* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, the seventh of *Egbert* King
of *Kent*, during the Reign of *Childerick* the Second, King of the *Franks*,
A. D. *DCCLXXI*, or the year before, as *Beda* placeth it. His Father being
sickly toward his latter end, could not prosecute *Wulfere*, who had set up
for himself in *Mercia*, and therefore left to him a War as Hereditary, which he
he kept it is utterly uncertain. For *Malmſbury* falling foul upon him for his Im-
piety, shewed in the malicious prosecuting of Bishop *Wilfrid*, adds, that towards
humble Suppliants he was proud and harsh, a Disfever wherewith all Tyrants are
infected; that on the contrary against Rebels he was sluggish and lazy, and de-
facing the Triumphs of his Father lost the Empire of the *Mercians*, and being beaten
in Battle by *Ethelrede* the Son of *Peada*, lost also his Brother. In the second
year of the Reign of *Egfrid*, there was a wonderful great Fight of Birds, many
thousands of them being killed, and the Foreigners seemed to be worried. This
might seem to broken that great Fight which was fought eight years after near
the River of *Trent*, betwixt *Egfrid* and the said King *Ethelrede*; where, as the
same Author *Beda* tells us was slain, *Eſewin* the Brother of *Egfrid*, a young man
very much beloved by the People of both the Provinces, whose Sister by Name
Ofriſt the said *Ethelrede* had married. This Battle it seems did not, together
with the young Prince's life, put a Period to the Controverſie. For *Beda* writes
that more new matter of a more sharp War and longer enmity arose betwixt the
angry Kings and their People, till *Theodore* the Bishop by his Diligence and Inter-
cession took up the Quarrel, and prevented the dreadful mischiefs which thereupon
would have followed; making this Agreement, that Blood should not be re-
quired for the Blood of *Eſewin*, but his Brother should be contented with a cer-
tain Sum of money to be paid by *Ethelrede*. And the Peace made upon this oc-
casion continued a long time betwixt these Kings and their Kingdoms.

20. But though *Egfrid* had peace with the *Mercians*, and on this side the Sea,
he was of so restless an humour, that finding no work in *Britain*, he must needs
transfer his Arms over into *Ireland*, in the year of our Lord *DCCLXXXIV*. Under
Command of one *Berht*, he sent an Army over thither, and miserably wasted
that Nation, which was both innocent, and always most friendly to that of the
English, neither Churches nor Monasteries being any whit spared. The *Ilanders*
or *Scots* did what they could, both by repelling force with force, and putting up
their Prayers to Heaven for Divine Assistance. And although, faith he, Curſers
cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, yet was it believed that they who were
now deservedly cursed for their Impiety, were suddenly punished by the just judg-
ment of Almighty God. For in the year following this King *Egfrid*, without
any mature advice, leading out his Army to waste the Country of the *Piſts*,
though

Translat. ex-
go ad calistia
Regna Ofwal-
do, filij sui
Regni ver-
ſum ſedem pro
ex ſtrata ſua
ſua ſuavis
trigintaſciſci-
ter annorum,
et per annos
ſuavis ſcilicet
laborioſiſſimè
tenenti, &c.
Beda, lib. 3.
679.

Lib. 4. c. 12.
Cum quibus
Eduardus in
provincia Lin-
colnſiſſima,
quam nuper
ſui Rex Egfridus,
ſuperius in
ſello & ſig-
nato Wulfere
deſignavit
ordinavit E-
duardus.
Math. Flori-
ſtus ad ann.
714. c. 21.

And is there
slain with his
whole Army.To the ruin
of the En-
glish.Alfride suc-
ceeds him.The occasion
of Egfrid's
invading Ire-
land.Ofrede made
King.Is very de-
bauch'd.

though his Friends earnestly laboured to dissuade him, and amongst others, *St. Cuthbert*, who was newly then ordained Bishop, he was by the cunning *Eriemi*, who counterfeited a flight drawn within the fraits of unpassable Mountains, and with the greatest part of the Forces he brought along with him, cut off, in the fortieth year of his Age, and the fiftieth of his Reign, on the thirteenth day, before the Calends of *June*. As I said, faith *Beda*, his Friends advised him against this War, but as the foregoing year he would not hear the most Reverend Father *Egberht*, when he dehorted him from offering violence to *Scotland*, which had nothing hurt him, as a punishment to him for that sin, it came to pass that now he would not hear them who strove to prevent his utter overthrow. And from this time it was that the hopes and valour of the *English* Empire began to decay and dwindle. For both the *Piſts* recovered the Land of their Possession, which the *English* and *Scots*, that inhabited *Britain*, held, and some Part of the *Britains* obtained their Liberty which they still retain for the space of forty six years. A-mongst many others of the *English* Nation, which were either slain by the Sword, Tru-mongsted to bondage, or fled for their lives from the Land of the *Piſts*, *Trum-win* the most Reverend Man of God, was one who had been a Bishop amongst them, but now came back with those that belonged to him in the Monastery of *Ebbercnwig*, which stood indeed in the Country of those of the *Piſts*. There be the words of *Beda*, who diligently distinguishes in several places, the *Scots* that inhabited *Scotland*, from the *Scots* that inhabited *Britain*, but when he mentions *Scotia* or *Scotland*, he means only one Country thereby, and that is *Ireland*.

21. *Egfrid* being slain, *Alfride* or *Aldfrid* his Brother, and the Son of *Ofwi*, succeeded him, in the first year of the Emperor *Juſtintan* the younger, the first of *Edrich* King of *Kent*, in the Reign of *Theodorick* King of the *Franks*. *A. D.* *DCCLXXXVI*. *Malmſbury* writes, that *Ofwi* had but two Sons, whereof the spuri-ous being rejected, the legitimate succeeded him in his Kingdom, which was *Egfrid*; yet a little after, he tells us that *Egfrid* in the Battle fought with *Ethel-rede*, the Son of *Peada* lost his Brother, and after this he writes, how the news of his Death flying all over, at last came to the Ears of his Brother *Alfrid*, who being base born, although the elder, was by the Nobility thought not fit to Reign, and either by constraint, or out of indignation, went into *Ireland*, where being secure from the hatred of his Brother, and having leisure sufficient to follow his Studies, he much bettered his mind by the precepts of Philosophy. If he retired in this manner into *Ireland*, then from all these passages we may guess that the indignation and jealousy of his Brother follow him thither, and hence it is that we may fetch the account of his sending an Army into that Island. There-fore they who formerly refused him, now when they had need of him, and considered his worth, betook themselves to Intreaties, so well satisfied was he with the present condition of his Life. But when he had once undertaken what was offered, he gave them no cause to repent them of their choice, being a Man mighty in the Scriptures, and so careful of the Duty incumbent upon him, that for nineteen years he Governed his People in great Peace, and with as great Applause, having no other flaw in the whole course of his Administration, but what they find concerning his Persecution of Bishop *Wilfrid*. Yet was his Kingdom contained within much narrower Bounds, than in the days of his Father and Brother. For the *Piſts* making an insolent use of their Victory, set upon the *English*, whom long quiet and ease had rendered less fit for resistance, and made bold to juggle them out of some of their Territories lying toward the North, or to subdue and bring them under their Yoke, though they still inhabited these Countries. And never after could they recover their liberty, and reunite themselves with the *English* their Brethren, by the *Piſts* coming to be subject to the *Scots*, though their Lan-guage at this day sufficiently discovers their Original.

22. After *Alfride* his Son, *Ofrede* was made King in the sixth year of *Tiberius* *Aſpinarius* Emperor; the twelfth of *Withrede* King of *Kent*, in the days of *Childerbert* the second King of the *Franks*, *A. D.* *DCCLXXXIII*. He was but a Child of eight years old, but shewed himself soon enough to be of sufficient Age to be vicious. He Reigned but eleven years, and was famous for nothing, infamous for his un-cleanliness, which could not be kept within the bounds of ordinary voluptuousness, but extended to the very Cloysters, where he violated the Virginity of those that were, as their Relations imagined, secured against such attempts by a Religious

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Ex quo tem-
pore, ſec. ca-
pit & variis
Regni ſuave ac
verè ſubſtanti-
a reſorti. Beda,
l. 4. c. 26.

Seçt. 6. Veil. These courtes brought him into such hatred, even of his own kindred, that to prevent one sin, they committed a greater by taking away his Life, when he hoped he had scarcely spent one quarter of it. Yet had they that removed him out of the way to take his place, supplied as well the want of Eminence and Vertue, as of Royalty, they might have been more excusable, at least it would have partly covered and concealed the blackness of the Parricide; but *Reared*, who went after him took the Throne, and therein sat for two years, and after him *Ofrie*, who Reigned eleven, did nothing memorably, or which could call them worthy of that Dignity to which they advanced themselves. *Ofrie* indeed in this, had the advantage of the other, that he did not first leap into the Chair of the murdered Prince, and before his death, adopted *Ceolulf* or *Ceolwulf* the Brother of *Reared* for his Successour. This is that *Ceolwulf* to whom *Beda* dedicates his Ecclesiastical History, at the end whereof he signifies, that this King was embraced with great difficulties, and how he would extricate himself, or what end they would have, was utterly uncertain. What these Difficulties were, he tells us not, either because he would not burn his finger by meddling with matters of his own time, or for that his design was to write an Ecclesiastical History only, which seems to have been his drift, for else he might doubtless have given up a more large account of what he has left, but a mere scantling, a few remarks, and those but by the bye, as they were necessary to be brought in for making way to, or illustrating some other matters relating for the most part to the Cloyster. As for *Ceolwulf*, we are told he was so edified with what he read in the History of *Beda*, that desirous to be of the Number of those Kings who had exchanged their Crowns for Cows, he at length resigned his Kingdom and betook himself to a Monastery. Or rather he was wearied with these difficulties he found in reigning, and however his Crown seemed glorious to the eyes of the Beholders, felt the weight of it so great, that he was not fatisfied till he was eased of his burthen, which he cast off from his Head after he had governed eight years, and in the Monastery of *Lindesfare*, took upon him the Monkish Habit. He was not descended from the Loins of the late Kings of the *Northumbrians*, but in another Line descended from *Ida*. He was the Son of *Cutha*, whose Fore-fathers were *Cuthwin*, *Lethewold*, *Egwald*, *Aldelm*, *Oga* and *Ida*.

Who turns Monk.

Egbert made King.

Who turning Monk leaves his Kingdom to Offswulf.

He is succeeded by Mollo.

Then Alrede Reigns.

Next Ethelbert.

Math. Florib. Hist. Henricus Flamingus.

Habit fratrum equorum Archiepiscopus Ethelberti, qui et sua progenies et germani potentia fidentiam in genuinum statum reformationem, etc. Math. Lib. 1.

24. Then

Then Ceolwulf.

To whom succeeded Offred. Who was ousted by Ethelbert.

An Interruption for thirty odd years.

At length Egbert is made King.

The limits of the Kingdom of Deira, and Bernicia.

24. Then was *Ceolwulf* proclaimed King, who was Brother to *Alrede*, and he made a shift for eleven years to make good his Hold. But the People were now so used to making and unmaking Kings, that after these years he tasted their perfidious humour being with Innocency sent to Heaven as his famous Sepulchre at *Hagulfstade*, and the Miracles which they said they saw sufficiently testified to that then repenting Age. To his merit sure it must be ascribed, that his Nephew *Offred* the Son of *Alrede* succeeded him, but being got in, he could not keep Possession; for scarcely had he enjoyed his Royalty one year, but *Ethelbert* (or *Althelred*, or *Ethelwald*) the Son of *Mollo* drove him out, and recovered his Seat after twelve years of exile, which he held for four more, which once past, he could not escape the common calamity of his Predecessours, but was miserably slain. Some said he was justly punished for the unjust putting of *Offred* to Death, with whose Resignation he ought in conscience to have been contented: but many Bishops, and Noblemen who had more sense than their Neighbours, were so weary of these perpetual Disturbances and Murders, that they left thereupon their Native Country. Nay, *Charles* the Great was so incensed, that as *Alcuin* wrote, having delivered Letters and Presents to Messengers, to be delivered to this *Ethelred* when he heard how he was murdered, he exclaimed against this perfidious, perverse Nation, the Murderers of their Lords, affirming they were worse than Pagans; and if *Alcuin* had not interceded, whatever good he could have hindered, or mischief he was in a capacity to do; would have been performed against them. So great a terror did this cursed custom strike in all the Nobility, that he being dead, no Candidates appeared for the Kingdom; for considering the fresh example of others, they chose rather to sleep in a whole skin and live in obscurity, than venture upon so dangerous, nay pernicious Royalty; most of the *Northumbrian* Kings having come to an untimely end. Therefore was the Country without a King, for the space of thirty and three years, and became a derision and a Prey to all the neighbours. The *Danes* had before this begun to make Inroads and Depredations in those parts, and such as had once been in them, shewing the great booty they carried back to their Countrymen, and telling them of the baseness and sluggishness of the Inhabitants, stirred them up with the greatness, yea easiness of the enterprize, that the Barbarians flocked thick and three fold, and seized on those Quarters until the time lately mentioned. For they had a King (rather a *Regulus*) of their own several years, who yet trucked under the King of the West Saxons: and the forementioned thirty three years being over, King *Egbert* obtained this together with the other Countries.

25. Thus have we presented the Reader with what the Histories of these Times afford concerning this Kingdom of *Northumberland*; more we could not, except instead of a true Account of things, we should take the trade of Writing Romances. Concerning the limits of this Kingdom in general, and the *Deiri* and *Bernicii* betwixt themselves to that short Account we have already given, we shall farther add that as to its Northern Border it was terminated by that Southern Part of *Scotland*, which on the East and West is limited by the *German*, and *Frieth* Seas, on the South by that Bay called *Ashtarium Solvaticum*, or *Solvay Frieth*, and the River *Tweede*. Northerly by the *Frieth* of *Dunbritten*, and that of *Edenburgh*; for that this Kingdom extended it self to both these *Frieths*, whereof the one limited the Kingdom of the *Scots*, and the other that of the *Picts*, is most evident both from the Writings of *Beda*, and other most certain Testimonies. But to the Distinction of the Provinces of *Deira*, and *Bernicia*, amongst themselves Authors do very much differ. *Ralph* of *Chester* from the River *Humber* to that of *Tyne*; and the Kingdom of the *Bernicii* from the River of *Tyne*, as far as the *Scotish* Sea, with whom agrees the Monk of *Malmesbury*, only adding to the *Scotch* Sea this note, *Where now stands the Town of St. John* of *St. Johnston*. But *Richard* the Prior of *Hagulfstade*, in the beginning of his Book concerning the State of his Church, hath these words. *Deira beginning at Humber, ended at the River Tees*: and of this opinion was *Flamphrey* *Thayd* that excellent Antiquary. *Camden* sometimes assigns the River *Tees*, sometime the River *Tyne*, as the common limit of these Provinces; and *John* of *Tinmouth* in the Life of *St. Oswald* seems to reconcile the Controvercie in this manner. *The Kingdom of the Deiri anciently extended it self from the*

Seçt. 6.

Vide Offredum in Alrede. Et Emendand. Primord. P. p. 1009. 1009.

X 2 River

Sec. 6. *River Humber, to the River Tyne: that of the Bernicii from the River Tyne (rather Tees) as far as the Scotch Sea, which in the Scotch Language is called Forth. For all the ground which lay between the Rivers, Tyne and Tees in those Days was only a waste or Desert, and therefore was under the Jurisdiction of neither, being only a Receptacle, and Habitation of Wild Beasts. The same thing is observed in the Scotch Chronicle of John Fordon.*

26. Indeed we we read in the Ecclesiastical History of Beda, That *Eata* Lik. 4. Cc. 12. who governed the Province of the Bernicii had his Episcopal See in the Church of Hagufold or Lindisfarne. Therefore that not only the Church of Durham (to which after the death of Beda the See of Lindisfarne was translated) but that of Hagufold on this side the River Tyne may not be removed out of the Province of the Bernicii, wherein Beda, and not he alone placeth it; we are forced to assign the River Tees rather than Tyne, as the common limit of these two petty Kingdoms. By this means the Bishoprick of Durham, and that we now call the County of Northumberland, must be assigned to the Eastern Part of Bernicia; and to the Western, all that Kingdom of Cumberland, which after the Eviction of this of the Northumbrian Angles, was settled betwixt the River Derwent, and the Frith of Dunbritan, by the Cambrobruits or Welshmen. For Cumbrin, or Cumberland took the Name of the Inhabitants who were true and Natural Britains, and called themselves in their own Language *Kumbri* and *Kambri*: and Histories testify that here they remained a long time in despite of the English Saxons, however they fretted and stormed thereat. *Marianus* himself testifieth as much, who terms this Countrey *Cumbrorum terram*, or the Land of the *Cumbri*, or *Britains*, and to it bear mention the British Names, which in this Tract very many places still bear, as *Caerluel*, *Caerdrone*, *Pewrith*, *Pewrocks*, and the like. Late it was, as we said, &c it was subject to the English Saxons, and when their state became sore shaken by Danish Wars, and when their fate became fore shaken by Danish Wars, and was run to ruine; it had peculiar Governours called Kings of Cumberland, till the Year of our Lord DCCCXLVI, at what time King *Edmund* by help of *Leolin* Prince of Wales (who herein was unnatural) wasted all Cumberland, and having put out the Eyes of both the Sons of *Dunmail* King thereof, granted it to *Malcolin* King of Scots, whereupon the Eldest Sons of the Kings of Scotland were under the English Saxons, and *Danes*, both called Prefects, or Deputy Governours of Cumberland. But this is by way of Anticipation. To put a period to our Discourse of the Kingdom of Northumberland, King *Egbert* reduced it under his obedience in the DCCCXXVIII. Year of our Lord, and the eight and twentieth of his own Reign, in the seventh of *Michael Traulus* Emperour of the East; the fourteenth of *Ludovicus Pius* the Western Emperour, the year preceding the like fate of the Kingdom of the East Saxons.

SECT. VII.

SECT. VII.

The Kingdom of the East Angles in Britain. From the first Founding of it by Uffa to the Conquering of it by Edward King of the English Saxons.

The Space of Four Hundred Forty One years.

Uffa began the Kingdom.

After him reigned Tyrnho his Son.

Then Redwald.

Next Emperwald.

Afterwards Sigebert.

Who turning Monk left his Kingdom to Egriek.

Who were both slain in a Battel with Penda King of the Mercians. After him Anna, who had the same fate.

1. Next after the Kingdom of the Northumbrians, followed that of the East Angles, which was begun by Uffa, in the tenth year of the Emperour Justin the younger, the fifteenth of Ethelbert King of Kent, the seventeenth of Alla King of the Northumbrians, about the beginning of the Reign of Chilperick King of the Franks, A. D. DLXXXV.

2. Of Uffa there is little or nothing more extant than that he begun this Kingdom, (how and in what manner is utterly unknown) and that from him the succeeding Kings were called *Uffings*. After him his Son *Tytillus* or *Tytulus*, of whom there is only remarkable, that he was Father to *Redwald*, the most potent King of the East Angles, the same who received *Edwin*, and upon his account slew *Ethelfrid* King of the Northumbrians. The Monk of *Malmesbury*, as contrary to the sense of others, he makes this Kingdom to have begun before that of the West Saxons, though after the other of *Kent*, mentions this *Redwald*, as the first King being the tenth from *Woden*. Of these seven Princes said by Beda, to have had Dominion over all the Southern Parts lying on this side the River of *Humber*, him he mentions as the fourth. In another place he tells us, that he was Noble as to his Birth, but Ignoble as to his Actions. For being persuaded by *Edwin* to receive the Christian Faith, he was baptized; but returning home was persuaded by his Wife and others about him to fall off again, so that he living betwixt two, like the old *Samaritans*, seeming to serve both Christ and Idols, which Chapel *Adulf* King of that Province, who lived in the time of Beda, testified that he himself had seen when a Boy. But *Eorwald* his Son, being persuaded also by *Edwin*, was not only almost but altogether a Christian, and was slain by a certain Pagan called *Richbert*. Three years after the Province lay in confusion and error, till *Sigebert* or *Sigebert* obtained the Kingdom, a Man, faith Beda, most Christian and most Learned throughout, who while his Brother yet reigned living in exile in *Gall*, was there baptized, and when he came to reign made all his Province partaker with him of his Faith. As a means to propagate and confirm Religion, as well as to cultivate otherwise the minds of his People, he erected Schools by the assistance of *Felix* the Bishops, and furnished them with Masters and Teachers, according to the Customs of those of *Kent*. At length he relinquished his Kingdom to *Egriek* his Kinsman, who before that held some part of it, and took upon him the Monastical Habit.

3. When he had for a good space continued in that condition, it happened that the East Angles had war with *Penda*, that common Enemy of Christians, then King of the *Mercians*. Finding themselves too weak for their Enemies, to encourage the Souldiers, they desired *Sigebert* to be present at Fight, and when he flatly refused, they drew him by force out of the Monastery, and placed him in the Battel, presuming that the Souldiers under the Eye of him, who had lately been a most valiant and Martial Captain, would not dare to think of Flight. But he being mindfull of his profession, and in the midst of great Arms would only bear a Rod in his Hand, and in that posture was slain, together with *Egriek* the King, and their whole Army was either slain or dispersed by the pursuing Pagans. In the Kingdom succeeded *Anna* the Son of *Enus* (Brother to *Redwald*, as some write, but Beda only says he was of the Royal Race) a Person good himself, and

Sec. 7.

Lik. 2. c. 15.

Vir per amicitia Christianissimus ac Doctissimus.

Idem. lib. 3. cap. 18.

Sect. 7.

and a Father of as good an Offspring. Of him *Beda* faith he should speak more afterward, but we do not find him so good as his word, it's well he tells us at present, that he also was slain by that furious *Peuda*. By the Offspring he means the three Daughters that this *Auna* left, whereof *Etheldritha* was married to two Husbands yet died a Virgin, *Edelburga* was first a Nun, and then Abbess of her House at *Briga* or *Bruges* a Monastery in *Gall*, as *Malmesbury* terms it, and *Sexburga* was the Wife of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, after whose death she took the veil in the same Monastery with her Sister *Ethelreda*, being accounted a Saint. It seems he had no Son, for his Brother *Ethelberius* succeeded him, who (by necessity doubtless was forced to do it; for we cannot think he would do it of choice) joined with *Peuda* the Mercian, against *Ofwi* the King of *Northumberland*, and was slain with him in the Battle heretofore mentioned. *Ethelwald* his Brother took his Seat, and by continued Successions devolved the Kingdom upon the Sons of *Ethelberius*.

Next Ethelwald.

Then Adulph and Ethelred. After them Ethelred.

Next St. Edmund.

Then 'twas governed by Guthrum a Dane. After him Eleric.

Last of all Edward who expelled the Danes, and joined it to the West-Saxon Empire.

4. These were *Adulph* and *Elwald*, after whom one *Beorna* was King, to whom succeeded one *Ethelred*. His Son was Saint *Ethelbert*, whom *Offa* King of the Mercians deceitfully slew, and adjoined this Kingdom of the East Angles to that of the Mercians. After this time faith *Malmesbury*, few great Men reigned in East England, because of the violence of the Mercians to the time of St. *Edmund*, who in the sixteenth year of his Reign, was slain by *Hingvar* the Pagan. From that time for the space of fifty years, the English ceased to reign in this Country. For during nine years, the province was without any King till exposed to, and harassed by the Pagans. Afterward in East Saxony, as he calls it, *Guthrum* the Danish King, reigned twelve years in the time of King *Alfred*. *Guthrum* had for his Successour a Dane too called *Eleric*, who when he had governed or tyrannized fourteen years was slain by the English, for the incivilities he offered them. Yet could they not for all this recover their Liberty, the Danish Officers either oppressing them themselves, or using them against the West-Saxon Kings, till *Edward* the Son of *Alfred*, expelled the Danes, and delivering the English from their Tyranny, joyned both Provinces to his West-Saxon Empire, in the ninth year after the death of St. *Edmund* the King and Martyr, and of his own Reign the fifteenth. This is the short Account we have of this Petty Kingdom of the East Angles, for which we cannot but complain of the lettered men of those times, whereof we write, that they should not take notice of, and transmit to posterity those several remarkable Passages, transactions of very great weight, of which we have scarcely the Mens Names. This they omitted out of heedlessness, or rather because they were so mightily taken up with Monastical lives, that little else could they think on, nothing else seemed worth their while. But by the History of the Mercians and West-Saxons, several things may be more largely explained which have relation to this Kingdom.

S E C T. VIII.

S E C T. VIII.

The Mercian Kingdom of the Angles in Britain, from the first completing of it by *Peuda*, to the Conquest of it by *Egbert* King of the West Saxons.

The Space of Two Hundred Forty Nine Years.

Peuda King. 1. THE Kingdom of the Mercians was completed by *Peuda*, a most valiant and hardy Soldier, but as *Malmesbury* terms him, a Fanatick and impious Person, after he had till the fiftieth year of his Age, conquered several places, and continually warred against his Neighbours, in the CXXXIX. year after the death of *Hengist*, in the sixteenth year of *Heraclius* the Emperor, the tenth of *Eadbald* King of *Kent*, and the tenth of *Edwin* King of the *Northumbrians*, when *Sigebert* the Little was King of the East Saxons, and *Eorpwald* of the Eastern Angles, A.D. DCXXVI. the Saxon Annals derive thus his Pedigree. He was the Son of *Wibba*, who had these Ancestours, *Crida*, *Cunewald*, *Cnebba*, *Icelc*, *Eomere*, *Angelgeat*, *Offa*, *Weremund*, *Wigtleag*, *Woden*.

His pedigree.

2. This Kingdom as we said was completed by *Peuda*, but others laid the Foundations of it, though he, for the cause alledged, be generally accounted the first King of this Province. For both *Matthew of Westminster*, and others write, that the first beginning of it was effected by *Credda* a Saxon, whom in the Genealogy he calls *Crida*. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* names him *Crida*, who having, as far as can be known by any writings, first, faith he, obtained the Kingdom of *Merce*, died and left for his Successour his Son *Wipba*. This *Wipba* or *Wippa*, was followed by one *Cherle* or *Keorle*, who was not his Son but his Kinsman, but he either dying, or which is yet unlikely, relinquishing the Kingdom to him, *Peuda* succeeded when he had now consumed the best of his Years, as having completed the Number of Fifty. This Kingdom being by him enlarged and strengthened, obtained the Name of *Mynnapic* and *Meapelon*, but for what reasons is not agreed, a pair of the greatest Antiquaries differing about it. *Humphrey* * *Lhuyd* is of opinion it was named from the River *Merse*, which indeed running betwixt *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, was the North-Western Bound of the Mercians. But *Camden* † deriveth it from *Meapc* an old English word which signified a Limit, for though it was by far the largest Kingdom of all, yet all the other bordered and confined upon it. Neither of these opinions are improbable, whether the River took Name from it, or it from the River; yet are not they so probable, but that of *Wolfgangius Laus* is as ridiculous, who in that work of his concerning the Migrations of Nations, affirms these Mercians to have been *Marcmani*, and their Kings *Peuda*, *Offa*, and all the rest to have reigned in the lower Germany; whereas nothing is more certain by consent of all Histories than that never was there any such Kingdom there, and that these Kings and People inhabited that part of Britain, which we formerly assigned them. But the good Man going about to declare the Genealogies of the Kings of England, of the Norman Race doth it so pitifully, so confusedly, so fallily, that it appears, he neither ever in any good Authors either read the order of them, their Actions or their very Names, but received his home Intelligence from some silly fellow, as a certain eminent Mathematician in the Geographical Chart of this Island also did to their no small disparagement. And besides them *Jeronymus Riggellus* in his *Ptolemy*, printed at Venice an hundred years ago, labouring to reconcile the ancient Names of places to the new, confounds several, that are an Hundred Miles distant from each other. Of these Strangers therefore the Reader is to take notice, and beware. As for this Kingdom of the Mercians he may observe, that it being settled, all the seven Kingdoms of the English Saxons were now begun.

Sect. 8.

Ad An. 58.

* Saxon Angles Saxons in Britannia Regnum suum a nomine Merse Merciorum dicebatur constituitur, fol. 23 b.

† In Germania

Sect. 8.

Sect. 8. 3. *Penda*, as we said, had spent the best of his time before he came to be King, but the great things he performed afterward shewed, that the greatest of his Labours and Travels he had not passed. No sooner had he got the Power into his Hands, but he improved it for the Molestation of his Neighbours, thinking it no fault at all to disturb the World, to ruin Families, overturn Kingdoms, and destroy a Multitude of innocent Souls, and all to gratify the humour of one single Man, to tickle his fancy with the pitifull thought of domineering; the true account of the Actions of Conquerours, (or as that little one told the greatest of them) those publick Pirates who rob with whole Armies and Fleets, whose Power makes their Murthers and Robberies lawfull, and alone distinguisheth them from those puny ones, to which the Halter is appropriate. About the fourth or fifth year of his Reign, he undertook a War against *Kinigiël* and *Kiehelm* the Kings of the West Saxons, and with very great Forces on both sides, they met at a place called *Cirancestre*, as we read it in *Huntingdon*, where they fought a most bloody Battel, both the Armies as he says having abjured Flight, and were not to be parted, but by the darkness of the Night; and with the next Mornings light, were about to renew their malicious fury, but that more considerable thoughts interposed, and they came to an Agreement. The next Adventure he made, was with better (too good) Success, against *Edwin* the King of the *Northumbrians*. Herein he joyned with *Cadwalla* the *Britain*, and shewed that he no more regarded his own Lineage than Strangers themselves, neither yet was moved by any Religious pretences, assisting one Christian against another, and making use of that great Antipathy which their Religion could not remove, to gratify his ambitious and bloody Desigas, which were prevalent in him, even, above all other things, which others as Heathenish as he have accounted Sacred. This appeared in his perfidious killing *Edfrid* the Son of *Edwin*, who had fled to him for Succour.

4. Moreover *Eorwald* the Son of *Redwald* King of the East *Saxons*, whom others write to have been killed by *Rickhere*, is said by the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, to have been slain by him. How he killed *Ofwald* the King of the *Northumbrians*, in the Battel of *Maesfeld*, we have shewed already. Raging thus, and breathing nothing but slaughter, even where he wanted Provocation, no wonder if every little fault committed against him was a Crime, it was so at least as to the measure of its Punishment inflicted by him. *Cenwalch* the King of the West *Saxons*, having his Sister to wife put her away, of which opportunity glad, after two or three Attempts he drove him out of his Kingdom, not being able to resist him as his Father had done, and in exile he forc't him to continue for three years. But this Prosecution extended not to blood, after which he thrust it off as after drink in the greatest extremity of Summer, having one would think, as *Malmesbury* expresses it, a sense of some imminent slaughter, and the quality of a Raven which follows Armies, as having some present sense and smell of the dead Carcasses which shortly are to fall. Therefore let he upon *Egbert* King of the East *Angles*, and made a flour meal of Royal blood, at this bout killing both this King and *Sigebert* formerly King, though now a Monk, who would not by taking a Sword into his Hands defend himself, but like a Monk died in the Crowd without resistance. Another meal yet he made, and that was upon poor *Anna* King of the East *Saxons*, his Sword making but one bit, in one moment *Huntingdon* words it, devouring him and his Army, of which scarcely one Man remained. Yet still he had not done, with the same Ease he destroys also *Edelbere* his Brother and Successor, as the Archdeacon relates, though elsewhere believes another Account of this Prince which we have already communicated to the Reader. Having soundly Plundered the Countrey, being now flest with the slaughter of so many Kings, he went into *Northumberland* to hunt after another, but there at the River *Winnid* met with his match, being dealt withal by *Ofwi* as he had dealt with others, being slain in the place after he had Reign'd thirty years. A stout Soldier he was, and well deserved the Surname of *Strenuus* which was given him; yet is he not reckoned by *Beda* among those seven Princes which Reign'd in effect over all the Kingdoms on this side *Thames*. But his Power must have been Great in the several Kingdoms of *Northumberland*, and East *England*, the Kings whereof he flew, as also in *Wessex*, whereof he drove the King into exile. This they observe of him with much regret, that his Arms be only turned upon his own Countreymen, suffering the *Britains* to enjoy what they had left, nay assisting *Cadwallo* in the Attempts

CHAP. II. *Contemp. with the Constantinop. Rom. Emp.* Peada. 153

tempts he had made to recover *Britain*, so strong is Interest, or Humour and Ma- Sect. 8:
lice. stronger than the strongest Bonds of Consanguinity.

5. *Penda* being Dead, his Son *Penda* succeeded to the Title, in the Sixteenth Year of *Eomerich King of Kent*, and the Fourthenth of *Ofsiu*, King of the *Northern-brians*, A. D. DCLVI. Berwix his Family, and that of *Ofsiu* there was a double Match. He Married his Daughter the Sister of *Alfred*, and *Alfred* the Son of *Ofsiu* Married the Sister of *Penda*, and Daughter of *Penda*, who refused all offers made him, having resolved utterly to exterminate the Nation of the *Northern-brians*. Yet what if we say there was some Generosity in the *Pagan*, and that what he did was to retore *Ethelwald* the Son of *Ofsiu* to his Father's Kingdom? For this *Ethelwald*, as *Beda* calls him, or *Dilwald* as others, the Son of *Ofsiu*, who as they say ought to have assited his Uncle, was on the other side, and having led an Army of *Pagans* against his Countrey when the Battels joined, drew off, and expected the issue in a safe place. But how little soever *Penda* was moved by the Alliance we now mentioned, *Ofsiu* shewed how great a fenie he had of it, when having now Conquered the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, and held it for three years, after his Death, as some say, he bestowed on *Penda* his Son-in-Law the Southern *Mercians*, which as we have formerly said were separated from the Northern by the *River of Trent*. However kind he was, his Daughter was as unnatural, for *Penda* when he had scarcely Reigned two years, was by his Wife's means they say made away, after which for three years more the *Mercians* were subject to *Ofsiu*, and by him brought over to the Christian Faith. These years being expired, the Nobility Rebelled against him, and fet up for King *Wulthere* the Son of *Penda*. He is said to have Inherited his Father's Valour, and being endowed with excellent Qualities both of Body and Mind, to have by all means laboured to discharge himself well of the expectation the People had of him. At the beginning of his Reign he was hard fet by *Cenwald* King of the West *Saxons*, whom at length yet he overpowred, and after a great overthrow in a pitched Field invaded, wasted his Kingdom, and marching through it with a great Army, took from him the life of *Wight*, which he kept not long in his hands, giving it to *Ethelwald* King of *Suffex*, whom having perswaded to embrace Christianity, he took up from the Font as the Phrase of the Ancients was, or as we say, was God-father to him. One tells us, that together with this life of *Wight*, he gave him in token of this Adoption a great Province of the *Pari* belonging to the Western *Saxons* as one now hath it, whereas in * *Beda*, from whom he took it, is read, The Province of the *Meauviri*, or as some Copies have it, the *Meuari* but *Meauviri* seems to be the better Reading, these being a People that Inhabited a Part of *Hampshire*, not far from *Portsmouth*, but farther within the Land. Their Habitation as yet having scarcely changed the Name at this day, is divided into three Hundreds, called *Meau-borow*, *Easl-mean*, and *Well-mean*: and amongst them there mounts up an high Hill, invironed on the top with a large Rampire, and they call it *Old Winchester*: at which by Report there flood in *Wine*. Old Time a City, but now nothing remaineth of it: so as a Man would easily judge it to have been a Summer-landing Camp, and nothing else.

6. *Wolferne* Married *Ermenilda* the Daughter of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, by his Wife *Sxeburga* the then their Apparent of her Father's Kingdom ; and by her pious Care and Infatuations two good things were brought to pass, viz. the *Justes* of *Kent*, and the *Angles* of *Mercia* became in Friendship as it were one People after her Father's Death, though we know another succeeded in the Kingdom, and the Paganish Superstition was abolished throughout their Territories. By her he had a Son named *Kinrede*, and *Werburg* a Daughter, who became a Nun. He Reigned nineteen years, and had gone with a clear report from off the stage, but that *Ethelred* is noted to have been the first King of the *English Saxons* that committed Symony, having fold the Bishoprick of *London*, (which at this time there was in his Power) though Seated in the Kingdom of the East *Saxons*, to one *Wina* an ambitious Mau. To *Wolferne* succeeded *Ethelrede*, or *Adelred* another of *Penda's* Sons, in the Second year of *Lotharius* King of *Kent*, and the fifth of *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, A. D. DCLXXV. *Malmshury* Writes, that he was so famous for Religion than Fighting, contenting himself with one eminent Expedition into *Kent*, to make known his valour to the World. The rest of his time he spent without Action, only *Egfrid* King of the *Northumbrians* ambitiously passing the Bounds of his own Kingdom, by a Batel, and therein the Death of his Brother *Elfwia*, he admonished, and taught more moderation and sobriety. So

Penda fuc-
ceola.

Who is made
away by his
Wifes Treachery.
Ofwi Governs,
Then *Wul-*
thre

Who Routs
the King of
the West
Saxons.
Taking from
him the Isle of
Wight.

Marries.

Is accused of
Symony, and
Dies.
Ethelrede suc
ceeds.

Sect. 8:

*Chronicon
Joh. Bromton
in Regno
Mercuriorum.*

Mahmes. Hun-
tingdon.
Chron. Johan
Bremson.

*De Sacro fonte levavit,
inde Susceptor
diſtus.*

in cuius adop-
tione signum
insulam dedi-
sibi Vectam Et
etiam ingen-
tem Parcorum
provinciam
occidentalium
Saxonum
Chronic. Joh.
Bromton.

*Lib. 4. 6. 12

Sect. 8. the Monk with his onely makes notable exceptions to what at first he laid down, as a general Remark upon this King. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* tells us with more circumstance, that *Edelrede* the New King of *Mercia* rose up against *Lotair* King of *Kent*: that *Lotair* dreading his Grandfather's and his Father's Valour, turned aside, and would not make any opposition, so that he destroyed the City of *Rocheſter*, (as we muſt take it) and ranging all along the Province of *Kent*, carried back with him an unſpeakable quantity of Booty. As to what happened betwixt him and *Egfrid* he adds, that in the Third year of *Centwin* King of the *West Saxons* a Comet appeared for three Months together, ſhining every Morning like another Sun. That in the year following *Egfrid* (or *Egferd* as he calls him) and *Edelrede* fought a mighty Battel near to *Trent*, and there was ſlain *Alwin*, *Egferd*'s Brother, a Young Man, much beloved in both the Provinces. This enmity roſe amongſt them though *Edelrede* had Married their Siſter *Oſfrith*, and being once riſen it was hard to get it down, this blood adding to its vehemence, as Oil to the flame. For every day offences and miſapprehenſions were multiplied betwixt theſe two fierce Kingdoms, threatening deſtruction to them both, but the endeavours of *Theodore* the Biſhop at laſt took up the quarrel by this accommodation, that no blood ſhould be required for the blood of the King's Brother, but only a ſum of Money paid him. This he might the better doe, becauſe as *Malmesbury* tells the ſtory, he was the Aggreſſour.

7. *Edelrede* after the twenty ninth year of his Reign, turned Monk in *Barney* Abby, whereof at length he Died Abbat, and there was Buried. In his Kingdom ſucceeded *Kenred*, or *Conrede* his Kinſman, the Son of his Brother *Wulfere*, in the fifth year of the Emperor *Tiberius Apſmarus*, the eleventh of *Witred* King of *Kent*, the nineteenth of *Alfred* King of the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCCIII. As he ſucceeded him in his Kingdom, ſo in the Monarchical Life, for when he had Reigned but five years he went to *Rome* and there turned Monk, taking along with him *Offa* the Son and Succellour, if he had thought good of *Sigebert* King of the Eaſt Saxons, who alſo was enamoured of, and assumed the Habit. After him Reigned *Cenred*, or *Celred* the Son of his Uncle *Ethelred*, who as he was wonderfull for his valour againſt King *Ina*, ſo was miſerable in his ſudden death, for having reigned no more than eight years, he was buried at *Lichfield*, leaving *Ethelbald* his Heir, his Nephew by his Brother *Alwin*. *Ethelbald* is character'd a valiant and a vehement Man, yet did he govern, faith *Malmesbury*, both a long time and in great peace and quietneſs. But for all this Peace we are told by others, that *Adelard* King of the *West Saxons* endeavoured by force to conquer his Kingdom, and to that purpoſe fought a Battel with his Son *Ofwald*, who having ſuſtained his fury a good ſpace, when he ſaw he was utterly unable to bear up againſt ſo numerous Forces betook himſelf to a fair Retreat, and thereby preſerved his Father's Territories. After this *Ethelbald* the moſt valiant King of *Mercia* with a terrible Army laid ſiege to the Town of *Somerton*, the inhabitants whereof receiving no ſuccour he quickly became Maſter of it, and from this time forward became ſo eminent for his Arms amongſt his Contemporaries, that he cauſed to ſubmit to him all the Provinces Southward of *Hammer*, with their Kingdoms. This *Somerton* ſtanding upon the River *Parret* had indeed formerly a Caſtle of the *West Saxon* Kings, through the Walls of which *Ethelbald* is ſaid to have forced a Breach. But now Time hath ſo gotten the Maſtery of it, that there is no appearance at all of it, and the very Town it ſelf would have much ado to keep the Name, were it not for a Fair of Oxen and other Cattel, there kept from *Palm Sunday* till the midſt of *June*, with good Reſort of People, the Countrymen thereabout being very great Graſiers. Yet being famous in Ancient times, and of all others moſt frequented, it gave Name to the Shire which *Aſſerius* every where calls *Somertunensis*. Some indeed have thought it called *Somerſethſhire*, becauſe the Air is Mild and Summer-like there; and in that ſenſe the *Welſh Britains* at this Day call it *Gladerhaf*. But this Name they borrow from the *Engliſh* Tongue: and however in Summer time it may be a Summer-like Countrey, in Winter it may as truly be called *Winterſet*, ſo wet, ſo miry and mooriſh it is, as Travellers to their very great trouble and inconvenience do find.

8. But *Ethelbald* growing proud upon his ſucceſs, and preferring Violence before Juſtice, between ſuch time as *Cenulwulf* King of the *Northumbrians* had ſorſaken his Crown for a Cow, and the ſucceſſion of *Egbert*, took his opportunity, and in an hoſtile manner invaded that Kingdom, whence having got vaſt plunder, he returned, finding none to reſiſt him. This proud *Ethelbald* again, faith our Writer, when *Adelard* the King of the *West Saxons* was dead, often diſturb'd his Succellour

Who makes an expedition into Kent. And destroys the City of Rocheſter.

Fights Egfrid King of the Northumbrians.

Turns Monk, and is ſucceeded by Kenred.

Who assumes the like Habit.

Then Cenred.

Who was buried at Lichfield. Next Ethelbald.

Who Beſieges Somerton, and takes it.

Invades the Northumbrians.

Chron. J. B. Brown quo pruit.

Cambden in Belg.

four and Kinſman *Cudrede*, ſometimes with open hoſtility, and otherwhiles by *Sect. 8.* ſtirring up his Subjects to Seditious Attempts. Various was their ſucceſs in the Field, ſometimes the one and now the other having the advantage, and now would they conclude a Peace, and then again violate it by hoſtile Acts. At length in the fourth year of *Cudrede*, they ſeemed ſo heartily accorded, that with joint force they ſet upon the *Britains*, and defeated them, though their multitudes were innumerable. Yet again they fell at variance, and *Cudrede* not able to bear the Exactions and Inſolence of *Ethelbald*, in his thirtieth year took courage, and met him at *Bedford*, truſting much to the ſkill and courage of *Edelhim* a ſtout Captain he brought along with him. *Ethelbald* the King of Kings, beſides his *Mercians* and other Forces, brought along with him the Eaſtern Saxons, the *Angles*, and the *Kentſh* Men. The Battels being formed and ready to join, *Edelhim* leading on the *West Saxons*, and bearing the Standard of *Cudrede* which was a Golden Dragon, called upon the Standard Bearer of *Ethelbald*, challenging him it ſeems to a Combat. Hereupon the *West Saxons* ſhouted and were much encouraged, and the Armies joined. A moſt bloody Conteſt began and a long time continued, the ſucceſs being doubtful. But God who reſiſteth the Proud, as our Author obſerves, was pleaſed to abate the haughtineſs of *Ethelbald*, inſomuch that he himſelf firſt of all ran away, and from this time to his Death ſuffered he nothing he undertook to proper. Yet in the ſecond year after this Battel having recruited himſelf, he would again try his fortune, and fought another moſt bloody Battel with the *West Saxons* at a place called *Secundune*, where being ſorely diſtreſſed, and diſdaining as formerly to flye, he was ſlain, and Buried at *Repandune*. And ſo faith *Bromton*, this moſt valiant King when he had Reigned one and forty years (not in ſuch profound Peace ſurely as the Monk of *Malmſbury* writes) was puniſhed for his exceſſive Pride, and from this time the Kingdom of the *West Saxons* became ſtronger. This *Secundune* though it flouriſhed in the Times of the Saxons is now almoſt quite gone, and at this time is called *Seckinton* in *Warwickſhire*. *Repandune* from a great and fair Town is alſo become a poor and ſmall Village, at this day called *Repton* upon the River *Trent*, where it takes in the *Rivulet Dove*. This it is, though in former Ages it was famous both for the Burial of *Ethelbald*, of other the *Mercian* Kings, and the Calamity of *Burthred* the laſt of them, who here was deprived of his Kingdom, as we ſhall ſee in its due place.

9. But whereas by the Chronicle of *Bromton* it would appear that *Ethelbald* was ſlain by his Enemies, it is generally affirmed by other Writers, that being a good King he loſt his Life by the Treachery of his own bad People, for he was in the Army ſtayed by *Beared* or *Beornrede*, who immediately uſurped, taking the title of King upon him. But not long he enjoyed the title. For as he began, ſo he continued his Reign like a Tyrant, which ſo incenſed the People, that Noble, and Ignoble together, they united themſelves, and under conduct of *Offa* a moſt valiant young man preſently unking'd him, ſome ſay by driving him away, others by taking away his Life, and bringing him to ſuch an end as the murder of *Ethelbald* had deſerved. *Offa* for his pains was made King, in the eighteenth year of *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, the tenth of *Edilbert* King of *Kent*, the firſt and laſt of *Offa* King of the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCCLVIII. He was the fifth in deſcent from *Penda*, as *Malmesbury* writes, yet others in his Pedegree, which they derive from *Woden*, make no mention at all of *Penda*. He was a Prince of extraordinary conduct, courage and ſucceſs, which for a long time he managed and enjoyed together. The firſt Action of him we meet with was his ſubduing by Arms a certain People called *Heſſings*, concerning whom we know nothing, and therefore can ſay nothing farther. Much about the ſame time he fought with *Arlrick* King of *Kent*, at a place called *Ottanſford*, now *Oxford*, in *Kent* upon the River *Darent*, more famous afterward for an overthrow of the *Danes*, and longer after that for an Houſe of the Kings. What ſucceſs he had at this place the Annals do not tell us, but it ſeems it was ſuch as encouraged him the year following to engage againſt *Kinulph* King of the *West Saxons* at a place called *Binſton*, which Town he took. It is that which is now called *Benſon*, ſtanding upon the Thames in *Oxfordſhire*, by *Marian*, ſaid to be a Royal Village, who reports that *Cenulwulf* took it from the *Britains* in the year *DEXXII*. and that the *West Saxons* held poſſeſſion of it for two hundred years, till *Offa* thinking it would be both for his commodity and honour that they ſhould have nothing on this ſide the River, wone it and ſubjected it to his own Kingdom. At this day it goes for a Village only, and not long ſince had an Houſe of the Kings hard by, called certain

And takes Binſton from Kinulph King of the West Saxons.

Beared II. ſurps.

Upon whole Death Offa is made King.

Who engages with Arlick King of Kent.

Vide ſi place in Annal. Sacm. ed An. DCCLV. in Humeſingh. of Chron. J. B. Bromton.

Sect. 8. Elmes, *Ewelme*, commonly *New Elme*, sometime a fair place, but suffered to go to ruine, being not very wholfome by reason of a foggy Air arising from a standing Water adjoining.

10. As to the rest of the Actions of *Offa*, we may take that observation of the Monk of *Malmesbury*, who when he compared them with those we have related, and with others, remained doubtfull, whether he should approve of or disprove his course in general. In one and the same man, so many vices were palliated with virtues, and so many virtues succeeded vices, that you would think you had to deal with a very *Proteus*. Engaging with *Kinwulf*, King of the West-Saxons, in open War, he easily obtained the Victory, though that Prince was no contemptible Warriour. This same man, faith he, imagining that treachery would doe him most service, having by great allurements of fair promises, drawn to his Court King *Ethelbirt*, on a sudden, and when he never could imagine such Villany, caused him to be cut thorow by the Head, and unjustly seized on his Kingdom of the East Angles, wherein he built a Castle for bridling the Inhabitants, the Ruines whereof may be seen upon a clay Hill, at the Town full from him called *Offron* in *Suffolk*. After this he commends him for shirning the Reliques of *St. Alban*, and blames him for robbing several Churches, and amongst others, that of *Malmesbury*, which makes the Author not a little concerned. Finding his carriage in these affairs, and his handling of his People to be of perillous consequence, to fence himself against the worst occurrences, he courted much his Neighbour Princes. To *Brithrick* King of the West Saxons, he married his Daughter *Ethelburga*, *Charles the Great* also, King of the *Franks*, with frequent Embassies he made his Friend, though difficultly could he bring him to what he desired; for formerly there had been misunderstanding betwixt them, and so high it had flown, that commerce was forbidden on both sides. The *English* in these times travelling to *Rome*, were very much molested, not only by the *Saracens*, who possessed the straits of the *Alpes*, but the Subjects also of *Charles* inhabiting both *Gall* and *Italy*. Hereof he complained, and with much ado procured a Peace and friendly correspondence, which the sum of *Charles* his Letter, wherein he styles himself King of the *Franks*, *Lombards*, and Patritian of the *Romans*, directed to the Reverend man, and his most dear Brother *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, doth sufficiently testify; in what year written it's uncertain, but probably about the time of *Offa*'s death.

11. "Herein after thanks given to Almighty God, for the sincerity of the Catholic Faith which he found in his Papers, he gives leave to such as go on Pilgrimage to *Rome*, to pass freely and peaceably through his Dominions. But in case any be found among them, who go not upon a Religious account, but for that of gain, at convenient places, they must pay their Tolls. He grants also that Merchants have lawfull Patronage, promising them Redress of their grievances upon application to him or his Ministers. And his Epistle he concludes with acquainting him, what * gifts he had sent to the Churches in his Dominions, together with one Belt, an Hunnish Sword, and two silken Vests unto himself. Such was the kindness at last procured betwixt *Charles* and *Offa*, which found him in such stead, that notwithstanding, he had many Enemies, who ceased not to attempt much against him, yet he spent his time in great ease and prosperity, and made his Son *Egfrid*, whom he left his Successor, to be accounted King before he died. But of all his Actions, none is more memorable than the making of a Ditch, which with admirable work and labour, he caused to be cast from the mouth of *Dee* unto *Weymouth*, for the space of fourscore and ten Miles, to separate the *Britains* from his *Angles* or *English* Men. Hereupon in *Brittish* it is called *Claude Offa*, or *Offa his Ditch*, and a Town some seven Miles from *Radnor*, from this Ditch which lies under it, had the *Brittish* Name of *Trefy Claude*, afterward changed into *Trebeulo*, in *English* called *Knighton*. To what we have already said of this Work, we shall add, though by way of anticipation, what *John of Salisbury* writes in his *Polycraticon*. *Harold* ordained a Law, that what *Welshman* soever should be found without a Weapon on this side the limit he had set them, that is to say, *Offa's Dike*, should have his right Hand cut off by the King's Officers.

12. For the main, *Offa* so carried himself, that he may be accounted of the first Rank of these *English Saxon* Kings, during the Heptarchy. The grand flaw in his Eutecution, is the Murder of *Ethelbert* King of the East Angles, and yet Authors of good credit say, that coming to woo his Daughter, he was so basely made away by the procurement of *Queendred*, *Offa's* Wife, a Woman that more valued the Countries of East *England*, than the honest and honourable match of

Bebeads Ethelbert, and seizes on the Kingdom of the East Angles.

His Alliances.

Makes his Son Partner in the Kingdom. He is famous for making a Ditch.

His Character.

* Munera sic
Epistole &
interpres
Prisicquidam.
A Carlo dedit
dante fuit Offa
pro, munit, 20-
na, Cingit ut
imbolles Clo-
ment, fortidit,
rebelli.
Pallia dante
arcelus bis lo-
creta legatur.
Dre mucro
et & uener
munera xane,
Indomitor
punit promiss-
la uicibus Clamo.
Palliat arca-
na, ut figure
pallia uener.
I Camidun in
Silur.

her Child. But by his Martyrdom (such it was esteemed) great acceffion of Wealth and Reputation came to the City of *Hereford*, for being registered in the Catalogue of Martyrs, there he had a Church built and dedicated to him by *Milfrid*, a petty King of the Countrey, wherein when a Bishops See was established, it grew very rich, first through the devout liberality of the *Mercians*, and then of the West *Saxon* Kings, who at length came to be possessed of it. *Offa* being dead, after a Reign of thirty nine years, was buried at *Bedford*, in a Chapel without the Town, on a Bank of the River *Ouse*, in a Royal manner. But it's a constant Tradition, faith *Matthew* the Flowergatherer, of all the Countrey that to this day, that the said Chapel, by long wearing, and the violence of the River, was overthrown, and by its rapacity, together with the King's Sepulchre, thrown down into the water. Whereupon, till this present time, the said Sepulchre, by such as walk themselves in that place, seems to appear deep in the water, and yet at another time, although it be most diligently sought after, as if the thing was fatal, cannot be found. *Egfrid* his Son, who had been Partner with him in the Kingdom, for the space of eight years, upon his death became sole Possessor of it, being commended by Churchmen for treading in his Father's steps. For he confirmed whatsoever he had given to pious uses, and what out of covetousness he had taken away, he freely caused to be restored. And more he had done, had he continued any longer time. For on the hundred and forty first day after his Father's decease, he departed this life, to the exceeding great grief of all his Subjects. Being so well inclined, and dying in the flower of his Age. Alas a Man famous in those days, an *English* Man, and the moderator of the Studies of *Charles* the Great, in an Epistle to *Offert* a Patritian or Nobleman, wrote that he did not believe he died for his own sins, but because his Father had shed much blood to establish his Kingdom.

Was buried at Bedford.

Egfrid Reigns alone.

Dies.

Kenulf succeeds.

His Character.

He invades Kent, seizing the King and Country.

His Munificence.

Kenulf his Son murdered and buried at Winchester.

13. To *Egfrid* succeeded *Kenulf* or *Coowulf*, as the *Saxon* Annals call him, descended in the fifth degree from *Kenwalch* the Brother of *Penda*, in the last year of *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus* the Emperor, who was deposed, and had his Eyes put out by command of his Mother *Irene*, the first of *Cuthbert* King of *Kent*, the second or third year after the death of *Ethelred*, the last (in reality) King of the *Northumbrians*, A. D. DCCXCVI. The Monk of *Malmesbury* describes him to us as a great Man, as one whose Vertues were greater than his Fame, who never did any thing which malice could justly tax, was at home Religious, in War victorious, a man whose Praise deservedly will mount on high so long as there shall be found a fit Judge thereof in *England*, to be commended not only for the sublimity of his Throne, but the humility of his mind, which in his greatest prosperity was eminently remarkable. Against the Inhabitants of *Kent* from *Offa* he received a successive Enmity, which caused him in the first year of his Reign to invade that Countrey, wherein after much waste made, he took *Edbricht* firmament *Pren*, and carried him bound along with him. To this Relation of *Malmesbury Roger de Howden* adds, that he commanded his eyes to be plucked out, and in great Pride and Cruelty his hands to be cut off: This done, he laid the Kingdom of *Kent* to his own Dominion, setting upon his own Head a Crown, and holding a Sceptre in his Hand. Yet *Malmesbury* affirms, that not long after being touched with mercy to the Captive King, he set him at liberty. For at *Winchelcombe* (faith he) where he built a Church, which at this day standeth, on the day of the Dedication thereof, he manumitted or set free the Captive before the Altar, there exhibiting a memorable Spectacle of his Clemency. At the Solemnity was *Cuthbert* present, whom he had made King over the Inhabitants of *Kent*, and then and there applauded his Royal Munificence. The Church was filled with Applause and rejoicing, and the Streets were thronged with People. Forasmuch as in a Meeting of thirteen Bishops and ten Dukes, none that desired to taste of his bounty was rejected, all went away with their Pouches full. For besides the Gifts he gave to the Nobles, which both for value and number were inestimable in Utensils, Garments, and choice Horses, to such as had no Land he gave a Pound of Silver, to Priests a Mark of Gold: To Monks one *Solidus* a piece, and many things to all the Inferiour Multitude. And when he had endowed the Monastery with great Revenues as at this time may seem incredible, in the twenty fourth year of his Reign he honoured it with his own Funeral, his Son *Reuclme* a very Child and Innocent being murdered by his Sister *Queendred*, obtained both the Name and Honour of Martyrdom, and there also refteth. So much *Malmesbury*. The place he mentions is *Winchelcombe*, a great Town and well inhabited in *Glo. Cambrid. easterhire*. Indeed a Man would scarcely believe how much this Abby was frequented

Sect. 8.

Ad Ann. 797.

Malmesb. quod

supra.

Sect. 8. quented in ancient times for the Relicks of this *Kenelme*, a Child of seven years old, whom his own Sister, to get the Inheritance unto her self, secretly made away, and our Fore-fathers regirded in the Rank of Holy Martyrs. The Territory adjoining was of old reckoned a Sherifdom or County of it self, till such time as *Edric*, surnamed *Streeca*, that is the Getter or Gainer, who first under King *Aethelred*, and afterward under *Cante* or *Canute* governed as Viceroy the whole Kingdom of England, adjoynd it to the Shire of *Glocester*.

An Account
of the Mur-
ther.

14. *Kenulfe* by his Wife *Alfritha* had this Son, thus murdered by his own Sister *Quendrida*, and another Daughter called *Burgenilda*. The manner how the Murther was committed, and how it was discovered, was this, which you must take upon the trust of *William of Malmesbury* and *Matthew the Flowergatherer*. "The Boy was committed to an Attendant, who carrying him into a Wood under pretence of Hunting, cut off his Head and hid his Body in the Thickets. "A wonderfull thing it was that a thing done so privately in England, should be known at Rome, but so it came to pass by Divine Revelation. For upon the Altar you must know of blessed *Peter* Prince of the Apostles, a white Dove let fall a certain Paper, which in order discovered both the death of *St. Kenelme* King and Martyr, and also the place of his Burial. The Schedule being written "in English in Golden Letters, the Clerks that were present at the Command of the Pope attempted to read, but in vain. But as it happily came to pass an Angel stood by and Interpreting it in Latin, caused the Roman Prelate by an Epistle to give notice to the English Kings of their Compatriot Martyr. Amongst other things this was found written in the Paper. *In Clenc kon korb Kenelm lye bearne lish under thorne beaved by reaved*: That is, In the Cow-pasture *Kenelme* Son of the King lies under a Thorn beheaded, by the head. The Body of the blessed Martyr being thus miraculously discovered to the English Kings, in a great Assembly of Clerks and Nobles, was taken out of the Hole and carried to *Winchelcombe*. The Paricide (said he) or rather Fratricide (his Sister) being vexed at the singing and noise of the People which rejoiced at the finding out of so great a Martyr, put her head out of a Window, and by saying a Psalm backward, endeavourd to incant and disturb them, but as she was singing both her eyes fell out of her Head upon the Book she held in her hand. Still to this day, he adds, the Plaster it self set in Silver, and besmeared with the blood of the Eyes, gives testimony of this Punishment. So much of this Boy, King, and Martyr. Thus much we may be certain of, that the Murtherer, however the Villany was discovered, reaped not the fruit of her Ambition as she intended. For after this *Kenelme*, *Ceolwulfe* his Uncle, the Brother of *Kenulfe*, succeeded in the Kingdom of the Mercians, which henceforth was in a tottering condition, and little or nothing memorable, or which deserved notice, afterward is to be found concerning it, besides the mere Names and Successions of a few Kings. *Ceolwulfe* reigned but two, some say but one year, and then was driven away by *Bernulfe*. This *Bernulfe* in the third year of his Reign, yet durst adventure to grapple with *Egbert* King of the West Saxons, with whom he fought a bloody Battel at a Place called *Ellandune*, but was defeated. This *Ellandune* is now called *Wilton*, situate upon the River *Willey*, whence it hath taken its latter Name, and imparted it to the whole Shire, called *Wilshire*, of which it some time was the Head. In the *Saxon* times it mightily flourished. The *Danes* sorely distressed it, yet fell it not so much to decay till the Bishops of *Salisbury* turned another way the common Road, which formerly lay through it into the Western Countries. Then by degrees fell it to ruin, and now is but as it were a small Village, having nothing to boast of but a Mayor and a very fine House of the Earls of *Pembroke*, raised out of the Ruines of the old Monastery. But most overtopped it was by *Sorbiadunum*, and now by *Salisbury*, which arose out of the Ruines of this last mentioned City. But as for its Name of *Ellandune*, one rationally conjectures, that this River *Willey* is the same with *Alan*, which *Ptolemy* mentions in this Coast of the Country.

Ceolwulfe
made King.

Then *Bernulfe*.

Who was de-
feated at *El-
landune* by
Egbert King
of the West
Saxons.

Next to him
reigned *Lude-
can*.

15. The defeat received by *Bernulfe* at *Ellandune*, was but a prelude to a greater Mischiefe, which happened to him the same year. *Offa* as we have said had seized on the Kingdom of the East Angles, whither he now repairing as to part of his Dominions, the Inhabitants met him in the Field and slew him, then doubting what might be the Consequence, for fear of the Mercians they submitted themselves both King and People to the Sovereignty of *Egbert*. After him was King one *Dep Ludecan*, who keeping in his mind the Infidelity of the East Angles, after two can *Mecpna* Cynig *Ad Ann. 800XXXV*.

þ hyu ealsopmen mon ofrolo mto him. þ higel feng to pice. Ad Ann. 800XXXV.

years

years Reign prepared to be revenged on them, but failed in the attempt, being slain with his five Captains, or as the *Saxon* hath it, his Aldermen. To him succeeded one *Wiglaf* or *Witlaf*, who was presently expelled by *Egbert*, and three years continued in Exile. At the end thereof being touched with Compassion, *Egbert* suffered him to return, but to hold the Kingdom of him as his Tributary Vassal, paying him and his Son the thirteen years he reigned a sum of money. In the same Capacity reigned *Berthulfe* his Successour, and just so long a time, who at last by the Danish Pirates was driven beyond the Seas. After this *Burbrade* having Married *Ethelswida* the Daughter of King *Aethelwe* the Son of *Egbert*, by so great an Alliance comforted himself both against his Tributary Estate and the frequent Depredations of the Pirates. But after two and twenty years he was constrained by them to quit his Country, whence he betook himself to Rome, and there died, and at the English School in St. Mary's Church was buried. His Wife he left behind and him, but the afterward followed him into Italy and died at *Pavia*. Then was the Kingdom of the Mercians by the Danes delivered to one *Schewlfe* the Servant of *Burbrade*, but during pleasure. After a few years *Alfrede* the Nephew of *Egbert* obtained it. He Married *Elfreda* Sister to *Edward* the Elder, who after her death laid the Kingdom of the Mercians to his own Dominions; Then this Principality which (saith *Malmesbury*) by the madness of a Pagan man suddenly flourished, through the miserable sluggishness of half a man utterly withered and came to nought: In the Eight Hundred and Seventy Fifth Year of our Lord.

Berthulfe.
Burbrade.

Alfrede.

Apud Sineson.
Dantem, loc
modo: In Clenc,
in Condale Ke-
vaim Kinga
Berna, lish
undir thorn
beed by reaved.

Sax. Annal
ad An.
800XXX.
Ellen-Cyni.

Camden.

Cerdick and
his Son *Cyn-
rick* arrive.

The place
where they
Landed.

SECT. IX.

The Kingdom of the West Saxons. From the beginning thereof by *Cerdick*, to the Death of *Egbert* the first English Monarch.

The Space of Three Hundred and Eighteen years.

1. THE Kingdom of the West Saxons, than which (saith *Malmesbury*) Britain never saw any more magnificent or of longer continuance received its beginning from one *Cerdick*, and presently arrived at an high pitch of Greatness. This man being by Birth a German, and Nobly descended, as the Tenth from *Woden*, having by homebred Conflicts molded his Mind to a warlike Temper, resolved to quit his Country and become famous by his Arms abroad. Having fully tested his Resolutions, he communicated his mind to his Son *Cynrick*, who was in all glorious Actions no farther behind him than that treading in his steps he seemed to tread upon his Heel. He easily consenting to the Expedition into Britain, they came with their Forces in five Keels, in the Four hundred and ninety fifth year of our Lord, which was the fifth of the Emperor *Anastasis*, the eighth of *Esk* King of *Kent*, the fifth of *Alia* King of the South Saxons, in the days of *Clodoneus* the First King of the Franks, in the Consulship of *Amilius* and *Viator*. His Pedigree is thus drawn from *Woden*; *Bealdeg*, *Brandi*, *Fithogar*, *Frawine*, *Wig*, *Gewis*, *Elfa*, *Elefe*, *Cerdick* or *Cerick*.

2. What entertainment they found at their Landing we have already told the Reader, and how by degrees they advanced and got ground. But this is to be farther observed, that the place where he Landed was not within the Bounds of that Kingdom which he afterward founded, and whereof we write. For *Cerdick*, that Kingdom which he afterward founded, is still by the Inhabitants called *Cerdickland*, lay near to the old City *Garianonum*, which being decayed, and no Garrison lying there,

Sect. 9.

Sect. 2.

Gives them
another de-
feat at Beran-
byrig.

Galls were wont to add to places seated on higher Ground, such as this *Sorniodunum* was. For *Sorniodunum* is by Interpretation the *Dry Hill*, and upon an high Hill this City is mounted. *Kinric* was the first of all the *Engliff Saxons*, that forced it after he had got a notable Victory over the *Britains*, which so much encouraged him, that four years after this he and his Son *Ceaulin*, engaged with them again at a Place called *Beranbyrig*. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, wherefoever he had his Collections, tells the story with various Circumstances. The *Britains* faith he to take off that War which lay with such Confusion upon them, and they had endured for five years, gathering together a numerous and well instructed Army, put themselves into a posture of fighting at *Beranburi*. And when they had formed nine several Battalies, which Number in War is most convenient, three in the front, three in the middle, and three in the Rere, having appointed to each Body its fitting Officers, and placed their Archers, those that used Darts conveniently with their Horse according to the *Roman* Custom, the *Saxons* in one Body fell most boldly upon them. Their Standards they cast down and defaced, and breaking their Lances fought it out with dint of Sword, till the Evening approached, the Victory being still very doubtful. Neither need this seem wonderful, they being Men of extraordinary Stature, Vigour and Courage, although in our Days the Armies as well of the one as the other at the first onset are easily put to flight; confuting now of such Men as both in respect of their Stature, Vigour and Courage are inconsiderable; so much he. As for the Place of the Battel, this *Beranbyrig* is that Town now called *Banbury*, situate upon the River *Charwell* in the County of *Oxford*. About this Town are found Coins of the *Roman* Emperours, which argue for the Antiquity of the Place. Now the fame of it is for Cheefe, Cakes, and such like things, and lately it could shew a Castle built by *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln* (for to the See of *Lincoln* it belonged, as did many other good Houses, and Manors now swallowed by the iniquity of times) who desiring to dwell stately, rather than quietly, by his vast Structures of this kind brought himself into many troubles.

To Cyric
succeeds Ce-
aulin.

7. *Cyric* died after he had reigned six and twenty years, and was succeeded by *Ceaulin* his Son in the five and thirtieth year of *Justinian* the Emperour, about the beginning of the Reign of *Clothair* King of the *Franks*, the same year that *Ethelbert* became King of *Kent*, the third of *Alla* King of the *Northumbrians*. A.D. DLXI. *Ceaulin* was a Man of such metal of warlike Enterprizes, that, as *Malmesbury* phraseth, it to the *Engliff Saxons* he became an object of wonder, to the *Britains* of hatred, and to both of them the Author of Destruction. Now had these *Saxons* been in *Britain* for the space of an hundred and twenty years, all which time they had been so employed in chusing and settling their new Possessions, that having space enough (a little seems much to them that have none) they agreed well enough amongst themselves, and united upon occasion against them, whom their Interest had made their common Enemies. But now having pretty well secured their new (however got) Possessions, they had more leisure to be proud and idle, and having much, began to think they had not enough, and to envy the Conditions of one another. In the West and North they had still indeed work enough to defend their own, and still provoked by ambition, and Covetousness to wrest more out of the Hands of the Poor distressed *Britains*, but toward the South-East the Coast was clear, not a *Britain* left either to disturb or be disturbed, so that these Princes having nothing else to work upon, must needs find work amongst those of their own Nation, not enduring to be idle while they were so employed, to be mere Gazers upon the Actions of others, and to hear every day of their Conquests, Trophies and Spoils, now began to feel and perceive they had bounds to their Dominions, and however their Clothes seemed to be wide in the Infancy of their Kingdoms, now they complained they were strait laced. The first that betrayed this restless humour, was *Alla* King of the South *Saxons*, who as *Beda* tells us was the first of these Kings, that commanded all the Provinces of the *Engliff*, lying Southward of the River *Humber*. His Kingdom was not large, and his work was narrow, having quickly dispossessed the ancient Inhabitants, so that having time to look about him, and leisure enough to attempt any Enterprize, he availed the rest who still all of them except the King of *Kent*, had work enough, time and strength little enough to be employed against the *Britains*, to win and settle those Possessions which they had already obtained, and either convenience or ambition still provoked them to obtain. They were forced to give him good words, and admit of his Superiority, obey his Commands without opposition. Not one blow can we find, this procured amongst them.

8. He

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Then Ethel-
bert King of
Kent.

8. He being dead and gone, and his Posterity degenerating, some twenty years after *Ethelbert* came to be King of *Kent*, who receiving from his Ancestours a quiet possession of that Canton of the Island, grudging himself thus confined unto a Corner. Wealth and Idleness pricked him, and begat the Itch of ambition, which was vehemently provoked by this reflexion, that he was the Great, Great Grandchild (as we improperly speak, rather he his Great, Great Grandfather) the Heir and Successour of *Heuglf*, that great Captain the first Leader of the *Saxons*, the first that gave them opportunity of obtaining this Wealth and Honour, to whose Sceptre it was but just and fit, that they should truckle and submit. This was a fair pretence where there was a sharp Sword to back it, but Interest and present Possession afford deaf Ears to matters of Right, much more of Honour and Reputation. *Ethelbert* could easily give Laws to the South *Saxons*, the Western were the great object of his Envy, which was increased by that opportunity, which the nearness of their situation suggested to him. While *Ceaulin* was busied in the settlement and enlargement of his own Kingdom, in which Employment he had now spent Eight years, he invades his Territories. *Ceaulin* his Affairs requiring he should ever be in readiness, was not unprepared for him, but speedily made head against him, and with *Cutha* gave him Battel at a Place called *Widdandwe*, where he gave him a great overthrow, *Ossac* and *Cnebhan*, his *Ealdormen* or great Officers, being slain together with a great multitude of the inferior sort, and drove him back into his *Kentiff* Quarters. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* observes, that this was the first War which the Kings of the *Engliff* *Saxons* waged amongst themselves, the first Battel fought on the account of a Civil Quarrel.

Ceaulin over-
throws the
Britains in
two pitched
Battels.

9. *Ceaulin* did not pursue him into *Kent*, or revenge the Injury and Violence at this time, his main concerns lying at home against the *Britains*. Notwithstanding all the Attempts of him and his Predecessours, still they continued and held many Places on every side him. Yet the first engagement we meet with in the Annals of those that happened in his time, was that of the eleventh year of his Reign berwixt *Cuthwulf*, whom *Huntingdon* calls his Brother, and confounds him with *Cutha*, at *Bedanford* which *Huntingdon* interprets of *Bedford*, which *Cyric* now faith he is the Head of the Circumjacent Province. He came off with Victory, as an effect whereof he took in four Towns, *Liganburk*, *Eglesburk*, *Bennington* and *Egonesham*, that is such as afterward received these Names from their New Masters, for *Saxon* they are and not *Britiff*. But *Cuthwulf* survived his Victory not long, dying the very same year that these things happened. For six years after this we hear of no Action, as if *Ceaulin* by his Brother's death was destitute of a Commander. But six years after he took his Son *Cuthwine* with him in his fleet, and again made War upon the *Britains*, of whom were slain three Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan* and *Farinmail*, at a place called *Deorham*, which done they subdued three notable Cities, viz. *Gleamcestre*, *Cyrcenestre* and *Bathamester*. This *Deorham* is a little Town in *Glocestershire*, not far from *Severn*, at this day called *Derham*, where are yet to be seen huge Rampires and Trenches, as Fortifications of their Camps, and other most apparent Monuments here and there of so great a War.

And takes fe-
veral places, as
Deorham,

Gleamcestre.

Cyrcenestre.

Gleamcestre is that we call *Glocester*, in *Antonine* named *Glewum* from *Glaw* in *Britiff*, which signifieth *Fair* or *Goodly*, the *Britains* still calling it *Caer Glaw*. Being built by the *Romans* as a Curb to the *Silures*, it was thus wrested out of the Hand of the *Britains*, first by *Ceaulin*. Afterward the *Mercians* won it, under whom it flourished in great Honour, and *Ofrick* King of *Northumberland* by permission of *Ethelred* the *Mercian*, founded there a great and stately Nunnery, where *Kineburga*, *Eadburga* and *Eva* Queens of the *Mercians*, were successively Prioresse one after another. And *Edelfleda* that most Noble Lady of the *Mercians*, adorned it with a Church. *Cyrcenestre*, that we now call *Cirester* and *Cirester*; called *Corinium* by *Ptolemy*, and by *Antonine*, *Durocornovium*, from the River *Corin* (now *Churn*) upon which it standeth, fifteen Miles distant from *Glewum* or *Glocester*, upon the *Roman* High Street. *Bathamester*, is that we now call *Bath* in *Somersetshire*, on which we are told, the *Saxons* for a long time durst not fight, but left it to the *Britains*, till *Ceaulin* had defeated him at *Deorham*. Then it yielded after a furious assault, and within few years recovering some strength grew up again, and therewith got a new Name of *Athamcester*. For *Ofrick* the year DCLXXVI, founded a Nunnery there, and immediately after when the *Mercians* had got it under them, King *Offa* built another Church, both which in the time of the *Daniff* Broils were overthrowen, and out of the Ruines of them both arose another Church, wherein *Edgar* surnamed the *Peace-maker*, being crowned

Annal. Saxo-
nic. ad ann.
DLXVIII.
Iten Crea-
lin 7 Cupa
gefrubon
ny Ecel-
byre 7 hine
Cent gep-
lymon 7
7egen cal-
bompen on
7 pbanune
oplogon
Orly 7
Cnebhan.
Ad an.
DLXXI.Ad An.
DLXXXVII.* Ag. agroti.
Ache codem
sensu lo-
duras, aque
opime hinc
loco quadrat
vix maximè
salubri qui ar-
tibus suis do-
luribus labo-
ravit quæ nos
Anglico Ser-
mone Achei
dicimus.

Z 2

crowned

Civil Wars a-
mong the
Saxons in
Britain.Alla King of
the South
Saxons begins.

Seet. 9. crowned King bestowed upon the Citizens very many Immunities, the Memory of which they yearly celebrate with solemn Plays. But thus were the *Britains* dispossessed of these Countries for ever by this King of the West Saxons, though afterward all these three Places with the Territories about them, fell into the Hands of their Neighbours the *Mercians*.

Another Victory over the *Britains*.

Cædwalla at last is defeated at *Wodenborough*.

Fading driven into exile dies.

Is succeeded by *Cædwalla*.

10. No other Battle do we read of that was fought betwixt these Nations, although probably many Conteſts and Skirmishes happened till the ſeventh year after, when *Cædwalla* and *Cutha* ingaged with the *Britains*, in a place called *Fethleage*. Here *Cutha* loſt his Life, but the Annals tell us, that *Cædwalla* took Towns, not a few, beſides Plunder without meaſure, yet in great wrath and indignation he returned home. Here one would ſuſpect it were for the death of *Cutha*; but *Huntingdon* writes that a moſt dreadful fight being fought, *Cædwalla* was oppreſſed by the multitudes of his Enemies, overpowered and ſlain. The *Engliſh* were overthrown and put to flight; but *Cædwalla* coming in, in good time, cauſed them to rally, and ſetting on alreſh, conquered the Conquerors, which done, in the purſuit he became Maſter of many Territories and innumerable Spoils. Thus flouriſhed he, ſeeming not to court but to command Victory, while all, as well Enemies as Friends, flood wondering and looking on. But extraordinary Proſperity cannot be called Felicity, ending moſt commonly in extraordinary Miſery. His Brother he loſt, and as *Malmesbury* tells us, his Son of the ſame name was killed before his face. His great Succels and Power, as it procured fear, ſo envy and hatred, while all that heard but of him, ſuſpected preſently their own Eſtates. This made not only friends but foes to agree in this, to put a ſtop to his formidable greatneſs, ſo that *Britains* and *Engliſh* conſpiring together, gave him Battle at a place called *Wodenſborough*, where to great a laughter was made of his Men that he was totally defeated, and he who ſo lately commanded all on this ſide the River *Humber*, was now ſet in a forlorn condition to hide his Head, and lurk in ſome obſcure place, a baniſhed Man from his own Dominions, a miſerable ſpectacle of the inſtancy of ſubſtancy things. This *Wodenſborough* is now called *Wodenſburg*, a little Village in *Wiltſhire* near to that Ditch of wonderful work, which being caſt up for many Miles together, divideth the middle of this Shire from Eaſt to Weſt. The People dwelling thereabout, call it *Wanſdike*, and upon an error generally received, they talk that it was made by the Devil upon a Wednesday. But in the *Saxon* Tongue it is called *Wodenſdic*, or the Dike of *Woden*, who here perhaps was worſhipped by the Pagan Saxons, or being a thing of great conſequence was dedicated to him. *Malmesbury* writes, that this great Battle was fought at it, not mentioning *Wodenſburg*, and it's very probable that the Saxons made it to divide the two Kingdoms of the Weſt Saxons and *Mercians* aſunder, this being the very place of Battle between them, while they ſtrove one with another to enlarge their Dominions. For beſides this Battle betwixt *Cædwalla* and the Saxons, and *Britains*, who joyned together; at this Dike, to ſay nothing of other accidents, *Ina* the Weſt *Saxon* afterward, and *Cædwalla* the *Mercian* joyned Battle, and departed the Field on even terms. It was their cuſtome to make ſuch Ditches, ſuch was that of *Offa*, of which we have already ſpoken. Others are alſo to be ſeen among the Eaſt *Angles* in *Cambridgeſhire* and *Suffolk*, wherewith they bounded their Territory, and defended themſelves from the Inroads and violence of the *Mercians*.

11. *Cædwalla* being thus driven into exile, when he had Reigned one and thirty years, died ſhortly after, in the ſecond year, ſay the Annals, and together with him perished *Cædwalla* and *Crida*, the ſame year that *Ethelſfrith* began his Reign over the *Northumbrians*. This his Cataſtrophe, was the high advancement of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, who for the reaſons but now alledged, having high deſigns in his Head, was hitherto hindered from bringing them to perfection by the greater abilities and ſucceſs of *Cædwalla*. By this time he had well repaid his Ambition with more general obſervation and experience in war, and what he formerly, when raw and unpractiſed, had attempted, now ſucceſsfully attained, and by degrees brought all the other Kingdoms between *Kent* and *Humber* to bear his Devotion, that of the Weſt Saxons the firmeſt of all, being now in a very low condition: this gave him the main advantage, being humbled to his hand; the reſt yielded not ſubjection, but as he carried it by continual Victories and the Terror which they procured, his Reputation being farther ſtrengthened by his Marriage with *Bertha*, Daughter to a King of the *Franks*. But to return to the Kingdom of *Wiltſhire*, in its deplorable eſtate, *Cædwalla* the Nephew of *Cædwalla*, by his Brother *Cutha* undertook its protection, and as he could in to tickliſh times, ordered

Then followed *Cædwalla*.

Next *Cynegils* and *Quicelm*. Who Reigned jointly.

Who beat the *Britains* at *Beandune* in *Dorſetſhire*.

dered the affairs thereof for five years. After him followed *Cædwalla* his Brother, who for all the fourteen years he governed, was perpetually employed, either againſt the *Engliſh*, *Britains*, *Picts* or *Scots*, and came off with advantage. Yet have we nothing particular concerning theſe great attempts; only this is mentioned, that the ſame year that *Ethelſfrith* warred againſt the *Britains* of *Cheſter*, he made war upon the South Saxons. It muſt be remembered that *Ethelbert* of *Kent* outlived him, and therefore he having all his Life the ſuperiority over all the other Kings, he durſt not attempt any thing againſt him, it muſt have been againſt his fellow Vaſſals; and as for the *Picts* and *Scots*, he lying at ſuch a diſtance from them, his waring againſt them, muſt have been in giving aſſiſtance to the *Northumbrians* their next Neighbours. He dying after he had Reigned fourteen years, *Cynegils* the Son of *Cædwalla* (or, as the Annals call him, *Cæd*) ſucceeded him. The Tranſlation of the Annals talks of his, and *Quicelm* taking the Government upon them in the ſame year. But the Annals themſelves ſay no ſuch thing, and *Huntingdon* writes, that he took his Brother *Kichelm* in the fourth year of his Reign, to be his Colleague in the Kingdom.

12. *Cynegils* began his Reign in the ſecond year of *Heraclius* the Emperor, the two and fiftieth of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the twentieth of *Ethelſfrith* the ſecond King of the *Northumbrians*, A.D. DCXII. The Monk of *Malmesbury* writes, that *Cynegils* and *Quicelm*, the Sons of *Cædwalla*, put on the Enſigns of the Kingdom with equal Authority, they were both ſtout Perſons, and contend betwixt themſelves in the mutual Offices of Piety which ſhould exceed, inſomuch, that in reſpect of their Concord, not uſual among Kings, they may be propounded as a Miracle to the preſent, and an Example to future times. Many Wars they waged, one cannot diſtinguiſh whether with greater valour or moderation, either againſt the *Britains* or *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, a Man exceedingly dextrous in the ſurprizing feats of War, who having paſſed beyond his own Bounds, while he labours to get *Cireceſter* into his hands, was not able to bear the ſhock of theſe unanimous Kings, but with a few in his Company ran away. *Quicelm* is not a little blamed, for hiring an Aſſaſſine to murder *Edwin* King of the *Northumbrians*, a Man of approved wiſdom. But if that gentle ſaying be conſidered, *Dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirit*, he will eaſily find excuſe having done nothing unjuſt, and led by a deſire to remove out of the way by any means he could, one who ſtudied his own deſtruction. For from the Kingdom of the Weſt Saxons, he had before this wreſtled much, and at that time irritated by the injury received, the old grudges now coming to remembrance, practiſed many things which tended to their great damage. But the Kings eſcaped, to whom not long after, by the Preaching of *Binnus* the Biſhop, the Heavenly Doctrines was revealed, in the twenty fifth year of their Reign, and the fortieth after the coming of *St. Auſtine*, the Apoſtle of the *Engliſh*. *Cynegils* was preſently won, and abating his Royal Loſtynels, willingly ſubmitted himſelf to the Prieſt in Baptiſm. *Quicelm* wrinched a little, till by the health of his Body, admoniſhed that he ſhould not neglect the Salvation of his Soul he imitated the devotion of his Conſort, and died the ſame year. But *Cynegils*, for fix years after, enjoying long quiet and repoſe, ended his Life in the one and thirtieth of his Reign.

13. Thus much *Malmesbury* in general, concerning the joyned Government of theſe Kings, we ſhall add what particulars we can light upon in theſe obſcure times. The firſt is the Battle, which in the third or fourth year of *Cynegils* they fought againſt the *Britains*, at a place called *Beandune*, where were ſlain of the *Engliſh* *Britains*, two thouſand and fix and forty. *Huntingdon* here tells us, that they were ſtrighted at the very fight of their Enemies, and at the firſt onſet threw down their Enſigns and fled. Others write, that it was a doubtful and dangerous Battle, each one uſing his conjecture, rather than having any thing certain from the Monuments of Antiquity, whereon to fix this. We may eaſily believe that this *Beandune* was that Town of *Dorſetſhire*, ſituate upon the River *Frome*, which at this day is known by the Name of *Bindon*. As for that attempt which *Quicelm* made to take away the Life of *Edwin*, we muſt remember that this Prince was the fifth, whoſe Authority extended it ſelf over all the Provinces of the *Engliſh* Saxons, greater in this reſpect than any of the other four, that their Territories were now ſubject to him, but his Dominions never had been in their Power, to which a bound was ever put by the River *Humber*. He had made bold in ſeveral reſpects, as well with the Weſt Saxons as with others, and would give Law to them all. What therefore could not be done by fair, *Quicelm* reſolved to effect by foul means; for ſoul it was, never to be excuſed or reconcilable with

Hen Cynegylt pengto nio on perſe Scaxum 7 beole XXXI. p. 121. Cædwalla Cædwalla Cynegylt. Ad. A.D. DCXII.

Hen Cynegylt pengto nio on perſe Scaxum 7 beole XXXI. p. 121. Cædwalla Cædwalla Cynegylt. Ad. A.D. DCXII.

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with generosity, even in any Enemy. But the thing was this, as we have it from the Authentick History of *Beda* himself. A certain Assassinate named *Eumere*, was sent from *Quicelm* the King of the West Saxons, to kill King *Edwin*. Pretending a Message from his Master, he runs upon him with an envenomed weapon (that in case the steel did not, the poyson might take effect) near the River *Derwent*, where stood at that time the King's Palace. This being perceived by *Lilla* a faithfull and loving Servant of the King's standing by, he interposed himself and was stabbed, the King also received a little hurt by the blow through his Body. The Assassinate killed another Souldier called *Forthere*, and at last was killed himself and cut in pieces. The King was exceedingly disturbed at the villany, but his grief was a little mitigated by a Daughter, of which his Queen was brought to Bed the night following. He gave thanks therefore unto his Gods, which being overheard by *Paulinus* the Bishop, he expostulated it with him, affirming that the Queen through his Prayers had been delivered without much pain. The King well pleased to hear that, promised that he would believe in Christ, in case he would give him Victory over *Quicelm*, and as a pledge of his promise commanded his little Daughter to be Christened, which was done, the Name of *Eanfleda* being given her, and with her were Baptized twelve others of the Family. Then did he raise an Army and lead it against *Quicelm*, and beginning a War, either killed all that had been of the Conspiracy, or had them delivered up unto him. To this *Matthew of Westminster* adds, that *Quicelm* he slew in the place, which from him is called in the Language of the *English* *Quicelmes haune* to this day. In testimony of the Victory he gave this Name to the Place, and so in triumph returned home.

14. The Passage concerning the death of *Quicelm* is such as agrees not with other Authours, nor can we believe it true, being placed by the Flowergatherer before the Battel betwixt *Kinegils* and *Peuda*, at which other Writers unanimously affirm *Quicelm* to have been present. But he, and *Florentius of Worcester*, otherwise also differ from some of their fellow Historians about this Person, he calling him *Quicelm*, and both of them accounting him the Son of *Kinegils*, whereas others speak of him as of his Brother; but to say truth, the Annals make him his Son. Next after this Battel betwixt them and *Edwin*, that is placed by the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, which he affirms, they fought with the two Sons and Successeurs of *Sebert* the King of the Eastern Saxons. He makes them to have been the Aggressours, says, that being more in number they fought boldly but unfortunately. For both of these young men were killed, and scarcely could any of their Souldiers escape their flight, being intercepted both by the Mountains of dead Bodies, and the Torrents of blood. In the third year after he placeth their fight with *Peuda* King of the *Mercians* at *Cirencester*, where assembled very great Armies on both sides, and (saith he) they fought it out with invincible Courage, till parted by the Intervention of Night and Darknes; and in the Morning when they were about to renew their fury, the Kings took up the Quarrel by a Truce, or some other Accommodation. What Circumstances soever he may add concerning their Multitudes and the Intervention of Night, that such a Fight there was, and a Cessation thereupon we are assured by the Annals. That first *Kinegils*, and then *Quicelm* was Baptized the year after they also confirm; and moreover, that this very year *Quicelm* died eight years after the fight with *Peuda*, and three years after the death of *Edwin*, who therefore could not kill him in the Battel lately mentioned, but yield himself he might into his Hands. Then lastly for *Cyneigils*, that he outlived him six years the said Annals make manifest, placing the Succession of his Son (for his Death they mention not) in the seventh year after the death of *Quicelm*.

15. *Cenwalb* the Son of *Cyneigils* succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of the West Saxons in the third year of *Ercmbert* King of *Kent*, the eighteenth of *Peuda* King of the *Mercians* the same that *Osio* began his Reign over the *Northumbrians*, A. D. DCXLIII. By *Malmesbury* he is described a Prince in the beginning of his Reign to be compared with the worst, in the middle, and the end with the best of Kings. Coming young to the Government, by Luxury he grew Insolent, despising the Example set him by his Father, and lawful Matrimony; but being by *Peuda* King of the *Mercians*, whose Sister he had repudiated, set upon with War, he was driven out of his Kingdom, and fled to the King of the East Angles; whereby being disciplined by Adversity and the Persecutions of him that gave him Entertainment, he considered better of it, was fully perswaded in the Faith, and recovered his Kingdom; where, to his Subjects, he presented himself a welcome Miracle of alteration

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for the better, so valiant that he who formerly was not able to protect his own Territories, now twice overthrew the *Britains*, who remembering their ancient liberty fretted at their present condition, and therefore often plotted how they might successfully rebell; first in the place called *Witgoernesbrug*, and again by the Hill called *Pene*. Upon *Wulpher* also the Son of *Peuda* he revenged the injuries received from his Father, taking from him a good part of his Kingdom. So Religious he was, that first of all Saxon Kings he built at *Wincestere* the most beautiful Church of that time, the pattern whereof was followed afterward in founding the Episcopal See, though in a more stately manner. So Munificent that nothing, even of his Patrimony, would he deny to his Kindred, as who bestowed upon his Brother's Son well nigh the third part of his Kingdom. These Royal Vertues of his were much excited by the Admonitions of *Angilbert* and *Lutherius*, successfully Bishops of his Province.

16. That *Cenwalb* was by *Peuda* driven away, the *Saxon* Annals do testify, the year before he was Baptized; so that if he was not Baptized till his return out of Exile, as by the Annals it appears, he could not be absent from his Kingdom three years, as both they and *Beda* affirm; but perhaps longer it was e'er he received Baptism. The King of the East Angles, to whom he fled, and who by his Advice brought him to a thorough understanding of himself was *Auna*, who afterward was slain by *Peuda* the *Mercian*, without any succour or assistance received from him that we read of. The kindness to his Relations appears from that great gift he gave to *Cuthbrede* his Nephew the Son of *Quicelm*, and Grandson of *Cyneigils*, as in this place the Annals expressly signify, which was three thousand Lands (as the *Saxon* terms them) by *Aeeflune*, which *Huntingdon* interprets of Villages, or possibly they might be so of many *Hides*, as afterward were called the ordinary division of Grounds; but the expression used by *Malmesbury* of the third part of his Kingdom, seems to hint at as great a quantity as that whereof *Huntingdon* speaks. As for the success which after his return he had against his Enemies, Authours speak variously thereof; for though *Malmesbury* and others talk of Victories, * *Beda* saith expressly that he very often received most grievous Damages from them in his Kingdom. Four years after his Gift to *Cuthbrede* the Annals make mention of his fighting at a Place called *Bradanford* upon the River *Asene*, but name none against whom he fought, neither tell they what the success was. *Cambden* tells us it had the Name of *Bradanford* from the broadness of the Ford of *Avon*, which is there enlarged by receiving a little Rivulet; that it is now called *Bradford* in *Wiltshire*; situate upon the descent of an Hill. Here he saith *Cenwalb* King of the West Saxons imbrued his Sword with blood in Civil-war against *Cuthbrede* his near Kinsman. But he names no Authour from whom he had it. If so it was, either *Cuthbrede* was guilty of much Ingratitude, or *Cenwalb* of much oversight and Inconstancy.

17. As for the Battel fought against the *Britains* at *Witgoernesbrug*, there's none that makes mention of it beside the Monk of *Malmesbury* himself, and upon his mere Credit it must lye. But there might well be such a Fight; for when he was seced after his Restauration he undertook a War against them, or rather they against him, if *Huntingdon* may be believ'd, who writes, that they knowing full well how he had been beaten by *Peuda*, and driven him from his Kingdom, despised him as one not able to defend himself; and getting together a great number of men, in the pride of their Hearts made War upon him. And in the first engagement the *Britains* seemed to make the Saxons give ground. But the Saxons desiring rather to die than flee, so pertinaciously maintained the Fight, that the *Britains* were quite tired out, and their strength melted away like Snow. They gave then their backs to the Conquerours, were chased from *Pen* as far as *Pederede*, and an incurable wound was made in the Posterity of *Brutus* in that day. These are the words. The Annals confirm that he fought against the *Britains* or *Welsh* as they term them, and that he chased them as far as *Pedridan*. *Pen*, *Cambden* tells us, is now an obscure Village not far from the River *Fuelin* in *Somersetshire*, though anciently famous, being ordained by destiny, as it may seem, to the overthrow both of *Britains* and *Danes*. For at this very place (saith he) *Kenwalch* a West Saxon had such a day of the *Britains* that scarcely ever after would they abide to enter the Field against the *English* Saxons. And many a year after that, King *Edmund*, surnamed *Ironsides*, gave there a notable foil to the *Danes*, as he pursued *Canutus* their King, then usurping the Crown of *England*, from place to place. *Pedridan* is a Town also in that County now of no account, except for the Market or Fair there held, but formerly the Royal Seat of King *Ina*, now called

Ad An. DCXLVIII. Hep Cenwalb gerald de Cuspe de hymage in Enderlon derbe Arceper Cypreus ver Cyndelmung. Cynegil- * Lib. 3. c. 7.

He over- throws the Britains in two several Battels.

Ad An. DCXXXVIII. Ad An. DCXXXV. Ad An. DCXLIII.

Cenwalb An- tal. Saxonie. alii Kenwalb. & Kenwalb, Cenwalb.

They invade Sebert King of the Eastern Saxons.

And wage War with Peuda King of the Mercians.

Cenwalb be- gins his Reign.

Is driven out of his Kingdom by Ewda. Returns. Is Baptized.

Seet. 9.
Pedderton.

called *Pedderton* from the River *Pedred*, (commonly *Parret*) which here runneth into *Foel* and robbeth him of his Name.

18. Not long after *Cenwall* took occasion to fall out with *Wulfere* the *Mercian*, the Son of *Penda* his old enemy, and gave him *Battel* at a place called *Posfentes Berig*. *Fabius Ethelward* is singular in this story, favouring much the Family of the West Saxons, from which he himself was descended. He writes, that he took him Prisoner; But the Annals saying that he fought at this place in *Easter* Holydays, add that *Wulfere* haraffied all as far as *Elfedune*, the same year wherein died *Cuthbert* the Son of *Quichelm* and King *Cenbyrht*. That *Wulfere* wasted the Isle of *Wight*, and bestowed the Inhabitants thereof on *Ethelwald* the King of the South Saxons, to whom he was Godfather, and that *Eoppa* the Priest by command of *Wulfere*, and King *Wulfere* himself, first were Authors of Baptism to the Inhabitants of the said Island, which how it agrees with another affirmation of *Beda*, we shall see in a more proper place. We have no more to say of *Cenwall*, than that he died after he had Reigned one and thirty years: we know not whether we should take notice of what the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* thinks to be worthy special remarque. The year before he died happened a mighty fight of Birds in *England*, which that you may believe to have been no impossible thing, he tells you that in this time the very same thing happened in *Normandy*, during the Reign of *Henry* the First. About the City of *Raven*, such Combats there were that thousands of them were found slain upon the Earth, and the strangers seemed to be put to flight. A sign he counts it of the *Battel* fought betwixt the said *Henry* then King of *England*, and Duke of *Normandy*, and the French King *Lewis* the Son of *Philip*. In which fight *Henry* remained Victor, and *Lewis* was routed and ran away. But as for *Cenwall*, at his death, he left his Kingdom to the disposal of his Wife *Senburgh*. But she survived him not long, holding the Government but one year, which ended, the Nobility expelled her, diddaining, as *Matthew of Westmister* writes, to fight under the Banner of a Woman, though *Malmesbury* says, the strenuously discharged all Offices of a good Ruler. It seems he took it to heart, for he died presently after.

19. *Beda* writes, that after the death of *Cenwall*, very Petty Kings held the Kingdom divided among themselves, and that for about ten years together, not mentioning *Saxburg*. Others speak of *Efcuin* the Son or Nephew of *Cuthbert* the Brother of *Cynegils*, who Reigned but two years, yet was not petty in his Actions; for he dared to grapple with *Wulfere* King of the *Mercians*, with whom he fought a *Battel* at a place called *Bedanahafde*, and about a year after, both of them died. *Kentwin* the Son of *Cynegils*, after him assumed the Title, or as *Beda* hints, Reigned at the same time, being as the Monk notes as well as the other, of approved experience in War; for he defeated the *Britains*, as *Efcuin* before him did the *Mercians*. Of this defeat we have no other account from the Annals than that he drove them as far as the Sea, but whence or to what Sea, we are far to seek. This they place five years after the beginning of *Kentwin*, and four years after this they tell us that *Ceadwalla* again began to seize on the Kingdom of the West Saxons. Thus much *Beda* writes concerning this *Ceadwalla*, that he was a most valiant young Man of the Royal stock of the *Geoffis*, and being banished his Country, came with an Army upon *Edelwalch* King of the South Saxons, whom he flew, and then cruelly with Fire and Sword harassed his Dominions. *Malmesbury* affirms, that being descended from *Cutha* the Brother of *Ceaulin*, he was a young Man of immoderate hope, who could not omit any occasion of exercising his Valour. Having by his restless humour provoked the indignation of the Nobility, too powerful a faction he excited against himself, and was driven to Banishment. Being constrained at this time to submit to his Fortune, that he might make his County naked and defenceless, he took away with him all the youth, which either for love to his virtues, or in commiseration of his sufferings, willingly followed him. The first that underwent the violence of his fury, was *Edelwalch* King of the South Saxons, who was so bold as to grapple with him; but being routed with all his People, procured, as the effect of his rashness, a late repentance. But *Ceadwalla* on the contrary, having by so great success encouraged his Men, speedily returned, and an unlooked for onset easily drove away his Emulators. After this, enjoying the Kingdom two years, he gave many evident proofs of his Military Abilities. Bearing to the South Saxons an irreconcilable hatred, he destroyed also *Edrich* the Successor of *Edelwalch*, who refused not, but boldly gave him *Battel*. The Inhabitants of the Isle of *Wight*, who in confidence of assistance from the *Mercians* rebelled, he almost utterly destroyed. Over those of *Kent* he

Ad. An. 672.

Lib. 4. c. 12.
Subreguli.
Sic Malmsh.
de vero digne-
tie Saxon. di-
tate cum a Con-
fession drevant.
ad. An.
DCLXXIV.
Annal. ad An.
DCLXXV.

Ad. An.
DCLXXXI.

Lib. 4. c. 19.

Vide ejus stem-
ma apud An-
nal. ad An.
DCLXXXV.

Seet. 9.

often obtained Victory, and revenged sufficiently upon them the death of his Brother. Amongst other things memorable of him, it's hard to say with what Piety he was endued, even before his Baptism; for the Tithe of all his Spoils, he gave to Almighty God. In which things, as we approve his affection, so we disapprove his example, according to that saying: *He that offers Sacrifice of the Substance of the Poor, is as if he offered the Son in the presence of the Father*. But that he went to *Rome* to be Baptized, was there Baptized by *Sergius* the Pope, and called *Peter*, and as yet being in *Albis* (or within seven days after his Baptism) died, is more known than that it needs any relation from us.

To so much doth *Beda* and *Malmesbury* write of *Ceadwalla*, which the Reader must take in the name of all the English writers. For the History of the *Britains* and the Annals of the *English* do not agree about this King. The Annals say, he was the Son of *Cenbyrht*, descended from *Ceaulin* by *Cutha*, in the fourth degree, but the *Britains* affirm him the Son of *Cadwallin* their King, the same that slew *Edwin* and *Ofwald*, the Kings of the *Northumbrians*. Of this *Cadwallin*, they tell a ridiculous story, that being spent with Age, after a Reign of eight and forty years, the *Britains* embalming his Body, put it into an Image of Brass, resembling him, which they set upon a Brazen Horse, over the Western Gate of *London*, in memory of the great things he performed against the *English*: a lye which proceeded from some Monk of a brazen face, who could not be ignorant that *London*, long before this time, had been out of the hands of the *Britains*. Now they say also, that under the very Gate they built a Church in honour of *St. Martin*, wherein for him and the rest of the faithful deceased, divine obsequies might be for ever celebrated. In his Kingdom succeeded his Son *Cadwalader*, whom *Beda* calls *Cadwalla*, a young Man, whose Mother was Sister to *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, and Married by *Cadwallin*, after a reconciliation made with his Brother. All this as a story attended with such ridiculous circumstances, we reject, bemoaning our selves to the Pedigree of *Ceadwalla*, which the *Saxon* Annals afford us, and the more sure testimony of *Beda*, who affirms him of the "Royal stock of the *Geoffis*". From the same *Beda* we must add to what we have formerly said concerning his killing *Adilwalch* King of the South Saxons, that though he had slain him, he was immediately driven away by *Berchthun* and *Andhun*, the King's Captains, who afterward held the Province of that Kingdom. Yet he farther adds, that the first of these Captains, when *Ceadwalla* came to be King of the *Geoffis*, was killed by him, and the Province subjected to more grievous servitude than before. In the following Chapter he writes, that after *Ceadwalla* was possessed of the Kingdom of the *Geoffis*, he took the Isle of *Wight*, which before this time was wholly given to Idolatry, labouring by a tragical slaughter utterly to exterminate all the Natives, and to substitute in their rooms men of his own Province. From him it appears that one *Arnold* was at this time King of the Island, whose two Sons having taken, and resolving to kill them, he permitted they should be Baptized before they were put to death. But we cannot admit him for above a *Regulus* Princeps, Junior, or Petty King, remembering that on this *Adilwalch* King of the South Saxons, *Wulfere* King of the *Mercians*, his Godfather, bestowed this Isle of *Wight*, whom *Ceadwalla* having slain in right of prosecution of War, entered and subdued this part of his Dominions, which lay so conveniently for him. From this time forward our Writers for a great while have not one word of *Wight*, till the year of our Lord, one thousand sixty six, in which *Tostie*, King *Harold's* Brother, with certain Men of War and Rovers Ships out of *Flanders*, in hatred of his Brother, invaded it, and after he had fleeced the Inhabitants of their Money, quickly again departed.

21. To what we have already said concerning *Ceadwalla*, his Invasion of *Kent*, *Beda* Esq. (in the History of that Kingdom) and the Death of his Brother, whom *Latini* lib. 4. c. 16. writers call *Molla*, but the *Saxon* Annals *Mull*, we can add nothing more that is material. He being gone to *Rome* to receive Baptism, *Ina* the Son of *Cenred*, whose Father was *Ceolwald*, the Brother of *Cynegils*, obtained the Kingdom of the West Saxons, in the third year of *Justinian* the younger Emperor, in the days of *Theodorick* King of the *Franks*, the third of *Alfred* King of the *Northumbrians*, and the fourteenth of *Ethelred* (or *Edilred*) King of the *Mercians*. A.D. DCLXXXVIII. The Monk of *Malmesbury* is very smart and pithy in his Description of him. He writes, that more in respect of the industry of his insinivite Vertue than any Pedigree of a successive Offspring, he was taken to be Prince, the onely specimen of Fortitude, Image of Prudence, his equal for Religion you cannot find. By such like Acts, framing the course of his Life at home,

A a

Algerne is christened Peter, and dies.

Math. Flori-
legus ad An.
676.

De Regio ge-
nere Geoffi-
rum, quod
Reg Alfredus
sic vocat: a
pere Saxona
apellari.
nunc qui sit
Abolens om-
nes qui vel
mediciter
Saxones cal-
lent fatis vo-
runt, idem feli-
qui Præfuit
Cyne, Cæsar,
Juventutis An-
glicæ hodierni
Prince. Edgar
Erling, Ead-
mund dæling,
ille cui Reg-
rum ante He-
tallum vel e-
tiam Guilel-
mum Norman-
num debetur.

Ina King of
the West
Saxons.

Annal. ad
An. 689.

Dyes.

A strange fight
of Birds in the
Air.

Several petty
Kings.
As Saxburg.
Efcuin.

Kentwin.

Ceadwalla.

Seiz upon E-
delwalch King
of the South
Saxons.

Seizes the Isle
of Wight,
Invades Kent.

often

Sect. 2.

Forces the
Kentish men
to buy peace
Invades East
England.

he purchased favour and reverence abroad. And for eight and thirty years exercising his Function, he waxed old, all along void of the fear of Treachery, a most holy Pander as it were of publick Love. His first expedition was against the *Kentishmen*, bearing still in his mind the burning of *Mollo* alive. For a little while they made resistance, but alter their utmost effort, having left nothing unattempted, and finding every thing unsuccessfull, when they could find nothing in the breast of *Ina*, which might incourage slothfulness, they began to consider of their Estate, and fairly yielded. With Gifts they make trial of his Royal mind, they solicit him by Promises, and for thirty thousand Marks of Gold, they purchase their own quiet by his retreat. He having received the money pardoned what was past, and returned home. But not only they of *Kent*, but the Inhabitants of East *England*, were made objects of his hereditary hatred, all their Nobility being first driven away, and afterwards defeated in Battle. Let this suffice to have been said of the success of his Wars. How great a man he was in the things of God, the Laws which he made to correct the Vices of his People sufficiently shew, which still remain as a living Mirrour of his purity. The Monasteries he built are evident Witnesses, structures of Royal Magnificence, especially that of *Glastenbury*. At length he declares how by the solicitations of *Ethelburga* his Wife, after all his Earthly Triumphs he arrived at the height of Glory and Perfection as he esteems it, and went to *Rome*, where he lived and died as obscurely as he had desired.

Invades with
Violence King
of the Mercians.

22. As for his first Expedition into *Kent*, others write that *Vilred* unwilling to hazard all for the rash Act of a few, delivered up thirty of those that had been accessory to the burning of *Mollo*. This expedition the Annals place at the sixth year of his Reign, and are silent as to any other Act of his, till fifteen years after. Then they tell us that *Ina* and *Nun* his Kinsman fought with *Gerend* King of *Wales*, but where or how they leave us in Ignorance. With as much shortness and obscurity, fourteen years after this they inform us, that *Ina* and *Ceolred* King of the *Mercians*, fought Battle at a place called *Wodensboorke* or *Wodensburge*, the same we have formerly mentioned to stand near to *Wansdike* in *Wiltshire*, or the *Dike of Woden*. *Huntingdon* from what Authority we have not, affirms that they fought horribly on both sides, so that it could not be known, on which the greater Number of Men was lost. But *Ina*, if not Victor, remained the Survivor, *Ceolred* dying the following year, who that year that next succeeded, was followed into another World by *Ingild* the Brother of *Ina*, whose Sisters the Annals take here occasion to mention. They were two, *Cwenburk* and *Cuttburk*; whereof the later built a Monastery in a place called *Winburnan*; the other was married to *Alfrid* King of the *Northumbrians*, but out of desire to be wedded also to a monastical life, was separated from him while he yet lived. After this time it seems that *Ina* was vexed at home by Civil Discords, his Title having not been such to the Government, but that others thought their right as good as his. For the Annals at the year which follows, tell us he slew *Cynemwse*, and *Florent* of *Worcester* gives him the Title of *Clyto*, the same with *Etheling*, and given to none but those of the Blood Royal. But no sooner was one cut off, but as soon if not sooner, another appeared, one *Ealdbricht* who seized on a Castle which *Ina* had built at *Tantune*. Whom the Archdeacon tells us *Queen Edelburk* besieged, took the Castle and razed it, *Ealdbricht* being fled into *Surry*. He was pursued by *Ina* from *Surry* into *Suffex*, where the Inhabitants undertaking his protection were overthrown in Battle, and *Ealdbricht* himself was slain, all which the Annals allow. Three years after they tell us that *Ina* went to *Rome*, leaving his Kingdom after he had held it seven and thirty years.

Civil Wars at
home.

Unites the
British and
English by
Marriages.

23. That *Ina* went to *Rome* at the solicitation of *Edelburk* his Wife, who also accompanied him, we have already related from the Monk of *Malmesbury*, and that fix years before his departure he was his Wife, the Annals do plainly signify. But elsewhere we hear another story of his marrying *Guala*, the Daughter of *Cadwalader* King of the *Britains*, from which Daughter we are told, that Country was called *Wallia*, which in ancienter times had the Name of *Cambria*. Moreover with this last Wife he received *Cambria*, *Cornubia*, and (with her they must all begin) the blessed Crown of *Britain*, which belonged to *Cadwalader* the last King of the *Britains*. All the *English* which lived at that time, took their Wives from the *British* stock, and the *Britains* from the illustrious blood and stock of the *English*, that is the race of the *Saxons*. For this was done by the Common Council and assent of all the Bishops, Princes, Nobles and Counts with all the wife men, the Elders and People of the whole Kingdom, and that

An. DCCLXI.

that by Command of the aforesaid King *Ina*. Yet some *English* fetcht their Sect. 2.
Wives from the blood and kind of the *Angles* of *Germany*, some *English* from the blood and kind of the *Scots*, and almost all the *Scots* from the best blood and stock of the *Angles* of *Germany*. So at that time throughout the whole Kingdom of *Britain*, they were two in one flesh, and so did he constitute right Wedlock, destroyed Fornication and Uncleanness out of his Kingdom, ordaining right Judgment for the stability of his Kingdom, the strengthening of his People, with a benign Industry. And in this manner were they made one Nation and one People, by God's mercy throughout the whole Kingdom of *Britain*. Then did all call that the Kingdom of the *English*, which formerly had been called the Kingdom of *Britain*.

24. All these People ever afterward for the Common Utility of the Crown of the Kingdom, stood unanimously together against the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, fought most fiercely against them, and waged together most cruel Wars. For, the aforesaid King *Ina* was an excellent Prince, bountifull, wise, prudent, moderate, stout, jull, courageous and a perfect Soldier, both as to time and place, in the Divine Laws, in secular Affairs, in writings and performing of all good works very glorious. His Kingdom he governed, consolidated and held in peace by his great wisdom and prudence, and where the Case required by force and strength of hand. This is the substance of a great Council, consisting of such great Men as lately were mentioned, said to be held by King *Ina*, a little after he had married *Guala* the Daughter of *Cadwalader* King of the *Britains*, with which Wife he obtained all *Cambria*, and the Crown of *Cadwalader*, found amongst the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor. But notwithstanding the Authentickness of the Laws among which it is found, there is no good Historian that makes mention of any such Marriage of his with *Guala*, or any such occasion of the Origination of the Name of *Wallia*. Who the *English Saxons* and *Germans* were wont to call *Walls* or *Gualis*, we have already shewn. Neither had he any other Wife than *Ethelburk*, a *Saxon* not *Britain*, as her Name demonstrates, who at such time as he went to *Rome* turned Nun, and became afterwards Abbess of *Barking*. After this he never married, for they both continued in the monastical kind of life till death concluded it. As for the time of this pretended Council and its Authority, we are full as much in the dark. Some report *Cadwalader* to have reigned only three years, others five, and *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* twelve, so that when *Ina* should have entred upon his Kingdom of *Cambria* is uncertain. Moreover he makes *Ina* the Nephew, *Matthew* of *Westminster*, and *H. Lhuyd* the Son, and this Council the Son-in-Law of *Cadwalader*. But the *Britains* having feigned *Cadwalader* to be their King, could not make up the Romance without this itory adjoined of his Successour.

25. The most noble part of *Ina* his AQs is yet behind, his Body of Laws which we must refer till we come to speak of the *Saxon* Laws in general. He went not to *Rome* till he had provided himself and People of a Successour. This was one *Ethelheard* his Kinsman, who though by the means of *Ina*, he first obtained the Royalty, yet to confirm it was put to no little trouble. The first that created him this troubles was *Osuald* the Son of *Ethelwald* King of the *Mercians*, to whom the Annals give the Title of *Etheling*, and say that in the very year of *Ethelheard*'s promotion they fought, but as to the success they are silent, only the year following they tell us of a Comet, which ushered in the death of *Osuald* in the succeeding year, a natural death for any thing that appears either from them or others. *Malmesbury* observes that a check by him was often given to the beginnings of *Ethelheard*, against whom he stirred up the People unto Rebellion. But not long after he being taken away by death, he writes that *Ethelheard* held the Kingdom quietly for fourteen years, and so left it to *Cuttrede* his Kinsman. *Cuttrede* had grievous contests with *Ethelwald* King of the *Mercians*. It seems this Enmity was too severe long to continue; for, two years after, the same Annals relate that *Ethelwald* and *Cuttrede* fought jointly against the *Welshmen*, for as their private Interests and Grudges, at last they submitted to publick Contentments. Here again the Annals are silent as to the Success, but *Huntingdon* doubts not to assign them a great Victory over an innumerable multitude of *Britons*, using his ordinary way of expressing the greatness of a Fight. The courageous Kings and their most famous Soldiers laid to about them in their several Quarters, that the *Britains* not able to sustain any more their violence, gave their Backs to the Smiters, and their Baggage to the Pursuers. Which Victory obtained these Princes returned home, where (no doubt) they were very joyfully received.

Makes *Ethelheard* his Successour.
Who is disturbed in his Government by *Osuald* a *Mercian*.

The next King was *Cuttrede*.

Sect. 9.

Whose Son
Cynric was
slain in a mu-
tiny of his
Soldiers.
Then a Civil
War arose.

After which
he conquers
Ethelwald
King of the
Mercians.

Overthrows
the Britains.

Dies.
Sigeberht suc-
ceeds.

Is very cruel
and tyrannical.

Puts to death
his best friend
and subject.

Is driven
from the
Kingdom.

26. The Success and Prosperity of *Cuthred*, was three years after interrupted by a sad Accident in his own Family. The Annals note only, that *Cynric the Ethel* Hen per ling of the West Saxons, was slain. *Huntingdon* says he was his Son, terms him the Glory of Arms, the destroyer of wild Beasts; tender in Age, but smart in martial matters, little in years, but great in vigour, who still pressing upon his own Successes, and soliciting the fortune of War too much, his extravagance of mind, was punished by a death procured, by the mutiny of his Soldiers. That he was his Son we may easily believe, from what the word *Etheling* doth import, and that it proceeded from a Sedition of the Soldiers, that may as easily perfwade us, which is mentioned in the Annals at the second year after, that King *Cuthred* fought with that furious Captain *Ethelbun*. *Huntingdon* in his comment upon this text, hath this enlargement upon it, that having raised sedition against his Lord, though as to the number of his Forces he was far inferior to him, yet long and resolutely did he maintain his rebellion: And when now Victory seemed to incline to his side, at length a wound inflicted on his Body, and perjury in his mind procured the cause of the King to triumph. But this Rebellion seems of no larger extent than to be contained within the bounds of a Civil War. It raised no new one from without, this *Ethelbun* having no correspondence with *Ethelwald*, that by virtue of that Peace and Alliance formerly made betwixt the two Kings, now again vanished into nothing. But in the second year after the Fight with *Ethelbun*, we are told that *Cuthred* in the twelfth of his Reign, fought again with *Ethelwald*, at a place called *Beorgforda*. *Huntingdon's* Copy hath it *Hereford*, though Authours generally agree, it was *Bedford* where the Battle was fought. *Ethelbun* he tells us being now reconciled to the King, was his Captain and Counsellor in this expedition. He then tells a long tale in affected words concerning the Fight, and how the King and Consul (as he terms *Ethelbun*) meeting came to a single Combat, which ended in the Cowardise and Flight of *Ethelwald*, who outlived not this defeat two years, being slain in another Battle fought against the West Saxons at *Secandune*, and buried at *Repandune*, as we have already in the History of his Kingdom related.

27. *Cuthred* being disintangled from the attempts of *Ethelwald*, found himself concerned to give a check to the Britains, who in vain rebelled, the Conqueror of *Ethelwald* soon ran away, and deservely received a great Defeat, and *Huntingdon* tells us that without the least ground from the Annals, which are altogether silent as to the success. But two years after this they acquaint us with the News of the death of *Cuthred* after he had reigned seventeen years, together with the burning of the City of *Canterbury*, and the succession of *Sigeberht* into the Kingdom of the West Saxons, which he held for the space of one year and no longer. *Malmesbury* writes that he seized upon the Kingdom, a Man of brutish cruelty at home, yet abroad infamous for his Cowardise. Therefore incurring the hatred of all his Subjects they conspired against him, and after a year deposed him, causing him to give place to a better Man. But as commonly it happeneth in such cases, the greatness of his calamity reclaimed some to pity towards him, by the valour of whom he preserved in obedience that Province called *Hamptonshire*. But his Inclination still prevailing against his Success, as well as all Goodness and Justice, having by putting to death one *Cambra*, a Man that of all others had been most faithful to him, armed the rest of his Followers against him, he was constrained to betake himself to the Dens and lurking places of wild Beasts, whither misfortune dogging him at the Heels, he was killed by an Herdsman. And so the cruelty of the King, having almost raged against all the Nobility, was brought to an end by a Man of the meanest condition. *Huntingdon* calls him the kinsman of *Cuthred*, by whose success he became so proud and insolent, that he became intolerable to his Subjects. He adds, agreeable to the Annals, that abusing them all manner of ways, forcing the Laws to countenance his unjust proceedings, or utterly avoiding them, one *Cambra* his most noble Consul, at the desire of all the People made known the Complaints of the Subjects to their cruel King. But seriously advising him to govern more mildly, and laying aside his inhumanity, to render himself acceptable to God and Man, he wickedly commanded him to be put to death, and, in a manner more cruel and intolerable than ever, increased his Tyranny. Remaining incorrigible in these his outrageous proceedings, the Nobility and People assembled together, and by a provident deliberation and unanimous consent of them all he was deposed, and *Cynwulf* a choice young Man of the Royal Stock was elected King in his stead. *Sigeberht* thus driven away, fled for fear of that he was conscious to himself he had deserved, into the great Wood of *Andred*, where

Huntingdon,
nomen *Sigebert*
nem *Brumpton*
pant ad *Ger-*
lun transtribu-
it in *Chron.*

Hen Co-
trep *prahr*
pi's *realar*.
An. DCCCLII.

And slain
by a Hogherd.

Cynwulf
reigns.

Succeeds the
Britains.

Is slain by Cy-
nwald Brother
to Sigeberht.

And buried at
Winchester.

After him
Byrhtic.

(at a place called by the Annals *Prumteslodan*) he was killed by an Hogherd belonging to *Cambra*, who thus revenged upon him his Master's death.

28. *Cynwulf* began his Reign over all the Kingdom of the West Saxons except *Hamphshire*, which *Sigeberht* possessed for a little time till the death of *Cambra* in the fifteenth year of *Constantinus Copronymus*, Emperour, in the Reign of *Pippin* King of the *Franks*, the seventh of *Edelbert* or *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the eighteenth of *Egbert* or *Eadbert* King of the *Northumbrians*, toward the beginning of the Reign of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, A. D. DCCCLV. *Malmesbury*, in short, says he was a Man famous both for the composition of his Morals, and his Martial Acts, being in one only Battle overthrown at *Benfington*, by *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, in the four and twentieth year of his Reign, after which he was afflicted with many losses, and went out of the World in a vile manner. *Huntingdon* from the Annals writes of his being victorious over the Britains in many Battles, whom having subdued on all sides, he resolved to banish *Kineard* the Brother of *Sigeberht*, the Story whereof we have at large out of the Annals themselves after this manner. About the one and thirtieth year from the first beginning of his Reign he had a desire to expell out of the Kingdom a certain *Etheling* called *Cyneheard*, who was Brother to *Sigeberht*. The King having intelligence, that attended with a small company of Men, he frequented the company of a certain Woman, at a place called *Merantune*, rode thither himself, and searching about the Town, found his Soldiers found out where the *Etheling* lay. The King perceiving it, behaved himself in a manner unbecoming his Person, till he got sight of him, which done he rushed in upon him and wounded him fore. But all his Followers, together with him, fell upon the King, and fought with him till they had beaten him down and killed him; which was done before the Soldiers that followed him understood perfectly where he was. His Guard at length perceiving a tumult in this Woman's House hastened thither, every one as he was most ready and could run fastest, to whom the *Etheling* promised Money and Pardon if they would submit unto him. But they utterly rejected his Offers, and so long fought with the Followers of *Cyneheard* till they were all killed, one certain Britain a Hostage excepted, who was most grievously cut and hacked. By the Morning the news of the King's death was fled to a place not far off, where many more Attendants had awaited his return, and with others *Ofric* and *Winerth*, two Counts, hastened to the House whence the *Etheling* was not yet departed. The Doors were made fast at which he easily got in, which he perceiving began to parly with them, labouring with great promises to draw them off from revenging their King's death and to accept of himself under that Title and Capacity. But they flatly refused to sell their Master's Blood, and resolving neither to spare him nor his Relations, for whom he interceded, put them all to the Sword, except one Youth, to whom *Ine* their Leader was Godfather, and saved him upon that account, though grievously wounded. But such was the end of *Cynwulf* after he had reigned one and thirty years: And his Body was buried at *Winchester*. That of the *Etheling*, who in a Male line was descended from *Cerdic*, was interred at *Acrem Minster*, not at *Repandune*, as the Monk of *Malmesbury* hath it out of a mistake of the Annals, which affirm not *Cyneheard* but *Ethelwald* King of the *Mercians* at this *Repandune* to have been buried.

29. After *Cynwulf's* Death, *Byrhtic* was made King of the West Saxons, according to the *Fasti* of *Sr. Henry Savil*, (which yet alott but twenty nine years to the Reign of *Cynwulf*) in the fourth year of the Emperour *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, the twenty fifth of *Alrick* King of *Kent*, and the seventh of *Alfwold* King of the *Northumbrians*, A. D. DCCCLXXIV. He was, as *Malmesbury* describes him, a man more studious of Peace than War, being a very Artful in procuring Friendship, pleasing Foreigners with Courtship, and Conniving at the faults of his People in such things as did not hurt the Government. To obtain greater Reputation amongst his Neighbours, he Married the Daughter of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, at that time the most potent Prince, by which he had no Issue that can be known. Incouraged by this Alliance he drove *Egbert* into *France*, a young Man, who alone survived of all those that were of the Royal Stock, and therefore was a Person dangerous to his Interest. For both this *Byrhtic* and the other Kings which Reigned after *Offa*, though they bragged of their Pedigrees, being such as indeed did descend from *Cerdic*, yet were they defended in a good distance from the Royal Line. *Egbert* then being gone, he thought himself secure, and that he might now take his ease, when a Company of *Danes* accustomed to live by Piratical Depredations, secretly landing from three Ships, disturbed the Peace of his Province.

Hic fecit lap-
sum off *Martine*
in *Flintog*
dum ait Regem
alientis amari-
bus forevenem
a *Kinehard*
oliffum &
offrum fu-
it. Ad Ann.
786.

Hic interpres
male rexonm
larine occu-
sum lococorba
ac hi ealle
lagonbanu-
cum gyle,
de fectis Cy-
renis ante pre-
tatur. Quom-
do enim Cyro
ipfe man occi-
datur omni-
bus fuit occi-
fus? Et apud
nos man
offis nisi apud
Regem? Regis
erant qui in-
tervenerunt.

Sec. 9. vince, This Company of men at this time came as Spies to discover the fertility of the Soil and the valour of the Inhabitants, as afterwards was evident from the coming of that Multitude which overwhelmed in a manner all Britain. At this time floating upon the Island, this Kingdom being in profound peace and silence, they suddenly fell upon a Royal Village adjoining, and killed the Overfeer or Keeper, who came in to its relief; but the People gathering together they left their Booty, ran to their Ships and went their ways.

30. To this general account of the Monk, we may add from the Annals, that this Daughter of *Offa* he married, was by Name *Eadburgh*, a Woman too well known, as we shall see hereafter. *Egbert* being descended from *Inegild*, the Brother of *Ina*, gave in his Childhood pregnant proofs of much Wit and Courage, which together with his descent could not but excite great fear and jealousy in *Bertric* who revolved his death, and studied the best manner to make him away. *Egbert* having notice of and having good grounds to apprehend his purpose, betook him to flight, and fled into the Kingdom of *Wessex*, where he was received by *King Eadward*, who gave him the City of *Winton* for his habitation, and made him Bishop of the same.

Forces *Eg*
to fly th
Kingdom.

Egbert having notice of and having good grounds to apprehend his purpose, betook himself to *Offa's* Court, where he was no sooner come, *Egbert's* Ambassadors were at the door, both requiring the Fugitive to be given up, for whom they offered a round sum of Money, and farther for a Confirmation of Friendship betwixt the two Kings, desired *Offa's* Daughter for a Wife for their Master. Courtship effecting more with *Offa* than Threats and violence could procure, *Egbert* was forced once more to flit for himself, and over he went into *France*, which thing in the opinion of our Authour, came to pass by the Council of God, that being ordained for that Kingdom, he should receive his Institution from the *Franks*; a Nation which far exceeds (saith he) all those of the West, both in Action and the pleasantness of their Conversation. This affront he made use of as a whetstone to rub off the rust of idleness to sharpen his wit, and to obtain such endowments as are quite contrary to *Pagan Barbarism*. *Egbert* however rejoiced in his absence, not caring what advantages of education he might have, for their Influence reached not him, nor his possession of what at present he held, he was not far from envying his happiness any where out of *England*, that he could have heartily wished him in Heaven it felt. The pleasing repêche enjoyed was interrupted by the landing of *Danes*, the first *Danes* that landed in an hostile manner in *Britain*, who slew the Governour of these *Quarters*, the first man of those many thousands which afterward were butchered by that Savage People. Yet though we hear nothing before their landing, they from the time of *Julianin*, and about the year of our Lord D.LXX began to rove upon the Coasts of *Britain* and *Gall*, and were by the Writers who followed in Latin the Histories of the *Engliss* named *Wicingi*, for that they practiced Piracy. For *Wicinga* in the *Saxon* Tongue (as *Alfria* witnesseth) signifieth a *Pyrate* that runneth from Creek to Creek: *Alfo Pagani* or *Painims*, because as yet they were not Christians: But the *Angles* themselves in their Language termed them *Derisum*, and oftentimes *Heathenborn* or *Ethnicks*.

A Company of
Pyrates infest
the Land.

And kill the
King's Officer.

The first *Dax-* *with* Invasion.

31. The Officer that went to oppose them, and in his attempt perished, by (a) some of our Authours is called *Villicus* from that *Villa* or Town which they write that these *Danes* attacked. By (b) others *Præpositus Regis*, which suits better with the word *geþeþa*, by which the (c) Annals do Name him. They affirm, that not knowing what they were he would have brought them to the Town of the King, which some interpret *Dorchester*, and farther say, that he being the King's Customer there, supplied them Foreign Merchants, and riding to them commanded them to come and give account of their Lading at the Cufome-houfe; but they flew him no other Merchandize than the Steel of their Sword, where-with they flew him and all that came with him, as an Earnest of the many Murders, Rapines and Hostilities, which afterward they committed throughout the whole Island. But of this first *Daniſh* Invasion the *Daniſh* History of *Pontanus* far otherwise relates, as if their Landing had been at the mouth of *Humber*, and their Depredations far into the Countrey adjoining, whence they were repulſed by the surprized Inhabitants back to their Ships: What was the reason, by what authority they came there is no mention made, and the thing is the more strange becauſe *Siggebert* it makes then to have been King, a man who more ſtudied his own peace and quiet than the moleſtation of his Neighbours. And indeed not only from the

An. 787.

Malmesb. de
gestis Regum
Anglorum, l. 2.
c. 1.

Est enim gens
illa & exerci-
tatione virum
& Comitatu
morum cunc-
tarum Occi-
dentalium fa-
miliæ princeps.

1) Malmeib.
gest. Reg.
engl. l. 1.
Math. Flori-
z. ad An.

1. Hunting-
n. Hist. l. 4.
öveden An-
l. Pax. ori-

) 7 on
 7 bagum
 7omon
 peje
 I rcipti.
 7aje ge-
 na 7ap-

spýran toðar Cýnnet tunc ðýhe nírte hræthy þæron. 7 hinemon Ofrolo. 7 þ þæron 7 hi folse
 icípu Denírepa monna ðe Angel Cýnnet lono tærohtoni. An. DCCLXXXVII.

Danish History, but some Writers of our own, we are apt to believe that the first intended Invasion of that People with intention to rifle and pillage the Country, was in the Northern parts about *Flumber*; and those that landed here in the third year of *Byrhtic*, were but some Rovers or Pirates at Sea, who, as we now said, were wont to infest the Seas of *Britain* and *Gall*, and by chance, or distressed by Weather, came on the Western shore; possibly also with a desire of spying the Country. This we are induced to think from a Story or two we find in the Chronicle of *John Brompton*, which setting forth the Causes of their first Hostile Invasion here we think fit to recite in this place, though the thing happened a good while after.

32. At that time (*voiz*, in the days of *Ethebwoye* King *Egbert* and of *Charles the Bald*) one *Ojfrith* was King of *Northumberland*, who on a day going to take his pleasure in a Wood, as he returned went privately to the House of one of his Noblemen *Bruern Becard* by Name to refresh himself, *Bruern* knowing nothing of the King's coming, was gone to the Sea side to make sure the Shoar and Havens, according to his Custome, against Thieves and Pirates. But his Wife a Woman of great Beauty entertained the King at Dinner very pleasantly. The King having Dined took her by the hand and led her to his Chamber, telling her he must speak with her in private, and there violence he lay the way but such as were privy to his secret Courtes, by force and violence he lay with her. Having had his will he speedily got him back to *Tork*. She lamented and mourned, so that her Vifage was much altered, which caused her Husband at his return to ask the cause of it sudden a Change and of her unaccustomed sadness. Shetold him the whole matter in order how the King had forced her, which having heard he comforted her, bidding her not afflict her self, forasmuch as she was not able to resist a man so strong, assuring her that because she had told him the truth he would love her no less than he had done, and if God gave him leave he would avenge both himself and her upon him that had committed the Crime. Then did this *Bruern* being a Man both Noble and Powerful, defended of great Parentage, call his Kindred together, to whom he revealed the Affront put upon him, and his Intention of a speedy Revenge, to which they consenting and approving his purpose, with them he took Horse and rode to *Tork*. The King upon sight of him called him to him very civilly, but he with his Relations at his back defied him, renouncing his Homage and Fidelity, giving up his Land and whatsoever he held of him. This said, without any more words he withdrew, making no stay at all at Court.

33. His Friends confenting speedily he went over into *Denmark*, where to the King of the *Danes* he made a great complaint of the Affront offered to him and his Wife by *Osbriht*, desiring his speedy relief and supply to put him into a Capacity to revenge himself. Hereat *Codrinus* the King and his *Danes* conceived very great joy, having now some reason to induce them to subdue the *Engliſh*. To revenge the injury offered to *Buern*, who was defended of his blood, he speedily prepared a great Army over which he made Captains two Brothers called *Ingar* and *Huſbe* moſt valiant Soldiers, and to them he gave a Navy furnished with all neceſſaries to tranſport an innumerable Company of men. Theſe Adventurers landing in the Northern Parts, and taking their way through *Holdernes*, deſtroyed all the Towns with their Inhabitants; and coming to *Tork* provoked *Osbriht* to come out and fight. He accordingly iſſued forth with an Army ſuch as it was, and fighting was ſlain with his Followers; after which they took the City and therein remained. And ſo (ſaith our Authour) the *Danes* for the cauſe aforeſaid firſt in an Hoſtile manner invaded *England*. But at this time there was another King in *Northumberland* called *Ella*, who was promoted to that Dignity by the Friends and Relations of *Buern*, becauſe for the affront offered to him by *Osbriht*, they would have no more to do with that laſcivious Prince. This *Ella* going out on a time to Hunt, when his ſport was over fate down to Dinner, and as he was eating applauded himſelf for the good luck they had had that day, reckoning up what Deer they had killed. One came juſt in at theſe words and told him, though he had got ſo much that way, yet he had loſt an hundred times as much another; for the *Danes* (ſaith he) have taken *Tork*, ſlain *Osbriht*, and now are invading your Country to deprive you of it. *Ella* hearing this got his men together, and haſted to *Tork* there to deſtroy the *Danes*; but they having notice came out, and not far from the City gave him Battel, wherein they killed him and a very great multitude of his Soldiers, in a place ſtil called *Elleſcroft* from this occaſion. Farther, it is reported that the late mentioned Brothers *Ingar* and *Huſbe* invaded *England* in an Hoſtile manner.

Sect. 9.

The Reason
of Ingvar and
Hulbe the
Danes arri-
ving in Bri-
tain.

manner, not only for the reason now alledged, but especially to destroy St. Edmund who then Reigned in East England, and was fallily accused of having killed their Father. For of the cause of their coming we read in the Book called *Flores Historiarum* after this manner.

34. In the Kingdom of the Danes there was one *Lothebroc*, who being defended of the Royal Family, by his Wife had two Sons *Ingvar* and *Hulbe*. This man going alone into a Boat with an Hawk on his fist in the Islands adjoining to seek for Game, was seized by a sudden and violent Tempest, tossed hither and thither for several days together in the depth of the Sea, which having crossed amid ten thousand dangers, at length he was cast upon the Province of the Eastern English called *Northfolk*, and landed at a Village which had the Name of *Rodham*. Being found alone with his Hawk, he is presented to *Edmund* the King, and being kindly received for the comeliness of his Person continued in his Court, told the King the tale of his strange fortune, and often went out into the Field for his Recreation with *Bern* the King's Huntsman, being extraordinarily dextrous both in Hunting and Fowling as opportunity served. For this reason the King's Huntsman greatly envied him, and as they two Hunted together secretly murdered him and hid his Body in a thick Wood. Now *Lothebroc* kept a certain Greyhound, which was exceedingly fond of him, and the Huntsman being gone with the rest of the Dogs staid there alone by his Lord's Body. On the Morrow when the King asked for *Lothebroc*, *Bern* answered, that the day before he staid in the Wood, and since that he had not seen him. But see, the Greyhound comes to the Court, and fawning upon the King as well as others, as soon as he had filled his Belly again departed. Doing this often he was dogged to the place by those who found out the Body and brought the Relation to the King. The matter being examined and found out, the Huntsman is sentenced to be put into the Boat of *Lothebroc* without any Oars or Tackling, in which after a few days (surely the Boat knew the way) he was cast upon *Denmark*, where brought to *Lothebroc* his Sons and examined by torture what was become of their Father, whose Boat they sufficiently knew, he affirmed that by *Edmund* King of the East Angles he was discovered and killed by his Command.

35. They prepare then a Navy and under Conduct of *Bern* pass into England, where landing in the Northern parts as was said before, they harass grievously the whole Province of the *Northumbrians*, and having brought it to their beek, *Ingvar* quits his Company, and with a great Fleet sails to a City of East England where St. Edmund Reigned, which having entered he burnt and killed both Old and Young as he met them in the Streets. When he was wearied with killing, certain poor People whom he thought below his Anger, he called to him, and very diligently inquired where *Edmund* their King at that time resided. He had heard he was in the flower of his Age, very strong and Martial every way, and therefore he hasted to kill all he could find in any place, lest their King should make too strenuous an opposition, who at that time lived far off from the City in a Village, in their Language called *Eglefdon* or *Halefdon*, but now *Horne* (he writes) by which Name the neighbouring Wood was also called. For that Nation of *Danes* and *Alamans* was wont never in open Field to engage with an Enemy, except he was before that intrapped with Snares: Therefore sent he a trusty Messenger before to spy out where the King was, signifying that he himself would as convenience offered it self follow after. The Messenger coming to the King delivered his Message after this manner. *Ingvar the most invincible King both by Land and Sea, my redoubted Lord having conquered several Countries, and Landed in this with many Ships is resolved here to Winter; and commands thee to give him the half of thy Treasure and Riches, by which means under him thou shalt possibily Reign; but in case thou desistest his Power supported by so many Legions, thou shalt be judged both unworthy thy Life and a Kingdom.* The King lighted having heard the Message, and calling to him one of his Bishops, who was Secretary, asked his Advice what to answer. He being concerned for the King's Life, by many Examples exhorted him to comply with the Pagan. The King for a while was silent, then answered the Messenger after this manner: Return thy Master speedily this Answer: *Know that for the love of a Temporal life, Edmund a Christian King will not subject himself to a Pagan Captain, except he first become a Christian.* The King had scarcely said so much and the Souldier gone out of the House when *Ingvar* met him and commanded him to give him in short an account of what he said. He declaring what his answer was, The Tyrant commanded all the King's Household to be dispersed, and he himself alone to be laid hold on and secured.

36. But

Sect. 9.

36. But some Historiographers relate, that the *Danes* passing through *Norfolk* as far as *Thetford*, there first found St. Edmund King of East England, who as it's said, got an Army together and fought with them. But the *Danes* prevailing he fled after the slaughter of almost all his men to the Castle of *Halefdon*, whither they speedily pursued him and the first man they met was he himself, not far from the Castle, where they asked him how they might find out King *Edmund*. He, as if he had not been the Person, told them, *When I was in the Castle he was there, and when I came out he departed, and whether he shall escape your hands God knoweth.* Then the *Danes* hearing him mention the Name of God knew him to be the King, and leading him back to the Castle in his own Palace he was bound and led before the Impious Judge, mocked and cruelly beaten. Then brought they him to a Tree near at hand, to which making him fast they used him as a Mark to shoot against in sport, and wounded him in that manner through the whole Body, with the thick shower of their Arrows making Wound upon Wound, while one Shaft drove out another. But *Ingvar* perceiving that by no means could his Faith or Constancy be overcome, he commanded the Hangman to cut off his Head, which was done with one stroke as he prayed, on the nineteenth of November in the year of our Lord DCCCLXXVI according to some, and according to others DCCCLXX. The *Danes* leaving his Body in the place, carried his Head into the Wood called *Eglefdon* or *Halefdon*, and cast it among the thick Brambles, on purpose that being found it might not be committed together with the Body to Christian Burial. But how this Head crying out it self *Here, here, here*, when they sought for it was found, and how bestowed, it's not proper for us here to relate. We only give the Reader what Account we can of the first coming of the *Danes* into the Island, and that the first of these Stories concerning the Incontinency of *Ofbrith*, and what followed thereupon, may not seem altogether improbable let him remember what we have said in our History of *Spain* concerning the first Invasion of the Moors in that Country. Nothing is more certain than this that Sin foreruns punishment, Vice and Debauchery enervate a People, and prepare a Nation for Ruine and Destruction. This farther observe, that our Writers call these *Danes* sometimes *Dani*, otherwhiles *Dact*. Some of them write of them as several Nations, which from the beginning of *Ethelwulf's* Reign till the coming of *William the Norman* afflicted the Land, though they commonly be known by that one of *Danes*. In the Chronicle of *John Brompton* they are thus marshalled: The *Danes* with the *Goths*, the *Norwegians* with the *Swedes*, the *Wandals* with the *Frifhans*. Neighbours to the *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Jutes*, if not of the same Original, as the Reader by considering the places whence they all came may easily find.

The time of
the first Arri-
val of the
Danes.

The cruelty
and malice of
Eadburg the
King's Wife.

Who at last
poysons her
Husband.

37. To return to *Byrhtic*, in whose third year, the first landing of the *Danes* happened, we have little else to observe during his Reign, than that fiery Dragons were seen flying in the Air, which afterwards were interpreted as forerunners of the two grievous sorts of mischiefs, viz. a great Famine, and the Pagan Nation of the *Danes*, and *Norwegians*, which as *Huntingdon* writes in the tenth year of *Byrhtic*, first miserably wasted the Parts lying North of *Humber*, and then cruelly destroyed the Churches of Christ in the Province of *Lindisfarne*, together with the Inhabitants, on the Ides of January. In the mean while, *Eadburg* the Daughter of *Offa*, and Wife to *Byrhtic*, behaved her self in a most insolent manner toward her Husband's Subjects, coveting to act like her Father, and incurring the indignation and hatred of all Souldiers, Magistrates, and the whole People. All Religious Persons she backbited to the King, and got such an hand over him, that either bewitched by her flatteries, or wearied with her importunities, such as the accused were deprived either of Life, or banished them his Dominions; but in case she could not prevail so far, they would dispatch them with Poyson. At this time there was a certain young Man, Noble and Rich, and in great favour with *Byrhtic*, whom not able to undermine in that former way, the resolved to poyson. Her design took effect upon him, and on him whom the never intended, the King himself, who by accident tasted of the deadly Cup. The King being dead, out of fear of being called to account for her Villanies, she fled with great Treasures into *France*, and presented her self with great gifts to *Charles* the Great. He, whether taken with her Beauty, or with a design to try her, bid her chuse either him "or his Son that stood by him, whether of them the would for her Husband; the "answered suddenly and plainly, that if the might chuse, she had rather have "the Son than the Father, as being far the younger of the two. The King replied, that had she chosen himself, she should have had his Son, but because his "Son she had chosen, she should have neither the one nor the other. But he "thought

Cujus (scil.
Ethehwulfi) temporarius omnipotens Deus crudelissimas gentes immisit que nec etiam nec fixis parcerent, scil. Dacos cum Gothicis, Norwagesis, cum Sueathodis, Wandals cum Frifhans, qui de exercitu regni sui usque ad Adventum Willulmi ducis Normannorum Angliam vastaverunt.

B b

SECT. 10. Name and Title of *King of Great Britain*; and *Edgar* about the Year DCCCCLXX affirmed this Title, *The Monarch of all Albion*. But not only the Name of *Britain*, but of *Saxons* also was laid asleep; as to the *English* themselves who thenceforth called themselves no more by it. We say *as to themselves*: It was in their power to call themselves *English*, but not to procure all their Neighbours to do the like. For as we have formerly hinted the *Britains of Wales* and *Cornwall*, knowing them first by that of *Saxons*, and having such smarting causes never to forget their first coming into the Island, it so stuck with them, that they never took any notice of the change, neither at this very day in their Language do it. They term us not *Englishmen* but *Saxons*, and our Language *Saxonaeg*. And not only they but the *Scots*, which still retain the true ancient *Scotch* or *Irish* Tongue, and the *Irish* themselves write us *Saxonach* in their Orthography, but pronounce us *Safonagh*. For as well the *Irish* Language as the *Welsh* even to this very day is utterly unacquainted with the Names of *England* and of *Englishmen*.

SECT. X.

The Monarchy of the English Saxons in Britain, from the Death of Egbert, to the Monarchy of the Danes in Britain.

The Space of One Hundred and Eighty Years.

Ethelwulf the King.

Assists the Mercians against the Britains.

Refrains the fury of the Danes by advice of his two Counsellours.

1. **T**O Egbert succeeded his Son *Ethelwulf* (otherwise called *Adelwulf*, *Arhelwulf*, *Athulf*, *Edulf* and *Edwulf*,) in the eighth year of *Theophilus* Emperour of the East; the twenty fourth of *Ludovicus Pius* Emperour of the West, the twelfth of *Witlaf* or *Wiglaf* King of the *Mercians*, the fifteenth Indiction, A. D. DCCCXXXVII. *Malmesbury* writes, that he Reigned twenty years and five Months, a Man of a mild Disposition, who chose rather to live quietly than to rule over many Provinces; for contenting himself with the West Saxon Kingdom the Inheritance of his Ancestours, the other Appendices (as he calls them) which his Father had subdued, he bestowed upon his Son *Ethelstan*, who died, when and how is utterly uncertain. *Burfbred* King of the *Mercians* he assisted with his Forces against the *Britains*, and not a little graced him by the Marriage of his Daughter. The *Danish* Pirates who straggled through the whole Island, and by their sudden Inroads infested all the Sea Coasts, he not once put to flight himself, or by his Captains; although, according to the chance of War, he received very frequent and heavy losses from them, the City of *London* and all *Kent* in a manner being laid waste by them. The greatest help against them was the Activity of his Counsellours, who took such order, that the Enemy never acted any Hostility, but was one way or other chafized for it. For he had two most excellent Prelates in his time: *Swirhin* of *Winchester* and *Alstan* of *Shireburn*, who knowing the King to be dull and heavy, by their often Admonitions and Instructions, still excited him to the discharge of his Royal Duty. *Swirhin* desisting Temporal things instructed his Sovereign in Matters Celestial. *Alstan* concluding that Civil Affairs were not to be neglected, animated him against the *Danes*, both furnishing the Treasury with Money and taking care for the raising of Armies. Such as read the Annals shall find many things both sedulously began and happily brought to conclusion by him. By these two *Ethelwulf* being supported, took good care for Foreign matters, and neglected not his Domestick business. After his Triumphs over his Enemies he turned himself to the service of God, to whose Servants he granted the Tenth of all the Hides within his Kingdom, free from all Duties

Degeffis Rex Anglorum. lib. 2. c. 2.

Goes to Rome paying Peter pence.

On his return marries.

Upon which his Son and others conspire to depose him.

Upon what account.

Afterwards he makes his Will.

And dies.

Duties and Molestations. But this is but a small matter faith the Monk. Having taken order for his matters at home he went to *Rome*, where to *Saint Peter* he offered that Tribute which *England* pays at this very day, in the presence of Pope Leo the Fourth, who had honourably received *Elfred* his Son formerly sent to him, and had anointed him King. Having there made a stay of a whole year he repaired the School of the *English*, which as was reported, being first founded by *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, was burned the year after. Thence returning home thorough *France*, he there Married *Judith* the Daughter of *Charles*, King of that Nation, surnamed the *Bald*.

2. At his return he found, what he never suspected, that he had incurred the displeasure of some about him. For *Ethelbald* his own Son, *Alstan* the Bishop of *Shireburn*, and *Eunulf* Earl or Count of *Somersehire* conspired together to depose him; yet upon better advice it was agreed that the Kingdom should be divided betwixt Father and Son. However the Partition was very unequal, his Adversaries prevailed that the Western part of the Countrey, being far the better, should be allotted to his Son, and the Eastern left to him, who yet shewed such incredible goodness, that out of hatred to strife and contention, he patiently yielded to his Son, and gently repressed the People, which concerned for his Honour and Dignity, were already assembled to assert them. All this stir was raised about his Wife being a stranger, yet entertained her with great respect, and placed her on his Throne, contrary to the custome of the West Saxons: For * out of hatred to the wicked Practices of *Eadburgh* Daughter to *Offa* King of the *Mercians* and Wife to *Byrhtic*, and they neither suffered the Wives of their Kings to sit by their Husbands, nor so much as to have the honour of being called Queens, Such was the Decree they made to prevent such mischief for the time to come, but he out of his kindness to *Judith* now repeald it. A few Months before his Death he made his Testament, whereby after the Division of his Kingdom betwixt his two Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbirt*, he assigned a Portion to his Daughter, and for ever in every tenth Hide of his Inheritance, he commanded that a Poor man should be fed and clad; as also every year three hundred Marks of Gold to be sent to *Rome*, whereof one hundred to be conferred on *St. Peter*, another upon *St. Paul* to him with Lights, and an hundred as a Prefect given to the Bishop. He lived two years after his return from *Rome*, and then dying was buried in the Bishop's Church at *Winchester*.

* Gens namque occidentalis Anglium Saxorum Regnam suscepit regem sed non patitur nec etiam Regnum appellare sed Regis conjugem permittit quum contraxerant in infantiam: de quadam perniciaci & molestia ejusdem gentis Regis oram fuisse majores illius terre perhibent Afferius. † Quia autem sibi vult illud Afferii defuncto autem Ethelwulfo Rege; sepulchrum apud Steingum?

3. So much *Malmesbury* from *Afferius* concerning *Ethelwulf*, his History being the best and most substantial of all those of Monks, which therefore we take as text whereon to comment in making out the Affairs of these obscure times; for obscure enough they are, though our baren Writers are so ridiculous as to excuse the length of their short Stories, and tell us they are so * short in their Relations, out of study to avoid Prolixity and Tediousness, whereas their Accounts they give us are so scant, that little profit can be made of them, and they attribute their brevity to their own contrivance, which indeed is to be ascribed to their want of Intelligence. As for what he writes concerning his giving to *Ethelstan* all that his Father had conquered, his words are (a) such, as *Ethelstan* may be conceived, not the Son of *Egbert*, but of *Ethelwulf*, and some makes him to have been the Son of one, and some of the other. A late (b) Writer tells us, that the Saxon Annalist, the Authority of whom is ancienter, says expressly, that *Egbert* himself gave to *Ethelstan* his Son the Kingdom of *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey* and *Suffex*; but the Annals say no such thing, their (c) Translator indeed has foisted in the word *Egbertus*, but the text (d) it self which possibly he consulted not, hath no such word in that sentence, but only mentions *Ethelwulf* therein. Be he Brother or his Son it seems he parted with so great a share of his Dominions to him, which for some years he held, though how long, as *Malmesbury* observes, is utterly uncertain. The unwelcome disposition of *Ethelwulf*, might well give encouragement to the *Danes*, who the year following the death of *Egbert*, came again

* Singulorum autem bellorum gesta finesque imperii non tam breviter quam necesse est perhibere. Hunc vol. Savi. (a) Descripsit quia West-Saxonum Regem no contentus, necesse est patere imperium suum non tam breviter perhibere. (b) Descripsit quia West-Saxonum Regem no contentus, necesse est patere imperium suum non tam breviter perhibere. (c) Descripsit quia West-Saxonum Regem no contentus, necesse est patere imperium suum non tam breviter perhibere. (d) Descripsit quia West-Saxonum Regem no contentus, necesse est patere imperium suum non tam breviter perhibere.

(b) Milton Hist. of England. (c) A. DCCCXXXVII. Hinc Ethelwulfus Egberti filius occidentalis Angliæ Regnum suscepit: hinc autem (a) Ethelstan (Ethelstanus) successit. (d) Hinc Ethelwulfus Egberti filius occidentalis Angliæ Regnum suscepit: hinc autem (a) Ethelstan (Ethelstanus) successit. (e) Hinc Ethelwulfus Egberti filius occidentalis Angliæ Regnum suscepit: hinc autem (a) Ethelstan (Ethelstanus) successit.

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The Danes are twice defeated by his Captains.

upon the Coasts with three and thirty ships. The Annals (c) say that *Wulfheard* the *Ealdorman*, fought with them at *Hamstun*, that great slaughter was there made, and that he obtained the Victory; but died the same year of Age, it's very probable as one observes, seeming to have been one of *Egbert's* old Commanders, who was sent with *Ethelwulf* to subdue *Kent*. This repulse did not discourage them, but that either pressed on by those that sent them, or allured with plunder and booty, the same year they landed in another place, and gave Battle at *Port* (or *Portsmouth*) to (f) *Ethelhelm* another of the King's Captains with the *Dorsetshire* Men. For a good while (so the Annals word it) he had the better of them. But at length the *Danes* became Masters of the Field, and *Ethelhelm* (whom in this place the Annals term both *Dux* and *Ealdorman*) they put to flight or rather slew him in the place.

Who being encouraged invade Lindsey. Waite East England with Kent. And London.

4. Animated by this Success, in Prosecution thereof they gave Battle the following year to * *Herebryht* (or *Herbert*) another of his Officers whom with many others they slew at a place called *Mercwar*, whence driving as it were all before them, they suddenly invading *Lindsey* (that part of *Lincolnshire*, which lies North from the City) where waiving all with barbarous Hostility, they pierced into *East England*, and thence into *Kent*, putting many to the Sword in all these places. Here was no opposition made against them, or so ineffectual that they proceeded, and not only did great Mischief at *Canterbury* and *Rocheester*, but came to *London*, and here did their pleasure the next year after. *Ethelwulf* seemed at his Wits end, as great Violence being by these attempts offered to his peaceable mind, as to the Persons of his Subjects; but by those about him (the Bishop of *Winchester* especially, as *Malmesbury* affirms) he was excited to make resistance, and to provide a Navy, his best defence; for had the *English* in those ignorant times understood their true Interest as well as afterward *Egbert* did, his they had not endured those Miseries they suffered from those barbarous Rovers, nor way there being to secure the Land but by being Masters at Sea, the best bulwarks against those hostile Invasions, being stout and well manned ships. But such was their small practice, and thereupon little skill in Maritime Affairs, that they were inferior to the Pirates, continually exercised in Navigation. For that year that followed the Slaughter at *London*, *Ethelwulf* fighting against thirty and five of their ships at the River *Carr*, had the same fortune his Father had before in the same place, the *Danes* remaining Masters of the place. Of Fight. Yet that the *English* might not be utterly discouraged, Fortune seemed a little to own them in the next attempt they made the following year. For one *Eanulf* with the *Somersetshire* Men, *Ealstan* a Bishop (*Alstan* of *Winchester*, doubtless the same that † *Malmesbury* speaks of) and *Ossick* another Officer with those of *Dorsetshire*, at the Mouth of the River *Pedridan*, engaged with an Army of the *Danes*, made great slaughter of them, and got the Victory.

Masters him at Sea.

In the next engagement Ethelwulf's Captain obtained a Victory.

5. If a judgment be to be made of the state of these Affairs from these small hints we have from the Annals (the foundation of all the later Histories of the *Monks*) we are to conclude that the Defeat they received at this place was of great consequence. For, for five years after, or more, we hear nothing of them, nor any thing else of *Ethelwulf* and his Officers, who seemed so amused with those *Danish* Wars, that they were attentive to nothing else, durst meddle with no other business lest they should be unprepared for a fresh assault. And their care was without its due effect. For when they had reassumed their former confidence, and landed again, one *Ceorl* * an *Ealdorman*, assisted with the Shire of *Devon*, *Afferius* relates, and the Annals from him, fought with them at a place called *Wigan-beorche*, where he killed very many of them and remained Victor. Neither did they fare better in other places. The same year King *Ethelstan*, together with *Ealchere* a Captain, defeated a great number of them at *Sandwich*, and taking nine of their Ships, forced the rest to shift for themselves: and the Pagans were constrained thereabout to Winter, which they did, as *Afferius* writes (and that the first time) in the Isle of *Shepey*. Yet for all this being resolute as far as even to desperation, with fifty Ships did they this same year enter the *Thames* Mouth, whence they ranged as far as *Canterbury* and *London*. *Fabius* *Ethelward* writes, that they destroyed both. *Afferius*, though he encreases the number of their ships to

The Dantes are twice more beaten.

Yet they enter the Thames and sack London.

Anno dominice incarnationis 851. nativitate autem filii pederi 3. Ceopl Dominanie Comer contra paganos Nonimannor ruy Danor pugnavit in loco qui dicitur Vucganbeorg 3. Chyrpanti victricam habuerunt 7. et ipso eodem anno primium hyemalipugne pagani in insula que vocatur Sepey 7. quod interpretaur insula octum 7. que poci. etc. in tamen 3. plurime inter Eay reatum 3. Cantuarum. red ad Cantum pponer etc. quam ad Eay reatum in qua monasterium optatum conyuctum etc. *Affer.* p. 2. Edit. Pa. keriana qua nos utimur, Saxonicis characteribus quibus *Afferius* ipse librum scripsit.

Whence into Surry, where Ethelwulf overthrows them.

He reduces the Britains in Northwales to obedience.

Beats back the Dantes from landing in the Isle of Thanet.

The farther reason of the conspiracy against Ethelwulf.

His Genealogy.

three hundred and fifty, yet speaks only of their pillaging of *London*. The Annals add, that they put to flight *Beortulf* the King of the *Mercians*, who made head against them with an Army, then passing Southward over the *Thames* into *Surry*, they encountered *Ethelwulf* with *Ethelbald* his Son at a place called *Aclea*, but here they received a great overthrow, greater than ever before or after that *Afferius* heard of.

6. The success of this year brought much reputation to *Ethelwulf*, whom now being at leisure, two years after, *Burberd* King of the *Mercians* and those of his Council besought to give them assistance against the Inhabitants of North *Wales*, which he readily granted. Through the Territories of the *Mercians* he marched against the *Britains*, and forced them not to obedience, as had been desired. This same year did King *Ethelwulf*, send *Elfred* his Son to *Rome*, where *Leo* the Bishop kindly entertained him, consecrated him King, and adopted him for his Episcopal Son. In the mean time *Ealchere* (or *Ealcher*) with the *Kentish* Men, and *Huda* with those of *Surry*, were employed against another Army of the Pagans, which was landed in the Isle of *Thanet*. At first they had the better of them, driving them from their Post; but afterward so many were slain, and so many drowned on both sides, that the Victory remained doubtful. Yet gave it no matter of mourning to the Court of *Ethelwulf*, which now was busied in Affairs of Love, the effect of which was, that the King sent away his Daughter after *Easter* was over, to be married to *Burberd* King of the *Mercians*, and the Marriage was solemnized in the Royal village called *Cippanhamme*. However the following year the *Danes* wintered in the Isle of *Shepey*, the Annals say now the first time. Whether to make himself more acceptable to Almighty God, whose help he now found was highly necessary for suppression of these perpetual Annoiaces, or otherwise religiously moved, he nominated a Book of the tenth part of all his Lands, and his whole Kingdom which he dedicated to his service. Now as if he was fitted for undertaking a Pilgrimage to *Rome*, he went thither taking with him his young Son *Alfred* again, and there having staid twelve Months, married and died as the Monk of *Malmesbury* hath related, after two years.

7. Of the difference betwixt his Eldest Son and him, after his Return the Annals have nothing, but *Afferius* confirms the report, assigning the pretended Cause, being that he had taken with him to *Rome* his young Son *Alfred*, there to be inaugurated King, and had brought home with him an Outlandish Wife. Generally he is said to have been averse to matters of War, a Lover of Peace and Quiet which we are more apt to believe, having it told us, and * elsewhere that in his young years he was Bishop of *Winchester*, and for want of other Heirs was constrained to take upon him the Kingdom. If this be true, then must *Ethelstan* formerly mentioned have been his Son, not his Brother or the Son of *Egbert*, * who having him must have had an Inheritour of his Dominions, and no necessity could then have lain upon *Ethelwulf* of being King. To conclude with *Ethelwulf*, the Annals give us his Pedigree, which reacheth no higher than to *Adam* himself. The Monk of *Malmesbury* is so bold, as to mention it together with that we find in *St. Luke*, and thinks it not superfluous to put it into his History, although he is afraid, that the noise of barbarous Names may violate the ears of such as are not accustomed to them. I disapprove of his mentioning it with the other in the same Page, in the same Book, nay, the same day or year. I am half afraid of the same thing, and justly of more, that the Reader will give no credit to it; but to be guilty of this once, and no more, as a piece of curiosity I shall leave it to the consideration of our Students in Heraldry, referring them, if they desire more, to other Stemmings of these *Saxon* Princes particularly, that of *Alfred*, which he may find in *Afferius*. *Ethelwulf* then was the Son of *Egbert*, *Egbert* of *Ealkmund*, *Ealkmund* of *Eafa*, *Eafa* of *Eoppa*, *Eoppa* of *Ingul*, the Brother of *Ina*, King of the West Saxons. They were the Sons of *Canred*, *Canred* of *Coelwald*, *Coelwald* of *Cutha*, *Cutha* of *Cuthwin*, *Cuthwin* of *Ceanlin*, *Ceanlin* of *Cenric*, *Cenric* of *Cerdic*, *Cerdic* of *Elesa*, *Elesa* of *Ella*, *Ella* of *Gewis*, *Gewis* of *Wig*, *Wig* of *Frewine*, *Frewine* of *Frituburg*, *Frituburg* of *Brond*, *Brond* of *Baldag*, *Baldag* of *Woden*, *Woden* of *Fritubwald*, *Fritubwald* of *Frewine*, *Frewine* of *Frewulf*, *Frewulf* of *Finn*, *Finn* of *Godwulf*, *Godwulf* of *Geat*, *Geat* of *Tatwa*, *Tatwa* of *Beaw*, *Beaw* of *Sceldwea*, *Sceldwea* of *Heremod*, *Heremod* of *Itermor*, *Itermor* of *Hrawrain*, who was born you must know in *Noah's* Ark. Now he is of small Learning that knows not the Ancestours of *Noah*, viz. *Lamech*, *Maibhaleam*, *Enoch*, *Jared*, *Mabalaleel*, *Cainan*, *Enos*, *Seth* and *Adam*. The Monk of *Malmesbury's* Pedigree differs much in Names from this.

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In villa p. 314 quæ dicitur Cippanhamme *Affer.*

* Abbreviationes Chronicorum Authore Radulpho de Diceto etc. Chronic. Joh. Brompton Abbatis Jormalen.

Amal. seu Chronolog. Saxonicæ ad An. DCCLXV.

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this. But the Heraldry of the Annals is the Ancient. Let such as desire various Readings upon this Learned Subject, compare this Genealogy with that of his and others: some perhaps may have a little to do. And Reader, if thou hast heard of a wonderful Achievement, which some who thought themselves very Learned, they say, performed of deriving King James his Pedigree from Adam, behold here the greatest part done, it's but carrying on this Pedigree to the Sister of *Edgar*, *Ethelred* married to the King of *Scots*, and her Daughter to our *Henry* the Second.

Ethelwald and *Ethelbert* succeed in the Kingdom.

Ethelwald dies and is buried at *Sherburn*.

The *Danes* sack *Winchester* but are afterwards put to flight.

Ethelbert dies.

Is succeeded by *Ethelred*.

Who fought several pitched Battles with the *Danes*.

8. *Ethelwulf* being dead, his two Sons *Ethelwald* and *Ethelbert* divided his Kingdom betwixt them. *Ethelwald* reigned over the West Saxons. *Ethelbert* obtained *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey* and *Suffex*. *Ethelwald* began his Reign in the sixteenth year of *Michael* the third Emperour of *Constantinople*, the second of *Ludovicus*, the second Emperour of the West; in the days of *Charles* the Bald King of the *Franks*, the sixth of *Burhard* King of the *Mercians*, A. D. DCCCLVII. He was, as *Malmesbury* from *Affricus* sets him out, heavy and sluggish, one that defiled his Father's Bed, Marrying after his Death his Wife *Judith*. But he dying after five years, the whole Kingdom fell to the other Brother. The Annals speak nothing at all of him from his coming to the Crown till his carrying to his Grave, which they say, as *Malmesbury*, was at *Sherburn*. They add that *Ethelbert* (or *Ethelbryht* as they call him) obtained the whole Kingdom of his Brother (his Father rather) and governed it in great peace and concord. During his Reign a great Fleet of the *Danes* arrived at *Hampton* (saith *Malmesbury*) and sacked the City of *Winchester*, which the Annals do confirm, as to the latter place not mentioning where they landed. But they were speedily encountered by **Ofric* the *Ealdorman* with *Hamptonshire* (now *Hampshire*) and *Ethelwulf* the *Ealdorman*, with *Bearwulfshire* (or *Berkshire*) who put them to flight and became Masters of the Field. The Monk to this relation adds, that being beaten away by the King's Captains, after much loss received they went over the Sea, and taking a great compass, chose the Isle of *Thanet* to Winter in. This he relates as done all in one year, whereas from the Annals it appears, that their coming to *Thanet* was not till six years after. The *Kentish* men found themselves concerned to purchase Peace with them by a sum of Money; but the Pirates under pretence of receiving this Money, and confirming the League, made an Excursion into the Country, and wasted all that part of *Kent* which lies toward the East. *Malmesbury* again adds, that the Inhabitants united themselves and drove away these perfidious Wretches. About the same time died *Ethelbert* after he had Reigned but five years, and his Body was buried with his Brothers at *Sherburn*.

9. After the death of *Ethelbert* succeeded *Ethelred* his Brother, another Son of *Ethelwulf*, in the first year of *Basilius* Macedo Emperour of *Constantinople*, the twelfth of *Ludovicus* the second Emperour of the West, the sixteenth of *Burhard* (titular) King of the *Mercians*, A. D. DCCCLXVII. * *Malmesbury* having told us, that he obtained his Father's Kingdom, the same number of years which his two Brothers, falls into a bemoaning of the fate of all the three, their miserable and deplorable fate, as he terms it, that they should all die an immature death, yet indeed being Royally defended, and the Nation being involved in such dreadful Calamities, they might well prefer an honourable death before a miserable Reign. They so courageously and valiantly demeaned themselves in defence of their Country, that no default is to be charged upon them, if prosperously did not succeed what they resolutely had intended. This King nine times in one year fought with the Enemy in the Field, (as the chance of War is, with various success, yet usually with advantage) besides many sudden Excursions whereby, as he was excellently skilled in Strategems, he often repulsed the Infidelity of these Rovers. On the side of the *Danes* were slain nine Earls or Captains, one King, and multitudes of People without number. But above all memorable is the Battle he fought at *Essebandune*. The Army of the *Danes* being drawn up in that place, one part of it was led by two Kings, the rest by other skilfull Leaders. The King with his Brother *Alfred* comes upon them: The King must engage with the Kings: *Alfred* is set upon the Captains. So courageous and resolute were both the Parties, that this day sufficed not to determine the Quarrel, the Controversie must be adjourned to that which followed. Scarce did the light appear when *Alfred* was up and ready. His Brother laid in his Tent busie at his Devotions, and though a Message was brought him that the Pagans with great rage came on, he refused to stir until they were ended. This Religious Confidence of the King was very seasonable for the restraining of the heat of his Brother's youth, who was already engaged. For the Battle of the

the *English* went to the worst; the Infidels had the Advantage of the Ground, Sect. 10. and made such use thereof, that the Christians began to think of flight. Now comes he unexpectedly into the Battle, beats back the Enemy, encourages his Friends and demeans himself with that Valour and Conduct that by God's assistance the *Danes* were discouraged, betook themselves to their Heels and ran away. There fell their King *Ofer*, five Earls, besides an innumerable company of the vulgar

The *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* endeavour to revolt.

The East Angles, *Mercians*, and *Northumbrians*, waited by *Ute* Robbers.

10. Here our Writer will have us to remark that the Kings of the *Mercians* and the *Northumbrians* taking advantage at these *Danish* Wars wherewith *Ethelred* was incumbered, withdrew themselves from the yoke of the West Saxons as much as they could, and had almost recovered their former Independency, each Province therefore envying the prosperity of the other, the several Kings chose rather to harbour the Enemy in their own Bosoms than give any relief to their distressed Countrymen; and by this means studying rather a recovering than a preventing course, by their laziness they let their Country run to ruin. The *Danes* grew upon them without any opposition, the *English* were discouraged and terrified, and every Victory by means of the abundance of Captives became instrumental to procure another. The Territories of the Eastern *English* with their Cities and Villages were possessed by these Robbers, and their King *St. Edmund* being killed by them in the eight hundred and seventieth year from the Incarnation, on the nineteenth of November by a short Temporal death purchased an Eternal Crown. The *Mercians* being overrun more than once, lessened their Miseries by Submission, and giving up Hostages. And those of *Northumberland* having been sometime tossed with Civil Diffentions, when the Enemy was at their heels fairly composed all their Differences. *Ofer* their King whom they had expelled, they now received again, and having made great preparations, they goe and meet the Enemy. But they are easily beaten, and shut themselves up within the Walls of *Tork*, which being quickly let on fire by the Conquerors, and the flame increasing, burns the Buildings, and therein they perish and cover their native Soil with their own Bones. Thenceforth *Northumberland* falling by right of War to the share of the Barbarians, for a long time groaned under their Dominion, and sighed at the thought of its former liberty. As for King *Ethelred* though unbroken with all his many labours he died at last, and was buried at *Winburn*.

11. This short but good account we have from *Malmesbury*, of the state and condition of these times, how the *English* Affairs stood both in reference to the Enemy, and to one another. What he speaks of in general, we shall illustrate as much as we can by particular instances, as to time and place, the best course we can take in these obscure matters. In the very first year of his Reign a vast Army of *Danes* invaded the Land, Commanded by *Hingvar*, and *Ubba*, two great Souldiers but very cruel: *Hingvar* was very crafty and subtle, *Ubba* was a Man of extraordinary Courage. They landed in East *England*, where winning, they made truce with the Inhabitants out of design to obtain from them a sufficient number of Horses whereon to mount their Men. Being now become a strong Body of Horse; the following year they passed over *Humber* as far as *Tork*, where poprud the Civil diffentions of the People afforded them a notable advantage whereon to pundo. 7 work. As *Malmesbury* observes they had driven into banishment *Ofric* their him pju- King, and set up a Tyrant, one *Alia* in his room; but now though it was late, and the year declined, they recalled him, and so composed their matters that they feared not to meet, and encounter this puissant Army at *Tork*, into which City part of the Pagans had already entred: They brake into the Town, but were relieved so warmly by the *Danes*, that within as well as without, great slaughter of them was made, and the quarrel was decided betwixt their two Kings, both of them being slain in this Action, together with a great multitude of the People. To Eorpon- The Remnant got as good terms from the Enemy as they could; but they were p- over- overrun, and the Country harassed as far as the River *Time*. *Egbert* one of the *English* Race, was appointed King over them in room of *Ofric*. And now should come in the story of *Bricen*, whose Wife *Ofric* is said to have ravished, and who called in the *Danes* to revenge the injury upon the King. The thing if true was very remarkable, but we know not where *Brompton* had it; his Authority is not great, his Antiquity small.

12. But the *Danes* having wrought their will in the Parts beyond the River *Flumber*, the next year invaded *Mercia*, and bent their course toward * *Shottengam* (then, and long after so called from the Caves in the Rocks) at present *gemia* is *Nottingham*. There they took up their Winter Quarters, which so alarm'd *Bur-*

The yinvald *Mercia*.

Humfrid lib. 5. Annal. ad An. 966.

Anten 961 namon on

Eare Engl. 7 dæp ge-

hroprude

namon 7

Anten 967

hroprude

Anten 967

hroprude

Anten 967

hroprude

Anten 967

hroprude

Anten 967

hroprude

Sect. 10.

But at Nottingham are besieged by Ethelred, who makes peace with them.

Thence they go into Lincolnshire.

red King of the Country and his Noblemen, that they made an humble address to Ethelred, desiring that he with his Brother Alfred would undertake their Patronage and Defence. This they readily did, and with a considerable power of Men marched to Nottingham, where they offered Battle to the Danes. Hingur was so crafty, as knowing himself unable to grapple with them, he would not stir a foot out of the Castle, so that no considerable fight happened, and at length with good words he, saith Huntingdon, obtained a truce of the English, who were not able to break the Wall. Though the Annals seem rather to say that the Mercians obtained it of him, yet Ingulphus writes expressly, that Burned constrained the Danes to quit Nottingham, where at the Siege he renewed the Charter of Privileges to his Monastery of Croylund, which bears date from the Siege in the year 868. on the five and twentieth of July, from the subscriptions to which it appears that both Ethelred, his Brother Alfred, and also Edmund King of East England, was at the Siege. But a peace or truce was made, and the Danes returned back to York with great booty, where they stayed a year, and there cruelly demeaned themselves. When Winter was over they passed over Humber into Lindsey, and landing at Humberstan, as Ingulphus farther tells us, miserably wasted all the Country; particularly that most famous and ancient Monastery of Bardney they destroyed, killing without mercy all the Monks in the Church. Having made their stay in those Quarters all the Summer, and with Fire and Sword consumed all things, about the Feast of St. Michael, saith he, they enter Kesteven; another part of Lincolnshire, at this time, as well as the other, distinguished by name) where they waste, kill and burn every thing they light on. In length, in the year of our Lord, eight hundred and seventy, in the month of September. Algar the younger (so called in respect of the late Earl Algar his Father) that most valiant Earl, got together all the youth of Howland (now Holland; mark, Reader, the antiquity of these three Divisions of the County and their names, they continuing at this very day the same) and two Souldiers Sethefals (as he calls them) Wibert and Lefrinkton, (from whom two Villages, the places of their residence, took the names of Wiberton and Lefrinkton) together with a Company belonging to the Monastery of Croylund, consisting of two hundred most stout Warriours, being for the most part fugitives: Headed by Fryar Toly, a Monk converted of the said Monastery, who before his conversion had been a Souldier of great Name throughout all Mercia, for warlike enterprises: Besides these they got from Deeping, Langtoft and Balton, about three hundred stout Men fit for War; Morcard the Lord of Brunne (or rather Bourne) with his Family which was both valiant and numerous, and the Vice Lord (as he calls him, meaning the Governour) of Lincoln, by name Ofgot, an old Souldier and most hardy, joynd with them with the Lincoln Squadron, consisting of five hundred Men.

13. Being all drawn together in Kesteven, upon the Feast of Maurice the Martyr, they gave Battle to the Pagans, and by God's great mercy having killed three of their Kings, with a great multitude of the ordinary sort, they beat the Barbarians, as far as the gate of their Camp, where making most stout resistance, the Invincible Earl withdrew his Forces. That very night came into the Camp of the Pagans, all the rest of their Kings, from their several excursions, having divided the Country amongst them for the plunder, viz. Gogroum (or Godroum) Bafes, Oskebil, Halsden, and Flamond, with as many Earls, viz. Frena, (or Erena) Unguar, Vilba and both the Sidroks, the Elder and Younger, with their Armies, and too much Booty, besides a multitude of Women and Children. Their coming being known, most of the Christians sorely terrified, slipped away by night, so that with the said Earl Algar and his Captains of eight hundred (of which his Party consisted) scarcely two hundred Persons remained; with whom, as few as they were, by break of day, having heard Divine Service, and taken their Sacred Viaticum, being all of them most ready to dye for the faith of Christ, and the defence of their Country, they went into the Field against the Barbarians. The most Valiant Earl seeing his own Forces so much diminished, ordered Fryar Toly, with five hundred Men, who had gallantly demean'd themselves to stand on the right hand, assigning him for assistant Morcard of Brunne, with all his Followers. Ofgot with his five hundred he placed on the left side, and with him joynd Harding de Rebase, with all the Stanford Men, who were young and but too Valiant. He himself with his Seneffals, stood in the midst to succour each quarter as need should require. The Danes being much enraged for the slaughter made of their Men, early in the morning buried their three Kings in a Village formerly called

But renewing the fight burst and destroyed all before them.

Next for Cambridge and the Isle of Ely, which they plunder with East England.

Then to the West Saxons.

Where they are encountered by Ethelwulf.

And fight several Battles with Ethelred.

called Laundon, but afterward Trekingham from their Sepulture, and now four Kings prepared themselves to fight together with eight Earls; for two Kings and four Earls were appointed to look to their Camp and Captives. The Christians being to few drew together in form of a Wedge, against the Archers, setting as it were a Palliade of their Bucklers, and against the violence of the Horse a wood of Lances, and in that posture, instructed by their Leaders, continued all the Day till Night now approached: The Enemy perceiving that neither his Bowmen nor his Horse could do any execution, resolved to counterfeit flight and to leave the Field, which the Christians beholding broke their Ranks, notwithstanding all their Leaders could do, and in pursuit of the Pagans were dispersed through the Plain without any Order or Conduct. The Barbarians hereupon return and like Lions fall upon so few poor Sheep. The most valiant, and never to be forgotten Earl Algar, with the Souldiers we named and Fryar Toly, clustering together upon an Hill, for a long time bore the brunt of the Barbarians, till seeing the stoutest Christians dead, they died also, fighting most valiantly over their Bodies. A few young men belonging to Sutton and Gadeney casting away their Arms escaped into the adjoining Wood, whence the next Night with much ado, they got to Croylund, and thither brought the sad news of the overthrow, as Theodorus the Abbat and his Monks were at their Vespers. The Danes after this plundered and burnt the Abby of Croylund on the twenty fifth of August, killing the Abbat and all the Fryars, except one Boy of ten years old, Tegar or Turgar by Name, on whom young Sidrok was to have him put on a Danish Coat. Thence went they to the Monastery of Medeshamsted, where they did the like; and thence with innumerable Spoils passed on towards Huntingdon, the two Sidroks bringing up the Rear as they ever did, and passing over a Bridge, two Waggon full of Treasure fell into the River Nene, which as the followers of young Sidrok were buied in drawing out, Turgar the young Fryar escaped from them and returned to Croylund.

14. The Pagans still marched on waiting all the Country as far as Grantebrig, now Cambridge, and so to the Isle of Ely, where having rifled and burnt the famous Monastery and killed all they found therein with much Plunder and Cartel, which for the reputed security of the place, had been brought thither out of the adjoining Country, they proceeded into East England, where meeting with Earl Wulfetile, who made vigorous resistance, they cut him off with all his Army. Having taken also the most Holy Edmund King of that Country and led him to a Stake as a Butt to shoot at, they first with many Arrows shot him through, and afterward cut off his Head. Having possessed themselves of all East England, there they spent all the Winter, at Thetford say the Annals. The year following (having received great Supplies, as Huntingdon hints, who calls their Army a new and mighty one, and compares it to a River which overflowing bears away all before it) they bent their Course toward the West Saxons, the Territories of whom alone had not felt the effects of their Covetousness and Cruelty, who alone were in capacity to resist them; for the overturning of the Hierarchy (the Monarchy reduced not yet fully established) had weakened all the other Provinces, wanting now as Eocufish Officers as should vigorously defend them. Coming to Reading they fortified upon themselves betwixt the two Rivers Thames and Kenet, and after three days sent out two Earls to forage the Country, but they were encountered by Ethelwulf Earl of Berkshire, who at Englefeld (or Englefield) gave them Battle, killed one of their Earls (Huntingdon names Sidrak) and obtained the Victory. Four days after came King Ethelred with Alfred his Brother and the main Body, and gave Battle to the Danes, wherein on both sides very many fell: Earl Ethelwulf here lost his life, being by Ethelward the Historian called Adulf, who writes that he was buried in the Province of the Mercians, at a place called Northworrige, but in the Danish Tongue Deoraby, and the Danes became Masters of the Field. Yet further advantage so great on the English side, but that four days after the King and his Brother appeared again in the Field against them at a place called Eicefdune or Ashdown, where they engaged on both sides with their full strength.

The Danes divided their Army into two Bodies, whereof the one was led by

linguam Deoraby. Lib. 4. c. 2. * De nomine sic Simon Dunelmensis ad Ann. DCCCLXXI. Statuunt Legiones in loco qui dicitur Eicefdune, quod Latine monti Fraxini potest revertere interpretari. Sic Africus: in loco qui dicitur ffrice, eun? quos Latine monti fraxini interpretatur.

SECT. 10. *Backfeg* and *Healfdene* their Kings, the other by their Earls. With the first engaged King *Ethelred*, and *Alfred* with the other. In the former Battel fell *Backfeg*; in the latter the two *Sidroks*, besides three other Earls, *Osbeorn*, *Frana* and *Hareld*. Both the one and the other were beaten and put to flight, many thousands slain, and night interrupted a greater Execution, though *Ethelward* writes, that the whole Youth of the more excellent Barbarians here perished, neither after nor before was such slaughter heard of, since that the Nation of the Saxons by War obtained Britain. Here some observe that *Ethelred* both had the disadvantage of the lower ground, and came later into the Battel from his Devotions. *Alfred* began the Fight e'er his Brother came into the Field. And as for the *Danish* King, whom the Annals call *Backfeg*, the *Danish* History talks of one *Ivare* the Son of *Regnere*.

15. *Afferius* writes of a supply which the Pagans received shortly after from beyond the Sea. Yet was it not 'till *Ethelred*, fourteen days after the former Fight again afflicted by his Brother, had encountered their whole Power at *Basing*, in which engagement they had the better, being headed by *Agner* and *Hubbo*, the Brothers of the slain *Ivarus*. But still, as we lately observ'd, the loss received by the English could not be great, for about two Months after they were again so well recruited, that they durst a third time fall upon the Pagans at a place called *Meretune*, divided into two Bodies, and in the same posture as they had formerly fought. Both these Bodies were put to flight, although for a great part of the day they had the better. Great was the slaughter made on both sides, and yet say the Annals, the *Danes* became Masters of the Field, so various was the fortune of this day or rather so uncertain their Intelligence. To be sure *Healfdene* a Bishop was there slain, besides other good men, not a few: And a grievous Plague followed in Summer. Hereof (we may guess, for the Annals speak not expressly) died *Ethelred* after Easter, when he had Reigned five years, and his Body was buried at *Winburn*. *Brompton* in his Chronicle says, that he died of wounds received in a Fight he fought with *Somerled* a Dane, who returning to Reading from the Battel at *Merton*, destroyed whatever there he found. But his Authority is but small, compared with that of others. As for the place of his Burial, by the Annals called *Winburnan* and *Winburnham*, in other Saxon Monuments is the fame with that ancient Town *Vindogladia*, whereof *Antonine* maketh mention. Probably it had that Name from being situate betwixt two Rivers, for *Windugledy* in the British Tongue, soundeth as much as betwixt two Swords, and *Rivers*, by a peculiar Phrase of their own, they termed *Swords*, as appeareth by *Aberdugledian*, the British Name of *Milford Haven*, as much as to say, the mouth of two Rivers, because two Rivers named with them *Gledian*, that is, *Swords* run into it. The last Name *Winburn* (a Town in *Dorsetshire*) is compounded of *Fin*, a parcel of the old Name, and the Saxon word *Burne*, which also among them betokeneth a River, by the addition thereof, the Saxons being wont to name places standing upon Rivers. Here *Cuthburg* Sister to *Ina* King of the West Saxons, being divorced from the King of *Northumberland* her Husband, built a Nunnery which at length being decayed by time, a fair Church was erected in the place with a Vault under the Quire, and an high Spire besides the Tower Steeple, wherein were placed Prebendaries in lieu of these Nuns. In this Church lyeth *Ethelred* interred, upon whose Tomb not very long since repaired, in *Cambden's* time this new Inscription was to be read, *Here resteth the Body of Saint Ethelred King of the West Saxons Martyr, who died in the year of our Lord DCCCLXXII. the three and twentieth of April, by the hands of the Pagan Danes.* By his Sainthood and this Infcription he should either have died or been mortally * wounded in Battel.

* De eo locus hic Insignis: sic Insignis: hic Winburna & Sepulch. qd.

Anno namque incarnationis 872 Rex Ethelredus multis praeliis contra Danos vexatus, sed semper invictus, obiit Winburna & Sepulch. qd.

16. *Alfred*, *Elfred*, *Alfred*, or *Elfred* his Brother, the fourth and youngest Son of *Ethelwulf* succeeded him, in the sixth year of *Basilius Macedo*, Eastern Emperor; the seventeenth of *Ludovicus*, the Second Emperor of the West; the fourth and twentieth of *Burfbred*, King of the *Mercians*; the fifth Indiction, A. D. Crede (con V. Confessionis) Pax. Indit.

Belgit. V. enim & F. promissum usqueparatur in lingua Teutonica. Crede Frede, Olte Flie, Olfinggen Flifing. Veder Fae, & multa alia; pro f. scribunt v, pronunciant tamen u f nobis pronunciant; pro ngstris th. d. oft sinit in usu; dat that, dander stunder; nulla alia.

DCCCLXXII. He was born at * *Wanating*, (or *Wanatune*) now *Wantage*, a Town Sect. 10 in *Berkshire*, then a Royal Village or Manour of the Kings, at present eminent for nothing, except it be for a Market. His Mother was *Osburg*, the Daughter of *Osae* the Panther of King *Ethelwulf*, but of great Descent, which he drew from the *Goths* and *Jutes* of the stock of *Staph* and *Whitgar* the two Brothers, who receiving the life of *Wight* from their Uncle *Cerdic*, and *Cynric* his Son, Aligned a few those few Britains they found in the Island, in the place called *Smithgaraga* Saxon, the rest had either been killed before, or driven into Banishment. In the num pex fifth year of his Age, his Father sent him to *Rome*, accompanied with many persons both Noble and Ignoble, where Pope *Leo* the Fourth ordained, and appointed him; and as a certain * Chronicle tells us truth, he was the first King of England that was anointed. He adopted him also for his Son. Afterward, when *Ethelwulf* went himself to *Rome*, this young Son he took along with him, being more tender of him than any of his other Sons. For beauty: and wit he exceeded them all, his conversation being delightful and charming. But this tenderness grew to such fondness in his Parents, that they neglected the great part of his Education, viz. of learning his Book till he came to twelve years of Age, yet in the mean time did he learn many Saxon Poems, and in the Art of Hunting was skillful to admiration. On a time the Mother having got a Book of Songs in her Hand, shewed it her Sons, and told them that he that could first get them by heart should have the Book; he much enamoured of the first letter for its fairness, took it, and going to his Matter, learnt to Reade, and then said to his Mother. After this he became expert in the Diurnal Course, or Celebration of Hours, it was called, certain Psalms, and many Prayers, which being digested into a Book, day and night he constantly had about him, and made use of them upon all occasions. But after this time, when his Youth afforded him opportunity of learning the Arts and Sciences, there were no Masters to be had to Teach him of which he often with many and deep sighs complained, as one of the greatest misfortunes of his Life. But afterward when he came to more ripe years, and had the opportunity of Books and Teachers, then by sickness, by his extraordinary care and solicitude in business, by the frequent hostilities exercised by the Pagans both by Land and Sea, he was diverted from what he exceedingly desired: yet still as he could he omitted no opportunity, but stole it from his Recreations, to improve himself.

17. When he was twenty years Old, he Married *Alfwita*, *Ethelwida*, or *Egolfwita* the Daughter of *Ethelred* Earl of the *Gains*, Surnamed *Mucil*, or the Great, from his stature, of the Royal Blood of the *Mercians*. In his two and twentieth year, his Brothers being now all dead, to whom, as *Afferius* terms it, he had been Secondary, he came to Possession of the Kingdom, though not without reluctance, out of apprehension of that danger which hung over his head, from the constant Invasions and Hostilities of the Pagans. And scarcely had he made an end of his Brother's Funerals, when after one Month he was forced with a slender Army to Engage their whole Power at *Wilton*. He had the better of it at the first, for he put them to flight, but unwarily giving the Chase, they rallied, and returning upon his Men, now quite tired out, became Masters of the Field. And that it may not seem strange that here the English should be foiled, *Afferius* shews, that besides the smallness of their Number, in comparison of the Enemy, this one year they had been spent and weakened by eight several Battels fought against the Pagans. In these eight Battels perished one *Danish* King, and nine of their Earls, with innumerable multitudes of the lesser sort, besides what fell in those Excursions made by day and night, the number of which was not to be counted. The Annals instead of eight, say that nine several Battels were this year fought, and that upon the Southern Bank of the River *Thames*, wherein one King, and nine Earls were killed. Now this same year the West Saxons made an Agreement with the *Danes*, on condition that they departed out of their Quarters, which they performed, so wearied were both sides with these incessant Hostilities. The following year (from Reading say the Annals) they went to *London*, and there they Wintered, whither the *Mercians* sent Messengers, and renewed the Peace which they had formerly made with them.

18. The year following being the DCCCLXXIV. of our Lord, and the twenty fourth of *Alfred* the Age, the Army of *Danes* left *London*, and went into the Country of the *Northumbrians*, where in a Region called *Lindsey* they Wintered, and there again the *Mercians* renewed the Peace. So Writes *Afferius*, and the Annals say the same thing, adding this, that the place they Wintered in was a Village called *Turcoffe*. This Village is at this day known by the Name of *Tork*.

Who was the first King of England that ever was Anointed.

Maries.

Fights several Battels with the Danes.

Makes an agreement with them.

Who March to Lindsey in Lincolnshire.

SECT. 10.

Alfred re-
covers his king-
dom.Routs the
Danes.Makes Ge-
thrun their
King turn
Christian.Giving him
East England
to hold in
fealty of
him.The form of
the League.

22. This fame year *Alfred* built after *Easter* a Castle at a place called * *Ethelin*. *Alferius* *fe-*
ga, whence with his Nobles of *Somerfetshire* he made frequent excursions against *pelingsæg*
the Pagans. In the seventh week after *Easter* he rode to the stone of *Ægryth* in *fe-*
the Eastern part of the Wood called *Selwad*, in Latine *Silva Magna*, and *Coitmar*
in *Brittish*, (in the Eastern part of *Somerfetshire*, now not so great) where met *pelingsæg*
him all the Inhabitants of *Somerfetshire*, *Wilts*, and such of *Hampshire* as had not *pelingsæg*
been driven beyond the Sea, who received their King as one risen from the dead, *pelingsæg*
with extraordinary Joy, and there they rested themselves that Night. Disdov-
ing as soon as it was light, they travelled that day as far as *Acglea*, and the next *pelingsæg*
arrived at a place called *Ethandun*, (now *Edin* in *Wiltshire*) where they engaged *pelingsæg*
the whole Power of the *Danes*, and got the Victory. They purified them to *pelingsæg*
one of their fortified Castles, to which *Alfred* caused close Siege to be laid, which *pelingsæg*
having continued fourteen days, the Pagans pinched with hunger and cold and de-
spairing of Relief, yielded on condition to have leave to depart out of the King's *pelingsæg*
Dominions; for to depart they were, and gave up what Hostages he was pleased *pelingsæg*
to nominate, confirming the Agreement also by their Oaths. *Gothrun* also their *pelingsæg*
King engaged to become a Christian and be baptized: All which Covenants they *pelingsæg*
faithfully performed. For after about three weeks he came to *Alfred*, then ly-
ing at *Alre* a place near to *Ethelingsæg* (now *Andre* in *Somerfetshire*) upon the *pelingsæg*
River *Parret*, a Village consisting of a few poor Cottages) accompanied with *pelingsæg*
thirty of the choicest of his Army, and *Alfred* adopting him for his Son, receiv-
ed him out of the Font, and named him *Aethelfan*; the solemnity of loosing his *pelingsæg*
Christial Ligament, was performed at *Wormore* or *Wadmore* an House of the *pelingsæg*
King's, with whom he continued twelve days (or twelve Nights to speak in the *pelingsæg*
Dialect of our *Saxon* Ancestors) and then returned, both he and his followers *pelingsæg*
having received very great Presents. So good a change was wrought upon them, *pelingsæg*
that they kept their word. For the next year they departed from *Cypanham* to *pelingsæg*
Cirencestre, and there continued an whole twelve Month. Thence removed they *pelingsæg*
to the East *Angles*, the Country whereof together with *Northumberland*, some *pelingsæg*
write that *Alfred* gave to *Guthrun* at his Christening, to be held in fealty of *pelingsæg*
him.

23. For the Gift of *Northumberland*, we have nothing to say, but as to the *pelingsæg*
other there is extant the (a) Form of a League made betwixt these two Kings, *pelingsæg*
in the first Article whereof the Limits of their Territories are thus described: *pelingsæg*
The Limits of our Land are first upon the Thames, then proceed they to the Ri-
ver *Lee* as far as his Fountain, then straight to Bedford, and so up to the River *pelingsæg*
Ouse, as far as Watling-street. The second Article, appoints the value of a Man *pelingsæg*
slain, whether English or Dane, to be four Marks of melted Gold, and the Redem-
ption of each four hundred Shillings. But if the King's Servant or Thane, was accu-
sed of Manlaughter. The third Article proceeds, that he be tried by twelve other *pelingsæg*
of the King's Servants. In case he was not the King's Servant, but belonged to some *pelingsæg*
inferiour Lord, he should be tried by eleven of his Equals, and by one of the King's *pelingsæg*
Servants. The same Order was to be taken in all suits, which exceeded four Marks. *pelingsæg*
But in case he refused to undergoe this Trial, his fine was to be increased three *pelingsæg*
fold. The fourth appoints Vouchers for the sale of Men, Horses or Oxen. The fifth *pelingsæg*
and last ordains, that none from either Army should pass to the other without leave. *pelingsæg*
And in case it be by way of Traffick, such shall find Sureties for their Civil Depart-
ment, that the Peace may not be infringed. Such was the League the Preface to *pelingsæg*
which declares, that it was made betwixt the two Kings, *Alfred* and *Gythrung* (so *pelingsæg*
called the *Saxon*) by consent of all the wise men of the English, and of all those that *pelingsæg*
inhabited East England, and that not onely in behalf of themselves, but of their *pelingsæg*
Posterity. This sufficiently sheweth that the Eastern Parts of England belong-
ed to the *Danes*. Yet *Polydore Virgil* calling this King by the Name of *Gormon*, *pelingsæg*
vehemently contends that he had not that Country bestowed on him. *Krantius* *pelingsæg*
also denies, that *Gormon* was converted to the Faith; yet confesses that about *pelingsæg*
this time, one *Fraro* was converted. Whatever they write, this League evinceth *pelingsæg*
the Distinction of their Territories, and the Testimony of *Alferius*, is uncontroll-
able as to his Baptism, who lived himself at this very time, not to mention that *pelingsæg*
the Annals (ancient Monuments also) affirm the same.

24. But the same year that these things thus passed, another great Army of *pelingsæg*
Pagans came from beyond the Seas, and sailing up the Thames, wintred at *Ful-*
lambam, now *Fulham*, at present the seat of the Bishop of London, upon this Ri-
ver. The same year happened also a great Eclipse of the Sun. In that which *pelingsæg*
followed, the Army of *Danes*, that wintred at *Fulham*, passed over the Sea into the

SECT. 10.

* Dep pon
re bepup
onlong
Oere pcep
on ppon-
long, ite
Annale, at
vero Affe-
ius hoc modo:
pup flumen
quos baci-
cup Ine re
rupum
santo lon-
ge in ppan-
cam pep
traant
Per Ite fofan
Rhemus intel-
ligit, nobis
Rhm.

Affarius at
an. 886.

Larrnuculi
entis vs an-
nis Gallias
infestum ab
Ernulpb
Britannia
multis praliis
victis An-
glicum oppo-
num scilicet
pyramidis
fiffigium
conclavere.

Alfred pre-
pares to be
Master at Sea.

The Danes in-
vade Kent.

Guthrun dies.

The Rovers
land in two
Places.

the Eastern France, and continued a whole year at *Ghent*, whence the Summer *pelingsæg*
following they pierced farther into the Country, and had battel given them by *pelingsæg*
the *Franks*, with what Success as to particulars we know not, but with no great *pelingsæg*
Disadvantage surely to the *Danes*, who after the Fight became Horfemen, and *pelingsæg*
afterward passed up the River * *Meuse*, farther into the Land, and there wintred. *Al-*
fred in the mean while, being by experience sufficiently instructed, that his main *pelingsæg*
care ought to be employed how to become Master at Sea, in three years time *pelingsæg*
provided him a Fleet, wherewith he engaged some Rovers, and took two of *pelingsæg*
their Vessels, killing all he found therein. Two other ships were commanded by *pelingsæg*
two of their Princes, who with all their Fellows being much wounded, and tired *pelingsæg*
out in fight cast down their Arms, and with bended Knees and humble sup-
plications yielded themselves into his Hands. Their Countrey men the following *pelingsæg*
year, sailed up the River *Scheld*, as far as a Monastery of Nuns called *Cundob*, *pelingsæg*
and there took up their Winter Quarters.

25. The year that followed being the DCCCLXXXIV. of Our Lord, and the *pelingsæg*
four and thirtieth of King *Alfred*'s Age, this Army divided it self into two Bodies, *pelingsæg*
whereof the one held on its course into the Eastern parts of France, and the o-
ther making for this Island, arrived in *Kent*, and laid siege to the City of *Re-*
cheester. Before the Gate they built a Fort, and used all means they could to be-
come Masters of the place, but the Inhabitants made stout resistance, and held *pelingsæg*
out till King *Alfred* came to their relief, the noise of whose approach frighted a-
way the Besiegers to their ships, wherein they were constrained to return to the *pelingsæg*
Coasts of France. The League which was made betwixt *Alfred* and *Guthrun*, it seems, *pelingsæg*
was broken by this time, probably by that Intelligence which the *Danes*, inhabiting *pelingsæg*
East England, held with their Countrey men, that ever and anon arrived. *Alfred* found *pelingsæg*
himself concerned to man out his Fleet, to lessen and restrain their Power, which *pelingsæg*
design so prospered, that coming to the Mouth of the River *Stour*, and meeting *pelingsæg*
thirteen of the Enemies ships, which came ready prepared for an Encounter, they *pelingsæg*
took them and killed all their Men. But growing secure upon this Success, the *pelingsæg*
Danes gathered together all the Vessels they could make, and setting upon them *pelingsæg*
as they lay in the same place in a careles posture, spoiled their Triumph at their *pelingsæg*
return. The year that followed, a considerable Number of these *Danes* who had *pelingsæg*
come from the West, quitting Britain, returned into that Quarter by Sea, and *pelingsæg*
passed up the River *Seine* as far as *Paris*. There they incamped where they *pelingsæg*
could best intercept the passage of the Citizens, over the Bridge, the City *pelingsæg*
being seated in the midst of the River in a little Island, and continued their *pelingsæg*
siege for a whole year, but such was the Vigilancy and Industry of the Inhabi-
tants, that they could not force their Entrance. While God Almighty thus pre-
served the City of *Paris*, from the Violence of the Barbarians, at the same time he *pelingsæg*
was pleased to restore the City of London to her Ancient Lustre, the having as *pelingsæg*
well as many other English Cities been defaced, and depopulated by these contin-
ual Invasions of the Pagans. King *Alfred* making it his chiefest care to repair it, *pelingsæg*
made it habitable, and committed it to the Government of *Ebered*, the Earl of *pelingsæg*
the *Mercians*, to whom he gave his Daughter *Ethelfleda* in Marriage. To him *pelingsæg*
turned now all such English and Saxons, as formerly had been dispersed, and had *pelingsæg*
lived in captivity under the *Danes*, and willingly submitted to his Dominion, and *pelingsæg*
from the Rovers he rested quiet for about eight years (some say thirteen, but *pelingsæg*
to them the Annals bear not Testimony) four of which being expired, *Guthrun* *pelingsæg*
the Northern King (as the Annals call him) who reigned in East England, *pelingsæg*
departed this life.

26. All this while the other Northern Rovers employed themselves upon the *pelingsæg*
Continent making continual Invasions into France, which they never left harrassing *pelingsæg*
till they had *Nestlra* assigned them to inhabit, to which they affixed the Name of *pelingsæg*
Normandy. Eight years being passed from the last hostility they had attempted in *pelingsæg*
England, an Army of them being beaten out of France by the Emperor *Ernulpb*, *pelingsæg*
and the Britains, passed from the Eastern to the Western parts of France, and went *pelingsæg*
to *Bologne*, where furnishing themselves with Vessels with two hundred and fifty *pelingsæg*
sail, they made for the Eastern Coasts of Kent, and there put into a River called *pelingsæg*
Limn, near to the great Wood *Andred*, a Wood which extended it self in length *pelingsæg*
an hundred and twenty Miles, and in breadth contained thirty. Into this Wood *pelingsæg*
they drew up their ships about four Miles from the Rivers Mouth, where they *pelingsæg*
built a Fortrefs. After them one *Haestlen*, with eighty Vessels more entered the *pelingsæg*
Mouth of the Thames, and built a Fort at *Midleton*, while the former Army re-
mained in a place called *Apletree*. *Alfred* to prevent the form which he saw was *pelingsæg*
coming

Sept. 10.
Are attended
by Alfred.

coming fast upon him, resolved to hinder the Correspondence which was wont to be entertained betwixt the new Comers, and those that were already fixed in the Countrey, a thing which ever proved of pernicious Consequence. Those of Northumberland he obliged to him by an Oath of Fidelity and the Inhabitants of Essex, from whom he received Hofages, for ever as any Strangers invaded the Land they were wont either to join with them or commit some Hostility themselves, while the King's Forces were elsewhere employed. Having then got a sufficient Power together, he incamped himself betwixt the two Armies at such a distance, as to be ready for either of them, in case they offered to remove. And dividing his Army into two Parts, one he kept incamped with an Eye upon the Enemies main Body, the other was ready upon all Occasions to restrain such Parties as foraged the Countrey. They ranged up and down till they came into Essex, and thence again passed the Thames into Surrey, where at Farnham the King's Troops met them, and put them to the rout. Their King was wounded, and with one Party flaid behind, the rest crossed the Thames again into an Island near Colne (some say in Essex, others by Colebrook) where the King's Army besieged them so long, till Provisions failed. In the mean time the Danes of Northumberland, not able to hold their Hands while they saw their Countrymen enriching themselves with Booty, broke their Faith, and with an hundred ships coming to the East Angles, scoured the Southern Parts, as they did with forty, the Northern Coasts, and failing about came to Exeter, which they presently besieged. Alfred hearing this halted thither with all his Army, except a strong Party of Welsh, which marching to London joined with the Citizens, and others that came from the West, and then went Eastward to Beamsfleet. Where Haesten having built a Fort was himself gone out to forage, but had left a strong Party to defend it. But this Party they cut in pieces, plundered the Castle, took much Booty and Prisoners, and either destroyed all their ships, or brought them away to London or Rochester.

Their Armies
join waiting
all near Severn.

Alfred, be-
sides the Danes
in Exeter.

The Danes
invade North-
wales.

27. Among other Prisoners was taken the Wife of Haesten, with his two Sons which so affected the Barbarian, that he begged Peace of the King, giving Hofages and Oath for his peaceable Department. Alfred set his Wife and his Sons at Liberty, to one of which he himself was Godfather, and the other was the Godson of Earl Ethelred, and besides he bestowed on him a good Summ of Money. But returning to Beamsfleet, he could not refrain his ravenous Inclination, but fell of waisting the Countrey adjacent; which was under the Government of Ethelred his Godson. After this both Danish Armies joined, and coming to Shobury in Essex, there built another Castle. Thence passing the Thames, with such as joined with them from Northumberland and East England, they marched on to Severn, waisting all in their way. Here the King's Captains, Ethelred, Ethelm and Ethelnoth, with Forces taken out of all the Countries adjoining, pitched their Camp over against them at a place called Buttington (in Montgomeryshire) the River running betwixt them, and there they faced one another for many weeks. In the mean time the King by a siege sorely distressed the Danes in Exeter, who having eaten part of their Horses resolved to fallly out, and join with their fellows that lay incamped on the East side of the River, but the King set upon and discomfited them all with loss of Ordhelm, and several other of his own Officers. Those that remained fled to Essex to the Fort they had there built, and their ships. But no sooner was one Party suppressed, but another arose. Last of their Leaders, before Winter gathered a great Army out of East England and Northumberland, and depositing their Wives, Ships and Monies in the Hands of the East Angles, marched, Day and Night with such Expedition, that they came to a City of the West called Wirbeal, which they took, e'er the Army that pursued could reach them.

Æt But-
ting tunc.

Hæ ja þæ
pæna
tæ healp
þæce.

Isa Wileas
mannu eadon
Ordo que lo-
die Clafþer
sic enim An-
nalen.
þ he ge-
son on auge
jærgne
ceapne on
Piphealum
pæc i f Lega
ceapne ge-
hæten.

28. Having waisted the Countrey round, the year following, they quitted the place and invaded North Wales, which after they had plundered, they returned some into Northumberland, and some into East England; whence proceeding into Essex, they seized on a small Island lying toward the East, called Merefig, and another Party returning by Sea from the Siege, landed upon the Coast of Suffex, where the Inhabitants of Chichester. Sallying out, slew many of them, and took some of their Ships. The same year they that seized upon Merefig, drew up their Ships, some into the River of Thames, and others into Lee-Road, on the Bank of which, the year following, they built a Fort about twenty miles from London. The Londoners looking upon this as a curb not to be endured, with other Assisents, endeavoured to demolish it, but were beaten back with loss of many Men, and a-
mongst

A great
Plague.

The Danes of
East England,
and Northum-
berland, waste
the Territories
the West
Saxons.

The Isle of
Wight, and the
Maritime Coast
infested with
Pirates.

Who are ta-
ken and ex-
ecuted at
Winchester.

Alfred dyes.

His indisposi-
tion of Body.

mongst the rest, three of the King's Officers. Hereupon the King in time of Har-
vest incamped nearer the City, to restrain the incursions of Danes upon the Rea-
pers. As he was Riding on a time by the River Lee, it came into his Head; that
by digging of large Ditches on each side, he might turn the Stream from the
Chanel, and so cause their Ships to rest upon the dry ground; which thing ha-
ving devised, he attempted with such success, that the Danes perceiving they were
not to be got off, sent away their Wives and Children into East England; and on
foot marched as far as a place called Quatrig upon the Severn; where they built
a Fortreis and Wintred. The Citizens of London, very joyfully and in Triumph,
brought such of their Ships as they could get off, into their own Road, and the
rest they burnt or disabled. This happened three years after that from the trans-
marine Parts, these Danes first arrived in the mouth of Lirne. During these
same three years raged a great Plague, both amongst Men and Cattle. The King
lost most of his choicest Nobility, as Swithulf Bishop of Rochester, and several
great Earls; Ceolmund in Kent, Bristulf in Essex, Wulfred in Hampshire, besides
Ealbard Bishop of Dorchester, Eadulf the King's Officer in Suffex, Beornwulf
Governour of Winchester, Eigulf Master of the King's Horse, and many o-
thers.

29. This Disaster was followed by many irruptions made by the Danes Inhabi-
ting Northumberland and East England, into the Territories of the West Saxons,
by means of their long Gallies, which they had built many years before. To
overmatch them, King Alfred commanded other Gallies to be made twice as
long, higher, and yet both swifter and steddier than theirs, some of sixty Oars,
and some of more, like to which were not then in use, either amongst the Danes
or Frisians. At this time the Isle of Wight, the Coasts of Devonshire, and other
Maritime Parts were much infested by six Pickering Vessels which hovered upon
these Quarters. The King commanded some of these new Gallies to be Manned
out against them for an experiment. The Fight was partly by Water, and
partly by Land, managed with dexterity and courage enough on both sides.
Two of the Pirates Ships were stranded, one escaped away into East England, and
all except but such as served in this, were either slain or taken; but not with-
out considerable loss also on the King's side. Here fell Lucumon the King's Earl, Æthel-
wulf, Edda and Ethelere, all Frisians, and Ethelfrith the Overlord of the Cynnet
King's Cattle. All the Frisians perished, of the English sixty two, and of the Danes
one hundred and twenty. The Prisoners were led to the King to Winchester, where
he commanded them to be hang'd as Pirates and publick Enemies. This year perished
died Wulfreic the Master of the King's Horse, who was also his Governour of ningerhopt
Wales, which therefore was at this time subject to his Command. The year fol-
lowing hath nothing notable, but that Ethelm the Earl of Devonshire, and of the Bi-
shop of London. These ushered into another world the King himself, who
having enjoyed two or three years of Peace, as a preparation to everlasting Re-
pose and Felicity, in the five and twentieth of October, in the one and fiftieth
year of his Age, and the thirtieth of his Reign, in the year of our Lord, DCCC.
passed from a temporal to an eternal Kingdom.

30. Whoever considers the worth of his Person, will find that our opinion of
his happiness, is not founded merely upon Charity. A Man who (human frail-
ty alone fast aside) so discharged all the Offices of a King and of a Christian, as
scarcely any can be found in these vertues to have been so accurate, by whose
(almost I had said fable) example no infirmity of Body, no travel of mind, no
perpetual disquiet and dangers can excuse from the performing of all duties which
the Relation, a Man stands in both to God and Men, exacteth from him. In what
continual disturbances he lived and reigned, we have sufficiently seen already,
how seldom he enjoyed any repose and quiet, in what perpetual distractions,
cares and anxieties, any other man would have been involved. But his inward
griefs were as great and pressing as were his outward molestations, scarcely one
day from his Infancy, till he came to be forty five years of Age, was he free
from extraordinary pains in his Body. From his Childhood, till he came to be
twenty, he was exceedingly troubled with the Piles. Then after his Marriage,
seized with so great and strange pain, that no Physician could guess what the cause
should be, some imagined him bewitched, others thought it the mere effect of the
Devil's malice, who hates and envies all good Men, others imagined it an unusual
sort of Fever, and others his former disease of the Hemorrhoids increased to a
greater

Sect. 10. greater malignity. He was afraid left Leprosie, Blindness, or some other dreadful Symptom should follow upon it, which render Men both despicable and unviceable. Therefore as formerly sensible of the proneness of Nature to fleshly Lusts in the heat of youth, and before he was married, he prayed that some Infirmary might fall upon him which might abate these desires and inclinations, now that he might not be unusefull, he prayed for a Relaxation of this Grief, and as he had been heard in his first petition, so his second was not denied. But though seldom did his pain intermit, or if he enjoyed any ease for a Day, or a Night, or an Hour, yet the fear and apprehension of the return of his almost unsupportable Torment, never forsook him, yet was the employment of his time so fruitfull in all respects, as if he had not had the least diversion. Of this *Affliction* his Chaplain an Eye-witness gives us in the History of his Actions, this full account.

His management of Affairs.

31. Amidst his Wars, the many disturbances of his Life, the Invasions of Pagans, and the daily Infirmitie of his Body, he ordered the matters of State concerning his Kingdom, practised all the Art of Hunting, instructed all his Gold-Smiths and Artificers, his Huntsmen and Falconers, contrived new Buildings more sumptuous than any of his Predecessours, he himself being the Inventor and Architect, read *Saxon Books*, got *Saxon Verses* by heart, and saw that others did the like. Constantly was he present at Divine Service, Psalms or Prayers he read, his diurnal and nocturnal Hours he ever celebrated, alone in the Night time when all others were asleep, he frequented Churches and then performed his Devotions, over-saw the distribution of Alms to Poor and Strangers, set himself to the searching out the Causes of unknown things, and in all these Employments, and during his Pains behaved himself with incomparable Affability, and pleasantness toward all Men. Many *Franks, Frisians, Galls, Pagans, Britains, Scots and Armenians* on their own Accord, became his Subjects, as well noble as ignoble, all whom according to their several Qualities and Conditions, he loved, honoured and relieved as his own Nation. Sermons either from Strangers or his own Chaplains, he heard constantly and attentively. His Bishops, the whole Clergy, his Earls and Nobles, his Servants and Familiars, he loved most affectionately. Such of their Sons as were at Court he took personal care of no less than his own Children, instructing them himself Night and Day in good manners and literature. But as if in all these he had no comfort at all, and as if no other thing either internal or external troubled him, Night and Day he was very sad, and with many sighs bewailed his condition both to God and his familiar Friends, that he was destitute of Divine Wisdom, and of the liberal Arts.

His desire and improvement in Learning.

32. He made it his business to get such men about him as could best supply this defect which his own humility represented to him far greater than indeed it was. As his utmost wish and the greatest Boon he begged, was like to that of *Solomon*, for the success of his Prayers was (though not proportionably) the fame, God giving him both learning and Wisdom, and (if not Riches yet) Honour in such abundance, as no Prince of his Age, nor for many Ages afterward attained. Four learned Clerks he sent for out of *Mercia*, and some he had in his own paternal Dominions of the West Saxons, by whose endeavours his insatiable desire of knowledge was full exercised. For both Night and Day when he had any spare time he heard them read, never being without some one of them in attendance, whereby it came to pass that he had a thorough knowledge almost of all sorts of Books. Yet not contenting himself with what they could teach him, he sent for the learnedst men he could hear of out of *France*, and out of *Wales*, for *Affler* the Writer of the Story, all whom he rewarded and preferred suitably to their Merits. By assistance of these men he arrived at such eminent learning, (that Age especially considered) that he became not only the most knowing of all Kings, but in universal knowledge exceeded almost all, both his own Subjects and others. He was learned in Speech, but especially made it his business to be thoroughly versed in Divine and Practical knowledge. He penetrated to the profound Mysteries of all Liberal Arts, which he acquired with utmost diligence. The greatest part of the *Roman Library* he made familiar to his English Subjects. He was so universally learned that he became both an excellent Grammarian, Philosopher, Rhetorician, Historian, Musician and Poet; nay, a most perfect Architect and Geometrician. He himself for the benefit of his Subjects, whom the Invasions of the Barbarous *Danes* had well nigh deprived of all Learning, translated into their own Language the History of *Orosius*, the Ecclesiastical History of *Bede*, (which Translation we make frequent use of) and death prevented his finishing an English Translation of the Psalms of *David*.

33. The

His Devotions.

33. The more wonderful this is still, if we consider that his Devotions took up so much time as scarcely any Religious Person, whose work alone it was, spent more in God's Service. He made a Vow to dedicate to him one half, excepting that of sleep and necessary Refreshings. And because herein he could not be accurate for the cloudiness of the Air and want of Clocks, (which in this Age were not invented) he caused six large Tapers of Wax to be provided, each twelve * Inches in length, by the burning of which he measured out the four and twenty Hours. Perceiving that the burning of them was unequal by reason that the Wind through the Windows, the Cranes of Walls of his Chapel, or the thin Cloths of his Tents, got to them; to prevent this inconvenience he invented a Lanthorn made of Wood and Horns of Oxen. But that which took up not the least part of his time long as this divided with the hearing of Causes and Administration of Justice, wherein to habeneat relieve the Poor and Distressed, Night and Day he travelled indefatigably; for in all that Kingdom (saith our Author) besides him alone they had no Protector, or very few, Persons of publick Spirits as well as Employment, having always been rare in this Nation. Such Partiality and Contention were there amongst inferior Judges, that he was perpetually pestered with Appeals, wherein he was so Sedulous an Inquirer, that all Villany was ever brought to light. But besides Appeals few Causes were heard in Inferiour Courts of any moment, which however decided he did not examine. If he found his Judges unskillfull, he gravely admonished them as such, who in case they did not study improvement were to loose their Places. This made them so vigilant and industrious, that though his Officers all in a manner were illiterate from their Infancy, yet in their elder Age did they apply themselves to learning, and such as by reason of Age or other Avocations could not do it, brought up their Sons, their Kinsmen or their Dependants and Servants to read to them. As he being the Superior Judge (not only as to Authority but Administration of Justice) took care that his People should be furnished with able Ministers, so he provided them of good Laws, and for the better Government of the whole English Nation, brought up several laudable Customs, which still to this day continue, and we shall declare when we come to speak of the Laws and Polity of our Saxon Ancestours. To keep up Civility and Learning he erected School for the training up of Youth, and used severity against such as broke the Peace, that he might by Punishments deter, as well as by Rewards and Encouragements allure, the two great Engines of Magistracy. Thieves and Highwaymen he so prosecuted, that he rid the Land in a manner of them, to the terror of such, causing upon high Posts in the Cross ways certain Chains of Gold to be hung, as it were daring any one to take them down; so that during his Government Justice did not only reign but Triumph.

Encourages Learning.

And rids the Nation of Thieves and Highwaymen.

The management of his Revenue.

34. We have seen how he employed his time, one of the greatest Concernments of a Prince; another remains as great, viz. how he spent his Revenue. Making this a main point of Conscience, and having vowed to the Service of God, as well the half of his Revenues as his time, he commanded all his Annual Income to be equally divided into two parts. The first of these he appointed to secular uses and subdivided it into three Portions. The first he appointed to pay the Wages of Soldiers, his choicest Ministers, and those that by their turns attended him in his Court. For of such he had three Divisions each whereof waited their month, and then relaying two at their own homes again returned to their former monthly service. The second Portion he assigned to Workmen and Architects, of whom he kept employed almost an innumerable Multitude of all Nations. The third he freely bestowed on Strangers that came to him from all parts far and near, whether they asked it or asked it not, as their Qualities were, and (according to that which is written, *God loveth a cheerful Giver*) with a cheerful mind. Thus did he employ the first half of his Revenue. The second half of his whole Revenues and Incomes with a most free will he devoted to the Service of Almighty God, and caused it to be divided into four Portions. The first of these he conferred on such Poor as flocked to him out of all Nations. The second on two Monasteries he had caused to be built at *Ethelburg*, and at *Scotsturg*. The third to a School which he had erected for the Instruction of the Nobility of his own Nation, said to have been at *Oxford*, but *Afflerius* mentions no place. The fourth to the Monasteries round about in *Saxony* (the Countrey of the West Saxons he means) and *Mercia*, and some years by turns to the Churches and Servants of God in *Britain*, *Cornwall*, *Gall*, *Armorica*, *Northumberland*, and also in *Ireland* he either according to his ability lent relief, or resolved to do it as opportunity and his Treasury would permit.

35. Such

Sect. 10. hath transmitted to Posterity, it appears that this King had some scruples in his mind, or conceived that others might have some cause to question his legal Title to the Crown. "After the Death of my Brethren (saith he) the inheritance of King *Ethelwulf* my Father devolved upon me by virtue of an Authentick publick Writing made by him, and confirmed in a general Assembly of the States of the Kingdom at *Langdene*. This Writing upon the Death of my last Brother, *Ethelred*, I commanded to be freely and openly read in the Audience of all the Deputies of the West Saxons. It being read, I required and adjured all that were present, as they loved me to declare sincerely whether they knew or had heard of any others who could justly claim any Right in this mine inheritance, for I my self did not know any. This Adjuration I again repeated in these words. "I beseech you my dear Friends, let not any of you either out of love or hatred to me, spare freely, to speak the naked truth: for I have no desire or intention at all to prejudice the Rights of any of my Kinsmen in the least matter. When I had thus spoken, then all the Nobles and Princes of my People with a serious protestation Answered. "That never any Notice had come to them of any one that had a juster Title than my self, neither could they imagine or by any Writings Discover that any such there were.

40. Though this may seem to have relation to certain Lands left him by his Father, yet is it evident from the Testament, that this was such an Inheritance as he was to defend to all the Brothers, and the Regal Title so conjoined with it, that quam pa longer liver of them both by their Father's ordination, and their own consent should possess it, together with the whole Kingdom, assigning such Lands to his Brothers Sons as were convenient for their subsistence. He came therefore to the Crown by virtue of his Father's Conveyance, which was both ratified by the States, and confirmed by the mutual agreement of the Brothers, yet but to remove all scrupulosity this excellent Prince would have his Pretensions to be scanned, and his Title examined in another Assembly before such time as he would undertake the Government. However *Ethelwald* knowing his Title would be as ranteable enough if he could but get success to strengthen it, resolved to try his Fortune, and for that purpose seized on two Towns, called *Winburn*, and *Tweonam*. In *Winburn* he fortified himself, affirming there he would live or dye; but his resolution profited him little, the memory of King *Alfred* having to great a place in all the Hearts of the People, that they had no room to entertain any Inclinations toward any other Pretenders to the Royal Dignity than his Son and Heir. *Edward* assured of their fidelity, led an Army down to a place called *Baddanbyrig*, not far from *Winburn*, which so affrighted his Rival, that he who had boasted of what valour and constancy he would shew in that place, fled out of it by night, and got him into *Northumberland*, where he joined himself with the *Danish* Army.

The King commanded some to pursue him, but this being in vain, he caused his Wife to be seized, which being a Nun Professed without leave from the King, or licence of the Bishops, he had taken out of a Monastery, and returned to the place and Profession from whence she came. This Monastery was that at *Winburn* in *Dorsetshire*, where we have for merly related King *Ethelred* the Brother of *Alfred* to have been Buried. *Baddanbyrig* is now called *Badbury*, being a little Hill upon a fair Down scarcely two Miles off from *Winburn*, compassed with a triple Trench and Rampire. It's reported to have had a Castle which was the seat of the West Saxon Kings. But if ever there were any such, it now lyes so buried in its Ruines that no token of it appears.

41. *Edward* thus drove away *Ethelwald* without fighting, and the *Kenish* Men the year after at a place called *Holme* fought prosperously against a multitude of *Danish* Pirates. In the mean time *Ethelwald* was (as some Authors affirm) chosen King by the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, who deposed their King *Osbert*. *Matthew of Westminster* writes, that from *Northumberland* he passed the Seas into *France*, there to strengthen himself by the addition of a greater Force, (of *Normans*, as we may very well conjecture) who being of the same original with the *Danes*, had by this time obtained *Neustria* to inhabit, a considerable Province of that Kingdom. The year after returning into *England* with an Army he thereto joined a great number of Pagans, inhabiting *Northumberland*, *East England*, and other Places, and then invading *Mercia* with Fire and Sword, destroyed all things he met with. A later Writer tells us, he drew into his Society *Eric* the Successour of *Guthrun* the *Dane*, in the Kingdom of the *East Angles*, a Prince whose malice to the Nation of the *English* was most deadly. *Huntingdon* mentions his first landing in *Essex*, and subduing that Country without delay; to which

the Annals bear witness, but place his return from beyond the Seas, in the third year after his flying into *Northumberland*. In the following year he gathered together his Forces in *East England*, and wasted the Territories of the *Mercians* as far as *Gegcelaglade*, (so the Annals call the place) where passing over the *Thames*, he pillaged all places aswell within *Bradene* as round about; and so returned. King *Edward* with what force he could make made as much haste as possible after them, and laid waste all their grounds lying betwixt the *Ditch* and the River *Ouse*, as far as the Northern Marishes. Thinking fit thence to return, he gave orders that all the Army should Dislodge, and March together. But on the *Kenish* Men notwithstanding seven several messiges he sent to them, said behind, which delay of theirs, and separating the King's Forces, encouraged the *Danes* to give them Battle, which was very bloody, many Men falling on both sides; the King, *Sigulf*, and *Sigelm* Earls, *Eadwold* his Minister, *Cenulf* an Abbat, besides *Sigebyrht* and *Eadwold* the Sons of two Noblemen. Of the *Danes*, besides great numbers of lower Rank, died *Eolric* their King, and *Ethelwald* a Nobleman, the author of this War; *Birhtiger*, *Ipp* *Hold*, and *Osketl* *Hold*. On both sides a great slaughter was made, but a greater of the *Danes* though they continued Matter of the Field.

42. There being no better way both for understanding and remembering of History than a knowledge of the places where eminent Actions have happened; it will be the Readers Interest and Delight to have a brief Account of such Names of Towns, and other places he meets with, especially being in his own Country. That place by the Annals called *Creckelaglade*, by *Marianus* and others *Crecklade*, is that Town standing in the North Part of *Wiltshire*, watered with the *Thames*, known by the Name of *Greeklade*, which Name forsooth some believed it to have received from certain Greek Philosophers, who as the History of *Oxford* reporteth began there an University, which afterwards was translated to *Oxford*. That they call *Bradene* is *Breden* Wood, now *Breden* Forest, which beginning at *Wotton* (that is Wood Town) *Basset* not far from *Greeklade*, stretched it self far and wide. As for *Dike*, betwixt which and *Ouse* King *Edward* waited all the Country, it's the fame with that which the People call *Devil's Dike*, and cuts overthwart the Plain of *Newmarket* in *Cambridgeshire* so many Miles together. Those great and long Ditches which are seen in those Parts were (most probably) cast by the *East Angles* to restrain the *Mercians* who with their sudden Inrodes were wont to waste and spoil all before them. The first of them begins at *Hinkesdon*, and runs Eastward by *Hildersham* toward *Horsheath*, about five Miles in length. The second called *Breutditch* near to the former, goes from *Melburn* by *Fulmire*. Another there is which begins at the Eastern Bank of the River *Cam*, and runs by *Fenn Ditton* (or more truly *Ditch Ditton*, saith *Cambden*, so named of the very Ditch) between great *Wilberham* and *Fulburn*; as far as *Baltham*. It's now commonly called *Seven Mile Dike*, because it's seven Miles from *Newmarket*, but anciently it had the Name of *Fleam Dike*, that is in Old *English*, *Flight Dike*, of some memorable flight which there happened.

43. More Eastward from hence within the Country is to be seen the fourth Fore-fence or Ditch, meant by the Annals the greatest of all, with a Rampire adjoining; which the common People out of Admiration of its greatness, as the work of Devils and not of Men, use to call *Devil's Dike*; but others *Reeb Dike*, of *Reeb* a little Town where it begins. Above *Reeb* the County is fenny, and was therefore impassable where it lay open to Excursions, there this Dike begins, and ends near to *Cowledge*, where the Passage by reason of Woods, was more cumbersome. It was the limit aswell of the Kingdom as of the Bishoprick of the *East Angles*, but the Author of so great a piece of work is unknown. Some later Writers mention King *Cute* the *Dane*, but besides what here the Annals say of this Battle, *Abbo Floracensis* who Died before *Cute* was King of *England* describeth it, together with the site of *East England*. Such as wrote since the time of *Cute* have termed it St. *Edmund's Limit*, and St. *Edmund's Dike*, verily thinking that *Cute* cast it up, who being most devoted to that King and Saint, granted to the Monks of St. *Edmund's Bury*, to make satisfaction for the cruelties exercised by *Swane* his Father upon them, very great Immunities even as far as this Dike. Certain it is that the two Fore-fences last mentioned were called St. *Edmund's Dike*. And therefore *Matthew of Westminster* (which the Reader may observe) hath written; that the Battle betwixt King *Edward* and *Ethelwald* was fought between the two Dikes of St. *Edmund*. Lastly, by *Ouse* must be meant *Ouse* the Greater, a River which disporting it self with manifold Branches and Divisions, separateth *Cambridgeshire* from *Norfolk*. This is the nearest *Ouse* to the Dike: for *Ouse* the-Less

Who fortifies himself at *Winburn*.

But upon the approach of King *Edward*, flies.

A bloody Battle betwixt the *Danes* and *Edward*.

The Town of *Greecelaglade*, where.

Breden.

Dike.

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Drum.

Sect. 10.

by any means be granted that the built it anew, rebuild it the might, as one writes, that it is much bound to her because the repaired it when it was greatly decayed. It was an old Town by the Saxons called *Joppingsc*, but by the Britains *Caerjoppinc* and *Coerleon*, as we lately hinted from *Guarth*, which in British signifies a Garrison, or from the Roman Legions. For this was their *Præfidium*, or Garrison Town standing in the middle of the Countrey, as *Præfidium* in the Island of *Corsica* stood in the middle of that Island. These are such as *Hoveden* relates her to have built or repaired. *Mathew of Westminster* adds, that she went to *Stanford*, and there on the Northern Bank of the River *Welband* repaired a Tower. That the same year wherein she built *Eadesbyrig* (which he calls *Tadebyri*) she built another Town called *Wartban*. That the year following, she erected three more, viz. *Cherenburk*, *Weadburk* and *Runcose* (now *Ruckhose* in *Huntingdon*, *Cheshire*, brought by mutability of time to Cottages) to which some add *Stafford*, *Litchfield* and *Shrewsbury*. *Caerburk*, *Wardburk*, *Runcose*.

49. What *Mathew* ascribes to her concerning *Stanford*, *Marianus* attributes to her Brother King *Edward*, writing that he built a Castle, but it was just over against the Town on the Southern Bank, as the Annals also affirm, which now is called *Stanford Baron*, of which yet at this day there appeareth not the least token. *Weadburk* is now *Wedsborough* a Town in *Staffordshire*. But as for *Stafford* it self, it's ancienter than to be called *Betheny*, before it had the Name of *Stafford*, but a Castle was here built about the year of our Lord DCCCCXIV, on the South Bank of the River *Sow*, which *Marianus* attributes to King *Edward* himself, which might be, because in his Reign it was erected. *Lichfield* was also ancienter, being by *Beda* called *Lidfeld*, which one interprets the Field of dead Bodies, from a Number of Christians which were there martyred under the Persecution of *Dioclesian*. And as for *Shrewsbury*, whensoever and by whomsoever it was built, it rose from the Ruines of old *Ericonium* now called *Wroxeter*, which being an ancient City of the Romans fell to decay in the Saxon and Danish Wars. Some four Miles from it arose that we now call *Shrewsbury*, in old time *Pengwern*, that is the Head of an old *Alder*, or of high *Plat* of Ground planted with *Alders*, in which fence by the Saxons termed *Scrobesbyrig* from its being a thicket of Shrubs upon an Hill. It was the seat of the Petty Kings of *Fowit* some time, and when taken out of the Hands of the Britains might be new fortified and repaired, which our Builders to aggrandize the Act of this Heroic Lady call *Builderig*. For this is observed of her, that such Places as were repaired by her were such as by her Valour and Conduct, were formerly wrested by her out of the Hands of the Enemy. But that we may conclude this story of this Lady all together, the year after she had taken the Castle of *Brecknock* from the Britains, a little before *August* she set upon the Town of *Derby* then in the Hands of the Danes, took it by storm, after that they refused Battle in open Field, and then subdued all the Countrey round, though with the loss of four of her choicest Officers who were slain at the Entry of the Gate. *Huntingdon* adds that after this Victory she conquered *Leicester* with the greater part of the Danish Army that lay in these parts, as also that those of *Tork* promised submission, and all good deportment. After this Convention, this most prudent Virago to be preferred before the ancient *Amazons* in the opinion of *Ingulphus*, died at *Tamworth* twelve days before the Feast of St. John, in the eighth year of her Government of *Mercia*, and was buried in the Porch of St. Peter in *Glocester* by her Husband. *Huntingdon* farther writes, that she was reported to have been a Woman of great Power, that by some she was not only called Lady and Queen, but King also, out of admiration at her worth. She left one only Child, a Daughter named *Alwina* (or *Algina*) for it's said that abhorring the pains of Childbirth after she was born, she would never more accompany with her Husband. To which passage *Ingulphus* adds, that in respect of the Cities she built, the Castles she fortified, and the Armies she managed, one would have thought she had changed her Sex. *Mathew of Westminster* tells us, she made her Daughter her Heir (of her King-dom he terms it) but King *Edward* so far understood his interest, that within a year he sent for his Niece into *Welfsex*, and seized *Mercia* into his own Hands.

50. That we may now return to him. The year after that *Derby* was taken, a new Fleet of Danes from the Southward arrived at *Lidwic* in *Devonshire* under Conduct of two Captains, called *Ottor* and *Roadl*. Sailing Westward about the Lands end, they entered the mouth of the *Severn*; where landing, they waited the North *Welfs* Coast, and coming to *Icingafelda*, they there took *Cameleac* a Bishop, and carried him away to their Ships, whom afterward King *Edward* re- deemed

She beat the Britains and Danes.

Dies.

After whose death Edward seized on Mercia.

Lloyd in Fragment. f. 22. b.

Annal. ad An. DCCCCXVII.

Ipsinge. refecta.

deemed with forty Pounds. As they proceeded, the Inhabitants of *Hereford*, *Glocester* Shires, with others out of other Cities opposed their Progress and put them to flight, killing their Captain *Roadl*, with the Brother of *Ottor* and very many others. They pursued them into a Wood, where they besieged them till they had given security for departing out of the King's Dominions. The King hovered with his Army between *Severn* and *Avon*, so that they durst not touch upon those Quarters, except in a stealing manner twice by Night, and then they came short home, being all cut off, but some that by Swimming escaped to their Ships: The rest being almost all famished in a small Island, removed from place to place, till at last about Martinmas time they passed over into *Ireland*, this was the Cause of this Invasion, and the Countrey enjoyed a breathing time from these Calamities. Those that bore the greatest brunt of this Storm were the *Herefordshire* men, especially those of that part of it which from *Gildenvale* declining and bending Eastward, was in those days called *Icingafelda*, and at this time with like variation *Irchenfeld*, but in *Doomsday Book* *Archenfeld*, which Book signifies that certain Revenues by an old Custom were there assigned to one or two Priests, on condition that they should go on Embassies for the Kings of *England* into *Wales*. And whether it was in memory of their Sufferings and Service in this Inroad of the Danes, the said Book hath this farther Observation: *The Men Archenfeld whenever the Army marcheth forward against the Enemy, by a Custom make the Vant Guard and bring up the Rere in their Return*.

51. The Pirates being gone, King *Edward* to secure himself better from the Attempts of their Countrey men who lived about the Shires of *Buckingham* and *Bedford*, and still were ready to joyn with any fresh Gamesters, led his Army to *Buckingham*, where he laid an whole Month, and gave order for raising Forts on each side of the River *Ouse*. This it seems so startled the Danes, that judging that they could not now do better, several of them submitted themselves, as *Thurcytel* an Earl, together with most of the considerable men about *Bedford*, and many of them that belonged to *Northampton*. This obliged him the following year to go down to *Bedford*, which soon yielded it self to him whither then repaired such as had been formerly on his side. Here he also laid a Month and took care for building a *Burb*, as the Annals call it, on the Southside of the River *Ouse* which Townlet, as the best Copies of *Hoveden* have it, was in the Saxon times called *Mickelgate*. The year following, somewhat before Midsummer, he went again to *Maldon*, where he built another *Burb* and fortified the Town, and in this year *Thurcytel* finding he was like but to have a small Trade here, where the King so minded his business, got leave to carry over some men into *France*, where he knew his Countrey men might find him employment. And the King followed on his business indeed. The next year before *Easter* Holydays he went to *Tosacester*, which he caused to be fortified, and about Rogation Week caused a place called *Wiggamere* to be built and strengthened. That *Tosacester* is now the Town called *Torchester* in *Northamptonshire*, in the Roman times *Tripontium*, from three Bridges made over so many Channels, into which the little River divideth it self. *Marianus* names it *Toucester*, writing that it was so fortified in the year of our Redemption DCCCCXVII, that the Danes by no means could win it by Assault, and that King *Edward* the Elder afterwards incompassed it with a stone Wall. Yet now no Tokens of any such Wall appear. Only there's an Artificial Hill remaining, which they call *Berybill*, turned into Private Gardens. *Wiggamere* is now called *Wigmore* a Town of *Herefordshire*, not far from the River *Lug*.

52. While *Edward* was busied about the Fortifications of *Wigmore*, the Danes of *Northampton* and *Leicester* not being well pleased to find themselves curbed with so many strong Towns, laid Siege to *Torchester*. For a whole day they belaboured it, but it standing stilly out till Supplies came to them, they went their ways by Night, but were pursued and surprized betwixt *Burwood* and *Eglebyrig* or *Aylebury*, where many of them were taken with the loss of much of their Baggage. Much at the same time the Danes of *Huntingdon*, not judging their Castle convenient enough demolished it, and being assisted by those of East *England* built another at *Temesford* as more opportune, from whence to make their Excursions. They went also to *Bedford* with intention of recovering that Town, but the Garrison issued out repulsed and slew a great part of them. After this a greater Army was raised both out of East *England* and *Mercia*, which went and laid Siege to *Wigmore*, plundering the Countrey round about, but after a days tryal the Defendants obliged them to rise and be gone. Hereupon many of King *Edward's* Friends about these parts gathered themselves together and uniting their Forces went and besieged

Several skirmishes betwixt the Danes and Edward.

SECT. 10. Besieged *Temsford*, which they took by Assault, therein slew their King together with *Tosley* and *Mannan* his Son both Earls, his Brother and all the rest they could find, for they peremptorily flood it out against them. This *Temsford* is a Town in *Bedfordshire* standing upon the confluence of *Ouse* and another Brook which some call *Poel*. Provoked or incouraged by the example of their Countrey-men the men of *Kent*, *Surrey* and *Essex*, and several out of other places went and laid siege to *Colne Caesle* or *Colchester*, and so pertinaciously carried on their Assault that they took it, and put all they found therein to the Sword, excepte such as had the good hap to escape over the Walls.

53. Hereat many *Danes* both inhabiting the Countrey and the Port Towns much alarmed gathered themselves together, and being prevented as to the Relief of *Colchester* pleased themselves with the hope of revenging the Injury received upon *Maldon*, but the Inhabitants held out till relief came, which so discouraged the Besiegers that they drew off, but in their Retreat were pursued, and many thousands of them slain, Pirates and others, by those that they hoped to have devoured. King *Edward* being jealous of all their Countrey-men halted this very Summer with an Army of West Saxons to a place called *Pessanham*, so called from passing over the River, now *Petham*, a little distant from *Stony Stratford*, where he continued till *Torchester* was incircled with a stone Wall. This had such influence upon the *Danes* of these Quarters, that *Thurferth* an Earl with the Lords of the Towns thereabout, and all their Army as far as *Hampton* North of *Woolind* came and submitted themselves unto him. Now the King's Army desired to return home, yet part of it was ordered to *Huntingdon*, where it repaired the Town be re and repaired such Breaches as the King had formerly made, upon sight whereof cameunc the all the People of those Parts submitted, desiring the King's Protection. Then with his West Saxon Forces this very year before Martinmas did he march to *Colchester*, which Town he repaired and fortified at what time the People of East England and West England living under the *Danes*, together with the Danish Army in East England, swore obedience to him, as well by Sea as by Land fully to observe his Commands. Those of them also that lay at *Grantwich* took the same Oath as he had commanded. The year following wherein died his Sister *Ethelfleda*, betwixt Rogation Week and Midsummer he went to *Stanford*, where, say the Annals on the Southern side he built a Castle, whereupon all such as held that on the other side, submitted themselves to him as their Lord.

54. By her death all *Mercia*, as we said, fell unto him and willingly submitted, and about the same time *Howel*, *Cledanc* and *Jeothwell* the petty Kings of North Wales with all the Northern Britains, put themselves under his Dominion. After this he visited *Nottingham*, which he repaired, and therein placed both English and *Danes*, of both which Nations, all inhabiting *Mercia*, now became his Subjects. To pursue and complete his good Fortune, the next year he went down with an Army to *Thelwall* in *Cheshire*, where he took care for the building and fortifying of the Town. The Annals only tell us so much, but *Matthew of Westminster* tells us the reason of the Name, which came from the Bodies of Trees (the Boughs being cut off) fast set in the ground, wherewith he fenced it round: For the Saxons in their Language called the Trunks or Bodies of Trees, *Thel*, and *Wall* as we name it at present. While he staid at *Thelwall* he sent for another Party of Souldiers out of *Mercia*, and ordered them to *Manice Caesle* in *Northumberland* to repair and Man it. This *Manice Caesle* is *Manchester* in *Lancashire* said to be in *Northumberland*, for that this Countrey, as well as others, North of *Humber* were formerly under the same Kings. Lying so as it doth, it seems to have been quite destroyed in the Danish Wars, wherein because the Inhabitants demeaned themselves like very valiant men, their successours will have their Town to have been called *Manchester*, that is, as they expound it, The City of Men: in which conceit they wonderfully please themselves. And so they should for me. But one already has told them that *Mancunium* was the Name of it in the time of the Britains and Romans, so that the Etymology thereof out of our English Tongue, can by no means seem so much as probable. He derives it rather from *Main* a British word, which signifies a Stone: because upon a Stony Hill it is seated, and beneath the very Town at *Colyhurst* there are very excellent and famous Quarries.

55. The next year King *Edward* to secure all about him went down with an Army to *Nottingham*, where he ordered a Borough to be built on the South side of the River right over against, and a Bridge to be made for intercourse betwixt them. Thence he marched as far as into the Territories of the *Picts*, to a place called *Bedecanmyllan*, where he commanded a Town to be built and strongly fortified.

SECT. 10. Now did the King of the Scots submit unto him as his Lord and Sovereign, together with the Scottish Nation it self, *Reginald* the Son of *Eadulf*, and all the Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, *English* and *Danes*, in the North as well as in the Southern Parts, as also the King of the *Strathgledwald* with all his Subjects. These are the great Atchievements of King *Edward*, as they are summarily laid down by the Annals, which speak his Power so great, that no King before him extended his Dominions to such a Proportion. By another we are told that as it was to complete his Felicity, a little before he died he reduced to obedience the Inhabitants of *Cheshire* and the Countrey about it, who having conspired with the neighbouring Britains, had attempted to shake off the Yoke; but by his diligence prevented the joining of their Forces, and by his Courage and the terror of his Name, constrained them again to submit themselves. In so great glory he died in his Return toward his ancient Province of the West Saxons at *Faryverdon* a Town of *Berkshire*, where for the most part he kept his Court, after he had reigned four and twenty years.

56. He was well nigh as happy in his Issue as in the course and success of his Government, yet not so happy in that of his first Wife because he knew not certainly how to call their Conjunction a Marriage. Concerning their Acquaintance and first meeting together, besides the Monk of *Malmesbury*, *John Brompton* the Abbat of *Jornal* relates, That in the Reign of King *Elfred* when his Son *Edward* was young, there was in a certain Village of the West Saxons the Daughter of a Shepherd called *Edgina*, who falling asleep dreamed that the Moon shone out of her Womb so bright that all *England* was lightened by the splendour of it. The Dream she told to a certain grave Woman that had been Nurse to several of the King's Children. She thereupon takes her into her House and brings her up as carefully and tenderly as if she had been her own Daughter, instructing her so to demean her self as might become a Person both of Birth and Breeding. In process of time it happened that Prince *Edward*, the King's Eldest Son, passing upon some occasion thorough this Town, thought himself obliged in honour and good nature to visit his Nurse, which as he did he got sight of this Maid, being exceeding beautiful, and fell passionately in love with her. By his importunity he got her consent to lie with him, and by one Nights lodging he became with Child, which proving a Son in respect to the Mothers Dream, the Father gave him the Name of *Ethelstan*, which signifieth the Most Noble. Some call this Woman his Wife, (he might be Married to her afterwards) and others reckon that Lady for his first, whom he Married afterward. However by her he had another Son named *Edfred*, who died several years before his Father, and a Daughter called *Editha* Married to *Sithric* the Danish King of *Northumberland*. So some write; but *Malmesbury* calls his second Son *Ethelward*, begotten of *Edfreda* Daughter of *Earl Ethelin*, a Prince very well learned and much resembling his Grandfather *Alfred* both in Countenance and Disposition, but he died presently after his Father.

57. By this *Elfreda* his (first or second) Wife, besides this *Ethelward*, whom some call *Elward*, he had a second Son named *Edwin*, and a third called *Gregory*, as some write, who forsook the world and became an Hermit; of Daughters good store. As first *Edfreda*, who became a Nun in the Monastery of *Rumsey*, *Egwinna*, called also *Edgitha* and *Edgina*, married to *Charles* the Simple, King of *France*, Son of *Ludovicus Balbus*, and Grandson of *Charles* the Bald, whose Daughter, as we said, *Ethelward* married in his return from *Rome*; *Ethelilda* who was never married; *Ethilda* married to *Hugh* the Great Count of *Paris*, to whom she bore *Hugh Capet*, afterwards King of that noble Countrey; *Edgitha* and *Elgina*, both which their Brother *Ethelstan* sent over to *Henry* Emperor of *Germany*, who bestowed the first on his own Son *Otho*, afterwards Emperor, and the second on a certain Duke, whose Territories lay near to the *Alpes*. This numerous Offspring he had by his Wife *Elfreda*. By his last Wife *Edgina*, he had two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edred*, who both of them came to be Kings, as we shall see; and two Daughters, viz. *Eadburga*, who became a Nun, and *Edgina* a Woman of extraordinary Beauty, bestowed in marriage by her Brother *Ethelstan*, upon *Ludovic* Prince of *Aquitain*. His Daughters he so brought up, as in their Infancy they all were taught to read and write, and then to use the distaff and needle; by such employments to pass the time of their unripe Virginitie: his Sons in such a manner, that first they might be fully accomplished with Learning, and afterward come not rude and ignorant, but like to many Philosophers, to publick business, as the Monk of *Malmesbury* words it.

Sect. 10.

Ethelwald
dies.Athelstan
crowned.

58. Of his Sons, *Ethelward* died a few days after his Father, and by his death, made way for the Succession of *Athelstan*, who though the eldest, and legitimated as it were by the after marriage of his Mother, yet being born of a then Concubine, could hardly have obtained the Crown, by reason of the great love and esteem which was born to *Ethelward*, as well for his own Learning and Vertues, as for the great resemblance he bore to his Grandfather King *Alfred*. He being dead, and the rest of the Sons of *Edward* being too young for so weighty an employment; *Athelstan* by consent of all the Nobility was chosen King, and Crowned at the Royal Town or Village (as *Malmesbury* tells us) called *Kingston*, not without the foredesignment of his Father in his last Will and Testament, who might possibly guess that his Son *Ethelward* would not be long lived. He was now about thirty years of Age. By his own pregnancy and care of his Parents, he had arrived at very considerable qualifications of mind, suitable to his weighty Employment. For *Alfred* his Grandfather is said to have prefaced to him a lucky Reign, being much enamour'd of him for his great towardsness and the extraordinary elegance of his Features. When he was very young, he conferred on him the dignity of Knighthood, by investing him with a purple Robe, a Belt adorned with Gems, and a Sword of the Saxon Fashion, inclosed in a golden Scabbard. He caused him to be educated in the house of his Daughter *Ethelfleda*, the Wife of noble and valiant *Ethelfrede*, that by the instructions and example of so great Captains (such we may term them both) he might by degrees be trained up in such actions as might render him fit for that good Fortune and Condition, which the hopes conceived of him did portend. Accordingly after his Fathers and Brothers, he was Crowned King at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, a Town as some have written, formerly called *Moreford*, and standing upon a flat ground, subject to the Inundation of the *Thames*, which caused it to be removed thither, where now the present *Kingston* stands. The Kings of the West Saxons now found it their interest, being Monarchs of the English Nation, to remove their Seat into these Quarters, not so much in respect to *London* (which for opulency and multitude of its Inhabitants, had not been all along these Saxon times so considerable, but sustained great Calamities by Fire) as to the Invasions of the *Danes*, which were frequently made up the River *Thames*, and to be nearer to the East Angles, amongst whom these Rovers had fixed themselves. Therefore *Athelstan*, and after him *Edwin* and *Ethelred*, were openly Crowned Kings at this Town; which from them took the name of *Kington*.

At Kingston,
whence is
called.A conspiracy
against him.

59. *Athelstan* began his Reign in the sixteenth year of *Constantine* the eighth, Surnamed *Porphyrogenitus*, Emperour of the East, the sixth of *Henricus Aceps*, Emperour of Germany, the twelfth Indiction, A.D. DCCCXXIV. His own defects, and the general affection of the People were not effectual to prevent all inconveniences proceeding from the condition of his Birth. One *Alfred* made considerable opposition against the choice, as of an illegitimate Person, and conspired with his Complices to lay hold of him in the City of *Winchester*, and to put out his eyes. But the Plot was happily discovered, and *Alfred* it seems denying it was sent to *Rome*, there to purge himself before that Bishop, where coming to take his Oath before the Altar of *St. Peter*, he fell down, and being carried by his Servants to the English School, there died the third night after. The Pope would not dispose of his Body, but sent to ask the advice of *Athelstan* what should be done with it, whether it was to be buried amongst those of other Christians. The Nobility and the Relations of *Alfred*, earnestly desired that it might be bestowed in Christian burial, to which the King assenting, and the Pope therewith acquainted, it was accordingly done, and his whole Estate was adjudged confiscate for his Treason. Such good fortune had *Athelstan* against this homebred Enemy. In other places he found little trouble, except on the Northern side of *Humber*; where *Ingwald*, one of the Danish Kings, seized upon *York*, and *Sithric* who some time before had killed *Niel* his Brother, by force made himself Master of *Davenport* in *Cheshire*. The Monk of *Malmesbury* writes, that he was a Barbarian both by mind and Nation. That he was Kinman to that *Gurmund*, of whom we read so much in the Acts of King *Alfred*, that having proudly contemned the Power of former Kings, now humbly desired the alliance of *Athelstan* by Messengers, whom he himself followed, to make good what they had prayed on his behalf. *Athelstan* found him so considerable, that he gave him in marriage his Sister *Edgitha*. But he enjoyed her but the space of one year, by his death giving occasion to *Athelstan*, of laying *Northumberland* to his own Dominions, to which he might lay claim, faith our Author, both by an ancient Right, and a new Alliance.

York seized by
Ingwald King
of the Danes.Northumber-
land added
to his Domi-
nions.

Charta qua-
dam Donati-
onis Monaste-
rio Malines-
buriensi
per ipsum
Regem Athel-
stanum apud
Gulstun. Mo-
nachum de
Gyl. Reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 6.

He invades
Scotland.

60. Hereupon *Anlaf* the Son of *Sithric* fled into *Ireland*, and *Godefrid* his Brother into *Scotland*, whom followed shortly after Ambassadors from the King, both to *Constantine* King of the *Scots*, and *Eugenius* King of the *Humbrians*, demanding the Fugitive to be given up, or denouncing a speedy War upon refusal. And as others say, a War indeed he made, passing into *Scotland* with great Powers both by Sea and Land, where he drove his Enemies before him by Land as far as *Dunfedor* and *Werlmore*, and by Sea as far as unto *Cathness*. But *Malmesbury* affirms, that not daring at all to displease him, without fail they came to a place called *Dacor* (or *Dacre* in *Cumberland*) where each delivered up himself and all his into the hands of the English King, who was Godfather to the Son of *Constantine*, now ordered to be Baptized in Testimony of the Accord. But for all this *Godefrid* escaped while they were preparing for the Journey, and with one *Turfrid* travelling into several Parts, at length got some Men together, and laid Siege to *Tork*, the Inhabitants of which they elayed both by fair and foul means to let them in, but not prevailing they went their ways, yet were both taken shortly after and shut up in a Castle, whence they escaped by deluding their Keepers. *Turfrid* not long after was Shipwrecked at Sea, and became a prey to the Fishes. *Godefrid*, endured much misery both by Sea and Land, and at last came in the posture of a suppliant to the King's Court, who kindly received him; but after he had been profusely feasted for four days together, he got him again to his Ships, grew an old Pirate, as accustomed to the water as a very Fish, in the Monk's opinion. In the mean time *Athelstan* demolished a Castle in *Tork*, which the *Danes* had fortified, that therein they might no longer shroud themselves. And the large Booty found in it he divided man by man amongst his Souldiers.

England in-
vaded by the
King.

61. But a great tempest began to gather against him in the North-western Parts, where *Constantine* the King of the *Scots* exasperated by the late Invasion joined with * *Anlaf* the Son of *Sithric* (others but more probably will have him not this Son, but another of his Name who was King of *Ireland*, and the Isles adjacent) and drew in *Eugenius* the King of *Cumberland*, with great Forces from several Nations to their Assistance. After preparations of some four years they invaded England by the River *Humber*, and pass up the Country to a place called *Regis* Northumberland, † *Brunanburg* or *Bruneford*, which *Cambden* placeth in *Glendale* of *Northumberland*, on the Scotch Borders; *Athelstan* on purpose giving way, to obtain some better advantage against them, as some write, or, as others, they being fearful to grapple with him. *Anlaf* perceiving with whom he had to doe, puts off his Ann. Bru Royal Ensigns, and becomes a Spy in the habit of a Musician, attending with an Harp in his hand at *Athelstan*'s Tent, to which Instrument Singing, he was casually admitted to the King's presence as one who got his living by that course of *humbria*. *Es* There he made them merry till such time as having eaten and drank sufficiently they began to debate seriously about the work they had in hand, and he all the while made what Observations he could, till then he received his wages, and was put out of the Tent. The Money scorned to carry with him, he hid into the Earth, of which a certain Souldier took notice who had formerly served him, and thereby coming to know him, after he was gone acquainted the King. The King blamed him for not giving timely notice, which the Souldier excused as having formerly taken in *Anlaf*'s Service the Military Oath, affirming that had he betrayed *Anlaf*, he himself to whom now he was in the same Relation could have expected no more fidelity; but he advised *Athelstan* to remove his Tent into another place. This Advice was looked upon as very good, and how seasonable it was very shortly appeared. A certain Bishop coming to the Camp this night in that very place, as being pleasantly situated, pitched his Tent. Him *Anlaf*, with a design to destroy the King, fell upon, being ignorant of what had passed, and easily killed him with all his Followers.

* Ingulphus sic
narrat quem
cum Anlaf-
plus Sitticus fi-
lius quondam
invade Angliam
per flumen
† Brunanburg
or Bruneford
on the Scotch
Borders; Athel-
stan on purpose
giving way, to
obtain some bet-
ter advantage
against them, as
some write, or,
as others, they
being fearful to
grapple with him.
Anlaf perceiving
with whom he
had to doe, puts
off his Ann. Bru
Royal Ensigns,
and becomes a
Spy in the habit
of a Musician,
attending with
an Harp in his
hand at Athel-
stan's Tent, to
which Instrument
Singing, he was
casually admit-
ted to the King's
presence as one
who got his liv-
ing by that course
of humbria. Es
There he made
them merry till
such time as hav-
ing eaten and
drank suffici-
ently they began
to debate seri-
ously about the
work they had
in hand, and he
all the while
made what Ob-
servations he
could, till then
he received his
wages, and was
put out of the
Tent. The Money
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ing formerly
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Service the Mil-
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ed Anlaf, he
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upon, being ig-
norant of what
had passed, and
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his Followers.

62. *Ingulphus* (who is more to be credited than any other Historian in this matter) writes, that *Anlaf* though he had brought with him an infinite multitude of *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Scots*, and *Picts*, yet either out of diffidence or the craft familiar to his Nation, chose rather by night to surprise his Enemy, than fairly give him Battle in the open Field and by day light. He fell suddenly upon the English, and killed the Bishop who was come but that night to the Camp, which causing a great tumult and noise, the King though a Mile off, and his whole Army took the Alarm, and putting themselves into such order as the surprize would give leave, by break of Day came up to the place of the slaughter, where they found the Invaders tired, and disordered by their late travel, and for want of sleep. It happened that *Athelstan* in person leading all the West Saxons, light upon *Anlaf* himself, and *Turketul* his Kinman and Chancellor,

F f

who

Se^{ct}. 10. 71. By this time *Edwi*, or *Eadwig* (as the Annals call him) the eldest Son of *Eadric* 7
Eadmund, was advancing to Man's estate, and therefore now upon his Uncle's death *Eadwig*
 was admitted King, and crowned at *Kingston*, in the forty seventh year of *Con-*
stantinus Porphyrogenitus so often mentioned as contemporary, as also the twenti-
 of *Orbo* the Great, in the DCCCCLV. year of our Lord. He was about fourteen

Edwi made King.

Who is given to Women.

years of Age, of Beauty, much above the ordinary comeliness of Men, which got him the Surname of *Pancalus* or altogether Fair; which Youth and Beauty exposed him to the Arts and Allurements of bad people. He is generally ill spoken of, though by some his actions are not represented with that disadvantage, which particular prejudice in other writers may seem a little to have procured. By them he is reported to have given extraordinary offence by his inordinate pleasure on the very day of his Coronation. There was in his Court a Lady nearly allied to him, who had a Daughter far exceeding her self in Beauty, though she was very handsome, called by the name of *Algina*. Mother and Daughter, by their unchaste deportment, had so insinuated themselves into his favour, that neither he could be quiet, nor any publick business be dispatched without them. The design of the Mother was he should marry her Daughter, yet is she said to have had as vehement a desire to partake of their lusts, which the often did, he being won shamefully to embrace the one in the others presence. The Ceremony of the Coronation being over, the Feast was prepared, or else they fell into a serious consultation about publick matters. But the King quits the place, and without any regard to so venerable an Assembly as consisted of his Prelates and Nobles, flung away into the chamber of these women, where he cast himself upon a bed betwixt them. The Lords hereat exceedingly fretted, as they had reason, and consulted how to reduce the Youth into their company. This was undertaken by *Dunstan*, Abbat of *Glastenbury*, and *Kinfi* Bishop of *Lichfield*, who was related to the King, and therefore chosen as one whose authority would sway the more with him. They enter the Chamber and find him in that indecent posture; *Dunstan* rebukes the women, and gently reprehends the King, praying him by his absence, not to put so great an affront upon his Nobility. He fumes, they taunt and scoff, but *Dunstan* takes him by the hand, pulls him from them, sets the Crown upon his Head, which he had cast aside, and brings him back into the Assembly.

Is severe to wards Monks, especially *Dunstan* of *Glastenbury*.

Is excommuni- cated.

Part of his Subjects rebel- ling up his younger Bro- ther.

His Mistresses punished which he takes to heart and dyes.

Edgar King of all England.

72. The women hereat enraged to all degrees of malice and revenge, vowed to procure the ruine of *Dunstan*, which they so far prosecuted, that the King could all the wealth of his Monastery to be seized, and banished him into *Flanders*, nay so great an aversion he conceived against men of his Profession, that miserable was the estate of Monks at that time, as *William* the Monk of *Malmesbury* affirms; who complains that his Monastery, which for two hundred and seventy years had been inhabited by Monks, was now made a Stable of Clerks, for so he terms it. He and the Aurbour of *Dunstan's* Life, and this Monk are they who tell this story with such tart reflexions upon his Person, which others not so much concerned for the Monastical life, relate more indifferently. However he was a Child, and so apt to be seduced, by the pleasing allurements of women, and the conceit of his Royal Authority, which he lookt upon as uncontrollable. But *Odo* the Archbishop, is said to have excommunicated and pronounced a Divorce betwixt him and his *Algina*, and the People so to have relented the affronts offered to Religious People, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and set up his younger Brother *Edgar*, leaving to him the Kingdom of the West Sax-
 ons only, the ancient Patrimony of his Family. As for the two Ladies, *Odo* con-
 tented not himself with exercising his Spiritual Jurisdiction in cutting them off as
 putrid Members from the Body of the Church, but by the Council and Assistance
 of the Nobility, caused by force, and against the Kings will and pleasure, to be
 drawn out of the Court *Algina* the Daughter, because she did most harm to the
 King, and being nearer to him in blood, was incestuously used by him as his
 Wife. But this severity ended not here: they added marks of scorn, defacing
 her Beauty by branding her Face with an hot Iron; and they lamed her by cutting
 the Sinews of her Hams, which done, they banished her into *Ireland*. *Edwi* hav-
 ing been King four years, took these disasters to heart, and died not long after,
 (some say two years he lived after his Excommunication) and was buried in the
 new Monastery at *Winchester*.

Matt. West- monast.

73. *Edgar* his Brother, a Youth of sixteen years of Age, by his Death became King of all England, in the one and fiftieth year of the often mentioned *Constan-*
tine Porphyrogenitus, and the twenty fourth of *Orbo* the Great, A. D. CCCCLIX

Revokes his Predecessors Laws, and calls back St. Dunstan.

His Naval preparations.

No sooner was he advanced, but to serve the Interest of the Party that set him up, in an Assembly held at *Branford*, he revoked all the unjust decrees of his Brother, took care for pursuing, taking and putting to death the Adulterers of *Edwi*, and for recalling *Dunstan* with great Glory, whom within a little time he promoted to the See of *Canterbury*. Concerning the Government of *Edgar*, *Malmesbury* gives us this short account, that not any one year is mentioned in the Chronicles, wherein he performed not some great thing, and necessary for the good of his Country. Yet suffered his Kingdom no violence, either by domestic Treachery or outward Force, a story going, that St. *Dunstan* at his Birth was told by an Angel, that Peace should flourish in *England* so long as this Boy Reigned, and as he himself should live. That this Peace and Tranquillity was not obtained, by neglect and idleness, we may be sufficiently assured from his vast Naval preparations. He understood and practised the true Interest of his Country, which was to give Laws, and to be Master at Sea. He was so wise as to know preventing Physick to be the best, better to hinder the Invasion of an Enemy, than suffer his own Kingdom to be the Seat of a War; which at best must bring devastation and poverty, and make the Conquerour a very great looser by the Victory. He rigged up such a Fleet as for number of Vessels, may seem incredible. Every Summer, *Edwi* immediately after *Easter* he commanded his Ships upon every Shore to be brought into a Body. He Sailed usually with the Eastern Fleet, to the Western Part of the Island; and then sending it back with the Western unto the Northern, and thence with the Northern he returned to the Eastern, being exceeding diligent to prevent the incursions of Pirates; and Courageous for the defence of his Kingdom against Foreigners, and the Training up of himself and his people for Military employments.

74. Each of these Fleets we are told consisted of one thousand and two hundred Ships, and these also very stout ones, so that the number of all must have amounted to three thousand and six hundred Sail; which * some of our Authours speak expressly. But others write of four thousand Vessels, and there are that add to these three a fourth Fleet, by which means the number will be encreased to four thousand and eight hundred Sail, as may be seen in *Matthew of Westminster* and the *Flowergatherer*. To sustain this charge, besides the private Contributions of his Subjects (of which we shall hereafter more conveniently speak) he had Eight petty Kings, who being his Fiduciary Clients or Vassals, were bound to him by Oath to be ready at his Command, and serve him both by Sea and Land; which Oath they took at *Chester*, where he had given them order to meet him, as he Sailed about the North of Britain with a great Navy. Their Names are *Kened* or *Kineld*, King of the *Scots*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland* (who at this time it seems hath this Name, though as we said the *Cumbrians* had thrown off that Title, and taken the other of Earls as more modest) *Maccuse* of the *Isles*, and five of *Wales*, the Names of whom were *Dufual*, *Griffith*, *Hunul*, *Jacob* and *Judethil*. Having these then altogether at his Court at *Chester*, to set forth the Splendour and Greatness of his Dominion, he went one day into a Gally, and cauled himself to be rowed by the petty Princes, he himself holding the Stern, and steering the Boat about the River *Dee*: Waited on by all his Dukes and Nobles in another Barge, he Sailed from the Monastery of St. *John Baptist*, where an Oration being made to him, in the same state and pomp he returned to his Palace. Here when he Arrived, he is said to have told, those about him, that then his Successors might boast themselves Kings of *England*, when by so many Kings they should be so attended, and Arrive, as *Malmesbury* expresses it, at such a Prerogative of Honours. As for these Princes, *Maccusius* by *Florent* of *Worcester*, and *Eloeden*, is termed a King of very many Islands. *Matthew of Westminster* calls him King of *Man*, and very many other Islands. And *Malmesbury* calls him an Archpirate, by which word a Robber is not to be understood; but as *Afferius* and others of that Age use it, one skilled in Sea affairs, or a Seaman so called from *Pira*, which in the Attique Tongue, signifies Craft or Art, but afterward it came to be applicable only to such as without any justice infect the Seas. Not long after, the Governour of a Ship of Pirates, came to be called a *Pilote* from *Pile*, the name of a Ship in the ancient Gallick Language, some remainders whereof still continue among the *Franks*. After the intolency of these Northern Rovers and Pagans grew to great, all the Maritime Towns throughout Christendom might well be sensible of their danger, and the means of their deliverance, as to express their common Faith, and next their common Refuge under God, on one side of their Coin they stamped a Cross, and on the Reverse a Ship, which gave Original to that,

* *Hoveden Florentius* sigurn.

that, though much praiged, yet little understood custome of casting and naming Crofs and Pile to this day.

75. Another of the Kings and those of Wales was *Huual* or *Huwal*, who though he be not placed the first in order, yet if we follow the Account of some Authours, must have been the chief of them all, the Prince to whom all the rest performed obedience. The Book of *Landaff* bids us take notice that at the same time lived *Edgar* King of all Britain, *Huwall* Da and *Morgan* *Hew*, which two yet were the Subjects of King *Edgar*. At that time *Morgan* *Hew* obtained all *Morgannwg* in peace and quietness, onely *Huwall* Da endeavoured to take from him *Istradin* and *Ewias*. King *Edgar* having notice hereof, summoned *Huwall* Da, *Morgan* *Hew* and *Heweyn* his Son to his Court, where in full Council he debated both their Titles, and it was plainly found that *Huwall* Da had dealt ill with *Morgan* *Hew* and his Son *Heweyn*, and for this Reason *Huwall* was driven from the possession of these two Countries for ever without recovery. "Afterward King *Edgar* gave "and granted to *Morgan* *Hew* and his Son *Heweyn* these two Lands, viz. *Istradin* "and *Ewias* by name, lying in the Bishoprick of *Landas*, as his own Inheritance, "and the aforesaid two pieces of Land to him and his Heirs, without the Calumny of any earthly man, he has confirmed by our common Assent, and with the Testimony of all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Earls and Barons of all "England and Wales. And cursed is he by our Lord the Father who separates "these two pieces of Land from the Lordship of *Morgannwg*, and the Parish (Diocese is meant) of *Landaff*; and blessed be he of our Lord Jesus Christ who "observes this, and by all Christian People henceforth for ever. Amen. Moreover you must know that the writing which on that day was made and written before King *Edgar* in full Council, was deposited in the Church of *Landaff*. Fare you well. Now this *Huwall* was to be no other than the above mentioned *Hoel* *Dha*, in Latine called *Hoelus* *Flelus*, and sometimes *Huual*; one of these five Welsh Kings, whom *Malmebury* relates, together with *Kunade* King, of the Scots, *Malcolm* King of the *Cumbrians*, and *Macnufus* the Arch Pirate, or rather Chief of the *Seamen and Governour of the Seas*, to have met him at the City of *Chester*, and in way of Triumph to have rowed him on the River *Dee*, by such a Spectacle to shew him as Lord and Monarch both of the *British* Earth and Ocean. This is that *Huwall* *Dha* of whom we have already spoken, whose Laws faith Sir *Henry Spelman* I understand were Printed by one *Salisbury* a *Welshman* forty years agoe, and dispersed among his Countrey men; but I never had the happiness to see them.

76. This Pomp used by *Edgar* in the Attendance of these eight petty Princes was, as some write, but the Epilogue to a greater Act of State. For this very year he was solemnly Crowned, having the sixteenth year of his Age, wherein he was made King, omitted this Ceremony till he came to be thirty, out of penance for his former sins of Incontinence, as some would have it, whereas upon his Brothers death he might have received the Ensigns of Majesty e'er he came to be so guilty of these youthfull Crimes. The Solemnity was performed with great splendour in presence of the Nobility, and a great confluence of all sorts of Persons, in the old City *Ac mans cestre*, say the Ancients, otherwise called *Bath*, on the happy day On *xxviii* of Pentecost. But as for his youthfull extravagancy toward Women being that cause by which he is charged as the blot of his life (for as for his cruelty which some objected, of it we have no instance, but one that follows) several Stories are told by the Monk of *Malmebury*. *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonshire* had a Daughter named *Elfrida*, famed for extraordinary Beauty, which caused the King to be in love with her upon bare report. But to be certain he sent Earl *Athelwold* his Secretary to see her, resolving to Marry her if he were found to be so handsome as indeed. *Athelwold* made haste and got a sight of her, wherewith he was so captivated, which being easily done, he vilifies her to the King as a Woman very ordinary, and such a Dwarf as would much unbecome his Royal Bed. The King's thoughts are hereby diverted upon other Objects; but at last the Earl's Enemies bring all to light how he had deceived his Master; whom to irage they omit no words to set out, nay enhance the wonderfull Beauty of the Lady. The King conceals his Anger, and resolving by another Device to overreach him, tells him in a pleasant manner on such a day he would see his Wife, a Woman so fair as he was esteemed. He exceedingly struck with a thing so unexpected, earnestly desires her to provide for his safety, by putting on bad Clothes and deforming her self by all other means imaginable. She had by this time perceived how for a King she had Married

Married an Earl, which raised such Womanish Pride, and Indignation in her, that against the coming of *Edgar* she dresses her self in the most amiable and tempting manner she could devise, which had such effects upon him, that his Love being the more inflamed by being so long defrauded of her, he appointed for a pretence, a day of Hunting in the Forest called *Warewell* now *Harewood Forest*, and there flew *Athelwold* with a Dart. The Earls bafe Son coming when the thing was done, and looking upon his father's dead Body, the King demanded of him how he liked this Game; to which he answered, That whatsoever pleased the King, ought not to displease him; with which mild Reply the King's angry mind was so appeased, that he ever after highly favoured the Youth, and expiated the Crime committed upon the Father by the great kindness he shewed to the Son. *Elfrida* he speedily Married, who to make the usual amends for Murders and other horrid Crimes committed, built a Nunnery in the place where her Husband was slain.

77. Another thing is laid to his charge, that he took by force a Virgin veiled out of a Monastery, and used her as his concubine, for which he was so sharply reproved by St. *Dunlak*, and said it so much to heart, that he willingly underwent a Penance of seven years continuance, viz. *Fasting, and the want of his Coronation*. But it seems he could not abstain from all sorts of flesh. Coming on a time to *Andover* a Town not far from *Winchester*, he would have the enjoyment of a certain Duke's Daughter much spoken of for her Beauty, and commanded her to be brought to his Bed. The Mother of the Virgin not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring to be a Bait to her own Daughter, resolved to deceive him by the darkness of the Night, and sent a Waiting Maid she had in her room, one that was handsome enough, and not unwitty, as the made it appear. When it was Morning she offered to rise, and he demanding of her why she made such haste? She replied, that she must up and doe the work her Lady had set her. The King wondering what she meant, as not having doubted but that she was the Duke's Daughter, she besought him to set her free from the Service of her Mistress as a Reward for her deflowered Virginity; a Boon his Majesty could not deny her. He for a time wavering and not knowing how he should take it, at last dissembled his Indignation, put off all with a Jest, set her free from her Mistress, and carrying her away with him, used her with all kindness, and onely kept himself to her till such time as he married *Elfrida*. These were the Vices of *Edgar*, of which more noise had been made by the Monks, but that he built so many Monasteries (every year one it's said) that they could scarcely think any ill of one so devoted to their course of life, one perhaps as great a lover of Chastity as Solitariness, in another Person. But it's certain *England* flourished mightily under him, being a man so answering the Epithete given by *Homer* to a King, That not onely from cruel Enemies but Savage Beasts he secured his People, laying a yearly Tribute of three hundred Wolves upon *Ludwal* King of *Wales*, which when he had paid three years together, in the fourth he gave over, professing there were no more to be found.

78. What his Employment was in Summer we have already seen. In Winter and the Spring he usually rode a kind of Circuit to administer Justice to the People, and take care that his Officers did the like. A low man he was and slender, but of such Courage and so strong made, that he would provoke the most robust he could hear of to grapple with him, disdainng they should at all spare him out of respect to his person. It happened on a time, that *Kened* King of the Scots was at his Court, to whom, as *Matthew* of *Westminster* relates, he gave rich Presents with the whole Countrey of *Lothian*, on condition that he and his Successors at high Festivals should come and attend on the English King when he sat Crowned; moreover many Lodging places he assigned him by the way, which to ease them in their Journey were till the time of *Henry* the Second still held by these Kings of Scotland. This *Kened* as he sat one day Feasting, said jestingly to those about him, That it was a strange thing that so many Provinces should obey such a little Contemprable man. The words were brought to the King's Ears. "He sends for "Kened as to consult upon some important Affair, and carries him into a Wood, "where none being present but they two, he delivers into his hand one of two "Swords he had brought along with him. Now he tells him they were alone, "and so he had a good opportunity to try his strength. He was resolved it should "now be determined which of them ought to rule, and which to be Subject, "bidding him not stir a foot but decide the Controverfise with him, for it was "an ugly thing for a King to talk at a Feast and not be forward at a Fray. *Kened* "hereat exceedingly abashed, without replying, fell down at his Feet, and begged

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his

Codex Londi.
Anglo. fol. 103.
apud Spelman,
Conc. p. 414.

He is fleshly
given.

Florentin.
Hoveden.

Is Crowned at
Bath.

Murder laid
to his charge
with the ac-
count of it.

Extracts a Tri-
bute of Wolves
from *Ludwal*
King of *Wales*.

Takes care
that Justice be
administred.

His Courage
and Strength.

his Ac-
count-
pape. ac-
chieve-
ment upon
Bacon nem-
nary. 7 cy-
correc-
tion.

Polus 2. ad.

Malmebury.

Sect. 10.

St. Dunstan dies.

"Cave him had preferred Silver before God himself, Money before an Apostle, and Courtownes before him; the Calamities formerly related should speedily come upon him, but he the Bishop should first be dead. And within two years he died, his death being ushered in with strange Fevers upon Men, and Fluxes upon Cattel.

83. Immediately followed these Mischiefs, which one less than a Prophet might foresee, the *Danes*, having got a measure of the present weak estate of the Nation through the King's sloath and want of Spirit. But they themselves had at this time a Prince of a quite contrary Disposition, one *Suene* or *Suene-Otto*, as *Adam Bremenfis* calls him, the Son of *Harald* the Great, one so undutifully active as to deprive his Father of his Kingdom. He made use of some whom *Harald* had constrained to profess Christian Religion, which now abjuring they renounced their Faith and Allegiance both together setting up *Suene* against his Father, and declaring War against the old Man, who had therein the fortune to miscarry, and flying to a City of the *Slawi* called *Janne* there died of his Wounds. *Suene* now rid of his Father persecutes Christians, and breaths revenge against the *Slawi*; against whom making War he is twice taken Prisoner by them, and redeemed with vast Treasure. After this *Eleric* King of the *Suedes* takes occasion to quarrel with him, and engaging with him in several Sea Fights has the better of him, and at length outs him of his Kingdom which he quietly enjoys all his life. Thus justly rewarded for his horrid Crimes, he wanders up and down without relief. *Thurco* the Son of *Haco* then Prince of the *Normans* rejected him as a Pagan, and *Ethelred* the Son of *Edgar* (he calls him *Adalread*) remembering what mischiefs the *Danes* had brought on this Island, with scorn repels him. At length he is entertained by the King of the *Scots*, who taking compassion of him gave him free Quarter for fourteen years together. But so enraged was he at the repulse given him by the King of *England*, that ever after he made it his study how to plague and afflict the Country, sometime by his own peculiar Forces, and sometime by the assistance of others, as we shall see. How true this Story is we cannot assert, the Affairs of the Northern Nations as to those times being involved in so great obscurity. However we thought it not amiss to relate it as suiting with the Fortunes and Inclinations of this man, which proved so great a Plague to this our Country that he seems to have been acted by some extraordinary passion, whether of Revenge or Ambition or both together.

84. Not long after the death of *Dunstan* the *Danes* invaded the Maritime parts of *Devonshire*, against whom one *Goda* Lieutenant of that County, and *Stremewold* a most valiant Souldier, made head and put them to flight, but died themselves in the Combat. For two years we hear no more of them, but in the third they infested again the Eastern Parts and spoiled the Town of *Ipswich* (then and long after called *Gippswich*, from the River *Gipping*) their Leaders being one *Jufstin* and *Guthmund* the Son of *Steitan*. They were opposed by *Brihtnoth* the most valiant Duke of the East Saxons, who fought with them at *Maldon*, where a great Multitude on both sides were slain, but the disadvantage fell to the *English* by reason of the loss of their Captain. Now were all Havens, all convenient places of Landing filled with the *Danes* who swarmed in such Numbers into the Land, that it could not be known where most conveniently they might be met with. The readiest course, doubtless, had been for the King to imitate his Father in manning out a stout Fleet to scour the Seas. But he was too lazy to follow his example, and as generally the humour of a Prince makes a strong impression upon the minds of his People, especially the Nobility and those near about him, as he lay idle and useless, so they contracted a great Rust; and resolved it was by the Advice of *Stricrus* the Successour of *Dunstan* in the See of *Canterbury*, and of two Dukes *Ethelward* and *Alfric*, that those who could not be beaten with Iron should be bribed with Gold, of which ten thousand Pounds were given them on condition to quit the Country, and no more infest the Coast. An infamous Example (saith *Malmesbury*) and unworthy of men, to redeem their Liberty with Money, which no violence can wrest from an unconquered mind.

85. This stopp their mouths for a year or thereabouts, but then their appetite was more exasperated by what they had already tasted, being taught the way how to come by more. They land again in the North, and set upon *Bebbanburgh*, now *Bamburgh* an ancient Town in *Northumberland*, built by King *Ida* of which we have formerly spoken, which having taken they Plunder, and then directing their course to the Mouth of *Humber*, they waste the Country on both sides the River, *Lindsey* and *Yorkshire*, burning all the Houses, killing all the Men, Women

Fevers hominum & huius animalium que Anglice Syzba nominatur, Latine autem fluxus intercorum dicitur pestis. floccid.

Hoveden ad Ann. 991.

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. Dcccxciii.

Sect. 10.

and Children, and gather together vast Booty. The Country Men in an hasty and discomposd manner made opposition, but coming to fight, three of their Leaders, *Frana*, *Frithegisl* and *Godwin* being all of them *Danes* by the Father's side, betrayed them, and procured their defeat. At the same time no less treachery was practised at Sea, not upon the account of Conflagrinity, but Revenge. It was now thought fit to Man out a Fleet to intercept those Rovers before they could land, the Conduct whereof was committed to *Alfric* the Son of *Elfer*, Duke of *Mercia*; and another Nobleman called *Torold*. This *Alfric*, the King for some offence had formerly Banished, but now recalled, yet the affront had so inflamed him with malice, that being sent from *London* to surprize the *Danes* in some place of disadvantage, over night he gave them Intelligence, and then fled to them, as writes *Florent* of *Worcester*, which his Fleet perceiving pursued him, and took the Ship wherein he fled, yet he by some other convenience escaped from them, but by chance falling upon the East Angles they killed and drowned many of them. But *Huntingdon* says, that the *Danes* being forewarned by *Alfric*, not only all escaped, but afterward with greater number of Ships setting upon the King's Navy killed many of the *Londoners*, and led away in triumph many of their Ships, together with *Alfric* the Consul, as he calls him.

Wasting East England and other Parts.

Suene with Anlaf King of Norway makes another Invasion.

Anlaf bought off.

Other Hostilities acted by the Danes.

86. By this time was *Suene* King of *Danemark* arrived, who had brought to his Assistance *Anlaf* (or as some call him, *Olaf* the Son of *Thurco*) King of *Norway*, and with a Fleet of nine Gallies entered the *Thames*. On the day of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin they set upon *London*, endeavouring to break into and Burn it when it was scarcely rebuilt, but the Citizens so strenuously behaved themselves that by the assistance of God and the Virgin, as the Monks write, they forced them with great loss to retire from the Siege. Exasperated by this repulse, they invade *Essex* and *Kent*, which they waste with Fire and Sword, especially the Seacoasts, and then pass into *Sussex* and the Province of *Southampton*, where they burn the Villages, spoil the Fields, and without respect to either Sex, rage with all cruelty against Mankind and enrich themselves with great plunder. At length they horse their Foot, and then through many Countries make their outrageous progress, where they commit the same violence sparing neither Sex nor Age. To put a stop to their march by any force no preparation was made, the sluggish King and his sordid Counsellours implore again the aid of money, which by his Embassadors he offers to them to take them off from their furious courses. The sum agreed on was sixteen thousand pounds, in expectation of which they retire to their Ships and pass to *Southampton*, where they winter. This being a time for Complements rather than Action, *Anlaf* the *Norwegian* King received hostages for his safety, and accepted of *Ethelred*'s invitation to his Court which then was at *Andover*. Being royally entertained and adopted the King's Son at Confirmation (or Baptism) as also nobly presented, he engaged to depart the Land and molest the Kingdom no more; and accordingly returning to his own Country he kept his word.

87. This was no ill advice given to *Ethelred*, to take off from *Suene* so powerful an Assistant. But as Arms signify little abroad except there begood Council at home, so in cases of Hostility, Invasions especially, Consultations without strokes will not avail to remove a warlike, unfaithfull and pertinacious Enemy. The influence of the late Tribute or Bribe operated but for three years, or scarcely so much, and then the *Danes* that had Wintered at *Southampton* and staid in *England*, fetching a compass about *West Saxony*, entered the Mouth of the River *Severn* where passing they wasted *North Wales*, *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, and burning very many Towns killed multitudes of poor People, which done they fetch another compass about *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, where having acted the same Hostilities at last they came to *Taovech* and there Wintered. The next year they failed to the Mouth of the River *Frome*, and wasted the greatest part of *Dorsetshire*, which done they made many Incursions into the Isle of *Wight*, and thence often returned into *Dorsetshire* so long as they continued in the Island receiving Provisions out of *Sussex* and *Hampshire*. The *English* several times made Head against them, but still as they were going to fight were hindered either by treachery or some other misfortune, and turned tail against their Enemies. The year that followed they had the confidence to come nearer to *London*, passing through the Mouth of *Thames* to the River *Medway*, up which they advance to *Rocheſter*, and laid Siege to it. The *Kentish* Men took the Alarm and gave them a sharp Encounter, wherein many fell on both sides, but the *Danes* remained Masters of the Field. Now they horse their Foot, and spoiled in a manner all the *Wes*

Huntingdon. ad Ann. 13. Reg. E. the 4th. E. d. 10. Florent. W. g. 10.

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. Dcccxciv.

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. Dcccxcv. & Dcccxcvi.

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The Danes invading all parts are bought off.

They retire.

Stct. 10.

tern Coast of *Kent*, which things at last roused *Ethelred* and his Counsellours, so that they prepared both a Fleet and Land Army consisting most of Foot. But King and Commanders being all alike, they delayed their march from day to day, and oppressed the Country where they lodged. Neither the one nor the other Army, did any thing at all tending to the publick good, but burthened the People, wasted the publick Treasure, and by their ridiculous and effeminate carriage more imboldened the Enemy to proceed, who the year following passing over into *Normandy*, upon what account we know not, at their return did more mischief than before.

Another invasion of the Danes.

88. King *Ethelred* and his Officers dare peep out when there is none left to hurt them, and are grown so valiant, that who is he that dare oppose them. They not only threaten the absent Enemy, but go to seek some out in *Cumberland*, where and in the Isle of *Man* the *Danes* of the old standing, lived as quietly as did the Natives. These unarmed People they set upon, hara's all the Country with a Land Army, the Fleet being ordered to sail about and meet them, which hindered by contrary winds, it could not do but those that were therein shipwrecked, saw there was no danger of Foes in the Isle of *Man*, and therefore landed and overran it. But the *Danes* the next year returning out of *Normandy*, entered the Mouth of the River *Exe*, and presently laid siege to *Exeter*, the wall of which they battered, refusing to storm it; yet did the Inhabitants receive them so warmly, that not liking their entertainment they thought fit to retire, and vent all their malice on the poor Country which went sadly to wreck, having none but helpless People to defend it, which were murdered in great multitudes, after the loss of their Goods and Houses. At length those of *Devonshire* and *Somersetshire* assembled themselves together, and made some resistance at a place called *Penbo*, but being overpowered in Numbers were repelled with great slaughter. This both encouraged and enraged the insolent Enemy, who now horning all his men, did greater mischief in *Devonshire* than ever, and so returned to his ships, wherein he passed to the Isle of *Wight*, and sometimes in it, and other whiles in *Hampshire* and *Dorsetshire*, without any resistance followed his ordinary course of Life, doing such Execution by the Sword against Men, and by fire against Villages, that he affrighted every thing called *English*, from medling with him either at Sea or Land. The King good man, was not a little troubled, and his People bemoaned one another with one Finger in the Eye, and another in the Mouth.

A third Summ paid to purchase Peace, and the departure of the Danes.

89. At length they shake their Pockers, where finding something still rattle, they are again suddenly comforted, and a gay and effeminate Courier called *Leoff*, by advice of the Nobility with great Vapours, but fitter to eat than fight, except in the Combats of *Venus*, is sent to offer to the *Danes* a bountifull Present from the King who, brave Soul (they must know) did it out of his Munificence not any necessity that he or his had to court them. A third Tribute, for so it must be called is accepted but the summa inhaunc'd to twenty four thousand Pound, which paid down, the *Danes* obtained till the next time from all Hostility. The Messenger *Leoff*, while the business was transacting, basely killed another Nobleman as valiant as himself, one *Eafic* one of the King's best Officers, for which he underwent the pains of Banishment. *Ethelred* having done so great a work as to buy off his Enemy, in the strength of Reputation gained thereby, resolves to make a new Alliance. He had formerly had a quarrel with *Richard Duke of Normandy*, the first of that Name about his entertaining and protecting certain dangerous Persons that had fled the Kingdom, and it arose to so high terms, that *Pope John* the Fifth, whose Letter is extant in *Malmesbury's* History, was fain to interpose and dispatch his Legate into *England*, by whose mediation the King was wrought to send his Commissioners to *Rouen*, where a piece was happily concluded. Now though we cannot say, that the falling out of Lovers here, proved the renewing of Love, yet their falling out proved the occasion at length of Love-matters. For after about ten years the Wife of *Ethelred* being dead, he asked and obtained the Daughter of *Richard* in marriage, which having now gallantly freed himself from all solicitudes, he had time and opportunity to solemnize. A great Train of the chief of his Nobles is sent to fetch the Lady, more being found ready to goe upon this errand, than to fight against the *Danes*, and into *England* they bring her with wonderfull magnificence. Her name was *Emma* called by the *English* *Elgina* a Lady of admirable beauty, whereupon she was stiled the *Flower and Pearl of Normandy*. Her Mothers name was *Gunnor*, descended from an eminent *Danish* Family, and therefore did the King enter upon this great Design, out of greater reasons of State. For it was hoped, that her interest might be able

An Alliance betwixt Ethelred and Richard Duke of Normandy.

Idem ad An. M.

to work upon the unreasonable *Danes*, and so save him both blows and money. Sect. 10.

90. Such was the great Plot when he entered at first upon the treaty of marriage, the full advantage yet of which he did not then thoroughly understand. But having fully perceived the strength of his Alliance, he scorned now to buy a peace, he would by his actions command one, and make the Barbarians pay dear for all the Extravagancies they had committed within his Kingdom. One would now think he would rouse up himself, take the Field, provide himself by Land, of stout and experienced Souldiers, by Sea of skillfull Mariners such as knew how and durst effect such gallant Orders as he should send them. The *Danes* had by the Sword done much mischief, and by the Sword indeed he resolved they should be punished, they had broken many Leagues and Treaties, and it was no crime to deceive the Deceiver. But this must be done, not in the Field but at their private Houses, not by a fair Enemy but through surprise, not by a fight, but in a Massacre, Letters being sent into all Countries, commanding all the King's Subjects upon a certain day (the ninth of July) to set upon them, and without mercy to destroy them all. The pretence was (as no Massacre but has such kind of excuse) that they had a Design to deprive him of his Kingdom and Life, and to destroy all the Nobility, that so they might bring the whole Island into their own Dominion. The Command was executed, and the *Danes* thereby, who by a League solemnly sworn had been admitted to inhabit quietly amongst the *English*, were most shamefully and barbarously murdered. No Sex or Age escaped. The Women were butchered as well as the men, and the Brains of Children dashed against the walls. At *London*, when execution was to be done, many of them fled into a certain Church of that City, but so sacred a place was no security, for they were all without pity murdered as they stood by, and embraced the Altars. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* informs us, that when he was a Child he heard some very old men who lived at that time, report that the King sent private Letters into every City, wherein Order was given to set on the *Danes* unawares, and either kill them by the Sword, or burn them to death. But they found out other Devices when they perceived themselves Masters of their Game. They were so barbarous in their revenge, that they digged holes in the ground, and therein set the *Danish* Women up to the middle, which done they set fierce Mastives upon them, which cruelly tore off their Breasts.

Inhumane Cruelties.

91. A Popular fury, especially, when backed by Authority knows no bounds, nor Authority it self, when it has broken the bounds of publick Justice. There were several Persons of great Quality in the Land, received upon the publick Faith as Hostages, to ratifie the Peace lately accorded. Among the rest a Princess called *Gnildis*, the Sister of King *Swane*, and Wife to a Count whose Name was *Paling*. She had several years before this come into *England* with her Family, where she received the Christian Faith. She was a Woman of great prudence and temper, had often interposed to make Peace between the Nations, and now lately had given up her self, her Husband and her only Son as Hostages to King *Ethelred*. Duke *Edric*, to whose care she was committed, caused her Husband and her Son before her Face to be pierced through with four Lances, and after that her self to be beheaded. She most gallantly and undauntedly took her death, nor the least fear or change of colour appearing in her Face, but assured the Murderer, that her blood would cost *England* very dear; which she might easily say without gift of Prophecy, scarcely ever any Massacre having happened, which procured not to the *Adours* much farther trouble. But that day that the Order was executed at *London*, where lay in the Streets vast heaps of dead Bodies, some of our Men of the *Danish* Nation, more swift than their Pursuers seized on a Boat in the *Thames*, with which adventuring to Sea they passed over to *Denmark*, and there related to King *Swane*, the butchery of their Countrymen in *England*. The King heret conceived such sorrow as was answerable to the matter related, and assembling his Princes together, acquainted them with the Tragical Act, and desired their Advice what was to be done. Inflamed with rage and grief for the loss of their Relations, they resolved that Revenge was to be taken with all the force the Kingdom could make, whereupon they were sent back into their several Countries to make Preparations, and Posts were dispatched to the Neighbouring Nations, to invite all strangers to join with them in the Expedition, wherein they proposed to them great hopes of vast Spoils and rich Possessions. King *Swane*, now resolved to make another sort of War than formerly, not like a Pirate by taking Advantages and flying here and there, but like a just Enemy to push for all, and conquer the Kingdom. And his Provocation being just, he prospered accordingly.

Which are related to Swane King of the Danes.

Who prepares for an Invasion.

Marsh. West. mss. 1022.

Lib. 6. ad An. 1022.

Wallingham in Hypodig. 1. Neufrie.

Marsh. West. mss.

Wallingham in Hypodig. 1. ubi supr.

Sect. 10.

The account of the Massacre.

92. This is the Account of the Massacre, as it is given us by the Generality of our Historians, all who charge King *Ethelred* alone with it, affirming, that his heart being puffed up with pride after his second Marriage upon confidence of his Alliance, on slight suspicions he exposed the *Danes* to the Revenge and Fury of the People. But the Monk of *Westminster*, who disagrees in the Account of ten years from the rest, has a story to tell by himself of one *Huna* General of the King's Forces, and his chief Minister, he taking notice of the Insolence of the *Danes*, how importunately arrogant they were grown after the late Agreement, forcing the Wives and Daughters of the *English* of best Quality; and offering them all the Affronts imaginable, made a grievous complaint hereof to *Ethelred*, who conceiving from his words an implacable Indignation, by advice of the said *Huna*, sent his Letters above said into all the parts of the Kingdom. Whence soever the Suggestion was received the thing was done by the King's Command, and so much innocent blood so perfidiously shed, crying for vengeance, procured him the loss of that which by this means his pretences were for to preserve. The *Danes* lost no time, but also as the Spring opened, the frozen Seas with a powerful Fleet invaded *England*. Some say their first Hostility was acted upon *Torkshire*, where King *Swane* leaving his Forces to refresh themselves after their Voyage, failed in to *Normandy*, and there with the Duke made a firm and perpetual League, by virtue whereof, the *Normans* were to have all the Spoils got in the War with *England*, sold to them at reasonable rates, in recompence for which privilege all that were sick or maimed in the *Danish* Army should have as kind entertainment in *Normandy* as if they had been in *Denmark*, is left. But our Authors who trace the steps of the *Danes*, make no mention of this Invasion of *Torkshire*; and though *Ethelred* doubtless contracted great obloquy and reproach from his Neighbours by the late Massacre, yet can we scarcely believe that the *Normans* would join in a League against so near an Ally as the King of *England*.

The *Danes* land, following the Country in several places.

93. The first Impression they certainly made was upon the South Western Parts, where by the Folly or Treachery of *Hugh* a *Norman* Count indeed, whom Queen *Emina* had preferred to the Government of *Devonshire*, they broke into *Exeter*; and having demolished the City walls from the East to the Western Gate, retired with great plunder to their Ships. After this they waited *Wiltshire*, where a strong Body of Men, drawn partly out of that Country, and partly out of *Hampshire*, advanced to give them Battel. But when the Armies were come within fight of each other, *Alfric* the *English* General, whose Son's Eyes the King had lately put out for his Fathers betraying the Fleet onto the *Danes*, now it seems intending to be revenged upon the King, counterfeited himself sick, and feigned a fit of vomiting, whereat the Army discouraged, instead of fighting every Man shifted for himself, which *Swane* perceiving and laughing in his sleeve at the mad Conduct of the *English* Affairs, went to *Wilton*, which he plundered and burnt, and having dealt in the same manner with *Salisbury*, then returned to his Ships. The year following to the Coasts of *Norfolk* he failed, where he landing, he plundered and burnt *Norwich*, using such expedition, that he surprised *Vilketel* the Duke of the East *Angles*, and a very stout Commander, who having no time to leavy an Army, took advice with the Nobility of his Province, and made Peace with him. But this Peace *Swane* perfidiously brake, after a Fortnight or three Weeks time stealing from his Ships to *Thetford*, which he plundered, lodged one Night in it, and the next day set it on fire. *Vilketel* having notice of his expedition, ordered a Party to go and burn his Ships in the Harbour, which they either durst not attempt or neglected to do. He in the mean time with what secrecy and speed he could gathered together his Forces, and marched courageously against the Enemy, and as they retreated to their Ships made a fierce onset. Such was inferior in Numbers, and therefore most of the best Quality among the Eastern *English* lost their Lives. The *Danes* also received very great loss, and with difficulty recovered their Fleet, which they had never done, had all the Force of East *England* been present. They confessed that in the Island they never met with so rough an Engagement, as this they had with *Vilketel*.

Then followed a Great Famine by Land.

94. The following year happened to great a Famine, that it forced a Cessation, on, driving *Swane* back into *Denmark*, but supplied, as it were, the Place of his Sword in the Destruction of the poor People of *England*, as many of which are said to have perished by Hunger, as formerly had done in a year by his Cruelties. Most dreadful was the Estate of *England* at this time, which all sorts of mischiefs contended how to harass. A King it had so stout and warlike, that as if he had been born to sleep, and nothing else, was little moved by any of its Calamities,

Math. Westm. ad Ann. 1002.

Wellingham. Gemine de Duc. Norm.

Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. MIII. Huntingd. Hoveden.

Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. MIV.

Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. MIV.

Sect. 10.

Malmsh.

Tempests at Sea.

And the Treachery of *Edric*, which ruined the Nation.

Another Invasion.

A fourth Sum offered to purchase their departure.

or if at some time he began to awake and rouse himself upon his Elbow, yet either his own drowziness or his adverse Fortune pulled him down to slumber again. The guilt of his Brother's Blood lay heavy upon him. No man can well reckon how many Armies at length he raised, how many Fleets he rigged, how often he gave out orders to his Officers, but all this to no purpose. For these Armies wanting the Authority and Courage of a Prince to give them life, and being rude and undisciplined either mouldered away before they came to Action, or else easily were overthrown when they came to it. In War the presence of a General avails much, much his known and approved Valour, but especially Exercise and Discipline, which these Armies wanting procured irreparable mischiefs to the Inhabitants, and afforded matter of scorn and mirth to the Insulting Enemy; a sort of Men most rapacious if not restrained by force, but if vigorously opposed base and cowardly. What the sluggishness and cowardice of the Prince and People effected not, the Winds and Weather procured; for when the Ships lay at Anchor upon the Coasts for their security, suddenly would a Tempest arise and dash them to pieces one against another. And what all these still left unfinished was completed by treachery, folly or fearfulness of Officers. If they met at any time in Council they never agreed in their Opinions, seldom did the Major part concur in anything that was seasonable and fit to be done, having ever a greater respect to their private animosities than the public good; but if it chanced at any time that they hit upon a point convenient, their Councils were speedily betrayed to the *Danes*. For besides *Elfric* the Son of *Elfere* who murdered the late King, there was one *Edric* whom the present had made Earl of *Mercia*, the dregs of Men (so the Monk words it) the opprobrium of the *English*, a flagitious Glutton, a crafty Knave who had not been enriched by anything received from his Ancestours, but by his own prating and boldness. This Fellow being a crafty Dissembler, and an egregious Counterfeit, as a faithful Councillour would dive into the King's Secrets, and like a base Traitor discover them. Often was he sent to the Enemy to mediate a Peace, and as often stirred them up to prosecute their former course of Hostility. *Vilketel* or *Vikil* (as he calls him) was the only Man that made any considerable resistance. At length that no fort of misery might be wanting, what War had left, that Famine destroyed; and the Enemy so freely and without controul ranged about the Country, that from any place within fifty Miles distance from the Sea they fetcht away all they pleased without the least jealousy of any Ambushes, or the least fear of Intercepting.

95. The year following in July an innumerable multitude of *Danish* ships were seen in *Sandwich* Road, whence swarms of Rovers overran *Kent* and *Suffex*, sparing neither Man nor any thing else more than they had done formerly. King *Ethelred* to oppose them raised an Army out of *Mercia* and West *Saxony*, but never could engage them, for they shifted from place to place, not thinking it fit to hazard a Battel, and robbed as they could; so that till Winter they consumed the time, and retired then with infinite Booty to the Isle of *Wight*, and there flaid till *Christmas*: when understanding that the King was in *Shropshire* (where if he could not kill Enemies he could murder Subjects, procuring by means of *Edric*, as was thought, *Alfhelm* a Duke of great value to be slain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they overran *Hampshire* and *Berkshire* as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*, which they burnt with other places. Thence passed they to *Aldown*, and coming to the River *Kenet*, found the Inhabitants of the Country make head against them, but they engaged and easily routed them, and thence without molestation, returned to their ships. The King and his Courtiers were sufficiently tired by that Dance the *Danes* had led them: They thought they had done as much as reasonably could be expected from Mortal men; no course remained to be taken with these cowardly pilfering Villains, but to give them more Money, a thing which a generous Soul values not. They sent to them again and offer to buy them off from their Ravenous course, but the price is still increased, it being as easie to obtain more as less of such easie Enemies. The Sum is now fix and thirty thousand Pounds, which is raised of the People throughout *England* already ruined by their Rapines. And if some tell true, whom we are not willing to believe, *Ethelred* in the Agreement of this year *MVII*, yielded to pay an Annual Tribute of thirty six thousand Pounds to the *Danes*, for a longer continuance of the Peace. We read indeed that he yielded to the payment, but no where do we read or find that he did pay it and stood to his word. This year it was that *Ethelred* advanced *Edric*, surnamed *Streone*, to the Dukedom of the *Mercians*;

Idem ad Ann. MVII.

Chronica. Mel. c. 343 in Biblioth. Cottoniana.

Seçt. 10. A Fellow who having raised himself, as we said, to a great Estate by his cunning and a plausible Tongue, proved shortly a mighty Instrument in the ruine of England.

A Tax for Shipping.

96. The next year produced something laudable, which shewed the King to have a little care of his Estate. He enacted, that every three hundred and ten Hides of Land should set out a Gally, and every nine * Hides find a Corleer and Head piece, and throughout all England he commanded ships apace to be built; which being made ready, he Victualled and Manned with choice Souldiers, and appointed their Rendezvous at the Port of Sandwich, to secure the Bounds of his Kingdom from the Irruptions of Foreigners. Now a Hide (as the Archdeacon of Huntingdon and several others tell us) was so much Land as a man could Till in one year with one Plough, being the same with Cassata and Carucata in barbarous Latin. That it was a customs to tax the richer sort by the number of Hides in those days is very evident both from the Saxon Laws and the Breviary or Notitia of England, called Doomday Book. But as for what Huntingdon adds, that there never had been so great a number of ships before in Brit-in, which also the Saxon Annals of Abingdon do testify, another Notion of Hide we must have to make this agree with their opinion. For if Mr. Camden's Account be good, who out of the ancient Records of that Age casts up the number of Hides not to exceed two hundred forty three thousand and six hundred, the number of ships must have amounted to no more than seven hundred and eighty five according to the Tax; so that this Navy could not have matched that of King Edgar by some thousands. Others therefore there are who determine otherwise concerning an Hide; and most certain it is as a learned man observes, that it was very various according to the different customs of Countries. Whatever the number of the ships was one would now have imagined that England was in a fair way to be protected, when suddenly Discontent the bane of all good Designs, sprung up among the Great Ones. For this very year did Britic the brother of Duke Edric as ambitious, proud, and deceitfull almost as himself, falsely accuse Walnoth a great Officer of the South Saxons to the King, whereupon he judging it not safe to trust his life in their Hands, who he knew would condemn him right or wrong, got him to Sea with twenty ships and plaid the Pirate upon the Coasts. Upon a report raised that he might be easily taken, Britic with eighty Gallies went in quest of him, but when he had failed for some time, so grievous a Tempest rose that it wrecked all the Vessels and cast them upon the shoar where Walnoth soon after burnt them. This misfortune so disheartened the King and his Nobles, that they fairly returned home, and the Fleet by his command came up to London. And so was the People taxed and troubled to no purpose.

Which was rather a burden than a benefit to the Kingdom.

Turkill with other Danes arrive.

Who might have been cut off but for the Treachery of Edric.

97. The next year after, which was the MIX of our Lord, Turkill a Danish Earl arrived with some ships in England, and in the Month of August was followed by an innumerable company of Danish Vessels commanded by Hemming and Eilaf, which landed in the Isle of Thanet, and joyined with Turkill: To Sandwich they pass, where landing they go and endeavour to break into Canterbury, the Inhabitants whereof with their Neighbours of the East part of Kent purchase their Peace by the payment of three thousand Pounds. The Danes then going back to their ships sail to the Isle of Wight, whence passing to the Coasts of Sussex and Hampshire, they exercise themselves in their usual Trades of plundering and burning. Ethelred was again so sensible of his Peoples miseries as to leavy Forces throughout the Land, which he bestowed in places near the Sea to restrain their Irruptions, but it was done so unskilfully, at least so unsuccessfully that they came and went securely for all this, and practised their Rapines as before. On a certain time being gone farther than usual from the Sea, the King slept betwixt them and Home, seizing upon the place through which they were to return with many thousand men, and resolved to die or overcome, as was the whole Army. But the Traitorous Duke Edric (who now might practise his Treasons more colourably, having married the King's Daughter Egitha) by subtle Arguments urged, that as Circumstances now stood, it was their Interest to let the Danes repass untroubled. He persuaded them, and the Danes got back safe to their ships with great Joy, and much contrary to their expectation. After this when Martinmas was now past they went to the Coast of Kent and resolved to Winter in the Thames. They maintained themselves by what they got out of Essex and other places, lying on each side of the River. They often also attempted to seize on London, were beaten back by the Citizens with very great loss.

Simcon Dn. nelm. ad An. MXXII. Martians Scotts. Florentius. * Alii otto bidu habent ut Huntingdonensis, Math. Wylmings. Math. Paris.

Selden in mari clasps, lib. 2. c. 14.

Simcon Dn. nelm. ad An. MXX.

98. E'er Winter was over, in the Month of January they left their Ships, and through Chiltern Wood passed to Oxford, which having burnt they returned by the River Thames, and waited the Countrey on both sides in their Passage. In their return they had Intelligence that a great Army was gathering together at London to intercept them, which caused that part of their Army which marched down the North side of the River to pass over at Stanes, where joining with the other and loading with extraordinary plunder they passed through Surry to their Ships, in repairing of which they spent in Kent the Lent following. Eafter being over they departed into East England, where near to Ipswich they came to a place called Ringmere, having heard that Ethelred lay there with his Forces. He entertained them very warmly, and a fierce Battel was fought. But the English at Pough gave back, a certain * Danish Servant, on purpose, so it seems, beginning the flight and lost the Field, though the Cambridgeshire Men as long as they could stood to it, and fought very manfully, † which procured them much honour so long as the English Kingdom stood. Here fell Ethelstan the King's Son-in-Law, Osiw a Noble man with his Sons and many other, together with a great number of the ordinary foot. The Danes being Masters of the Field now had East England at their discretion, which horfing themselves they spared not more than the most violent Enemy would do, spending three months in plundering, burning and killing all they could meet with. Having done what mischief they could in the Fens, they burn Thersford, and Grantebrig, or Cambridge; whence (as Huntingdon writes) going back over most pleasant Hills of a delightful place called Boleham (now Gogmagog Hills) they killed all they could meet in their way toffing Infants on the points of their Spears. But one man (faith he) there was who deserves to be remembered for getting into a Steeple, and there defending himself from the whole Army. After this the Foot by Sea, and the Horse through Essex, returned to the Thames, where continuing not many days again they quired their ships and went through into Oxfordshire, which first, and then the Counties of Buckingham, Bedford and Hertford they waited, and having burnt the Towns, and killed Mankind, with all other living Creatures, they returned again to their ships as so many ravenous and noxious Wild Beasts glutted with blood to their Dens. Yet still about the Feast of St. Andrew they burnt Northampton with all about it, as far as they pleased; and then passing to the Thames went into West Saxony, where having waited that called then Cuningamerse, and the greater part of Wiltshire, they returned after their accustomed manner to their ships about Christmas.

After a Battel the Danes become Masters of East England.

And waited part of West Saxony.

After more Devastations another sum is offered.

Canterbury is taken and plundered.

With its Arch. bishop.

99. They were neither yet so wearied with travel, nor satisfied with wealth, but that the year following they took a larger scope than ever. For on the North side the River, with Fire and Sword they waited all East England, Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, the Counties of Oxford, Bedford and Cambridge, with half of Huntingdon, and the greatest Part of that of Northampton: on the South side Kent, Surrey, Suffex, with the Counties of Southampton, Wilts and Berks. After all these Messengers are sent to solicit for Peace, promising more Money to buy them off from these horrid devastations. They give good words and accepted the Tribute, but without any intention to keep their Faith, which they presently break, first by Plundering the County in several Parties, and toward Michaelmas by besieging Canterbury, which on the twentieth day of the Siege they take by the treachery of Almere the Archdeacon, and burn part of it. Here they committed all sorts of villanies against the poor Inhabitants, whereof some they slew with the sword, others they burnt; many they threw down the headlong from the Walls, and some they hung up by the Privy Members. The Women they drag by the Hair of their Heads through the Streets, and then cast into the fire. Infants being snatched from the Breasts of their Mother they either stuck upon the points of their Spears, or crushed to pieces by driving Carts over them. Alsege the Archbishop they take Prisoner, bind and contumeliously use. Almar the Abbat of St. Austins they permitted to depart. Godwin Bishop of Rochester, Leofruna Abbess of the Nunnery of St. Mildrede, Elfede the King's Governour, with Monks and Clerks, and a vast number of the Common People were also taken; Christ Church they burn, Monks, Men, Women and Children are decimated, whereof nine are killed, and the tenth referred to a life worse than death; so that of the whole multitude remained only four Monks, and eight hundred Men. The People being slain, and the whole City plundered and burnt, the Archbishop is taken out of Prison, driven away bound and wounded to the Fleet, where he is kept clove seven Months together. In the mean time thefe

* Tarcetil Miltredid id est caput formice primus fugam incipit et approbium meruit sempiternum. Huntingdon. † Sic Huntingdonensis sed homines Grantebridgensi fire viriliter resistunt, laus Grantebridgensi Provincie floruit. lib. 6. Hist. ad Ann. MXX.

Sect. 10.

cruel and more than barbarous Miscreants are visited with a Plague in their Guts, whereof two thousand of them miserably perish. Those that lived were sorely afflicted with the same Disease, and thereupon the Christians take occasion to urge the delivery of the Archbishop, but they still defer it.

100. As soon as Spring appeared, before *Easter* that traitorous *Eddric Streone*, and all the rest of the Nobility of both Orders Assembled at *London*, where they held their Councils and continued so long till the Tribute was paid to the *Danes*, which now amounted to eight and forty thousand Pounds. In the meantime *Alfred* the Archbishop had his Ransome set at three thousand Pounds, which he constantly refusing to pay or procure was at last murdered by them when they were heated with Wine, and farther exasperated by his prohibiting any one to offer any sum of money for his liberty. Being brought out into their full Assembly, they fell upon him with Swords, Stones, Bones, and whatever came to hand, and at length one *Thrum* whom he had Confirmed but the day before, out of an impious sort of Piety brained him with an Hatchet. His Body was the day following conveyed to *London*, and buried in the Church of *St Paul*. Afterward the Tribute being paid, and the Peace confirmed by Oaths on both sides, the *Danish* Fleet was separated, only five and forty Ships remained with the King for the Defence of *England* against all Foreigners on these terms, to be maintained by him with Victuals and Clothing. From the Old *Saxon* Laws it appears that for repressing of Pirates, Robbers, or others infesting the Sea, it was resolved that a yearly payment should be made of Money, which from those who usually were the Practisers of this Trade was called *Danegeld*, that is to say, twelve pence upon every Hide through the whole Land, for the Pay of those that should be employed to hinder the Irruption of Pirates. This we are told by several Authours, continued from this or the following for thirty eight or thirty nine years, till it was remitted by *Eduard* the Confessor, the Son of King *Ethelred*. The Reader must take notice that there were two sorts of *Danegeld*. The one was, that Tribute or Tax so often mentioned by us, whereby our *English Saxons* were forced to purchase Peace, and remove Hostilities and Rapines upon occasion, the several sums whereof we have expressed in their places. It was not paid yearly, but levied now and then as the necessity of the Kingdom required. The other was this first raised in the Year of our Lord *MXII*. (the same wherein the eight and forty thousand Pounds were paid) to pay the *Danish* Navy which was now hired to guard the Sea, and defend the Coasts.

101. But both sorts alike contributed to the Ends and Designs for which they were paid. The former took but off the perfidious *Danes* for a small time, who then again without regard to Oath or Promise violated the Peace in expectation of another gratuity to be bestowed upon them. And this other was so far from securing the Coasts by scouring the Seas, that *Turkill* who staid behind as Admiral of this now *English* Fleet seems to have done it to no other purpose (besides the fleeing of the poor Nation of more Money) than to give Intelligence to *Swane* when it would be most seasonable to invade the Land. In *July* the year following with a strong Fleet he landed at *Sandwich*, where having staid but a few days, coasting about East *England* he entered the Mouth of *Humber*, whence he passed up into the *Trent* (which together with *Ouse* out of *Yorkshire* falls into *Humber*) and sail'd to *Gainsborough* where he landed and encamped himself. Hither without delay repaired to him Earl *Uthred* with the *Northumbrians*, the Inhabitants of *Lindsey* (that Part of *Lincolnshire* Northward of *Lincoln* wherain *Gainsborough* stands) afterward those of *Fisburgh*, and by degrees all such as inhabited Northward of *Watling Street* (the great Highway crossing the Land from the East to the Western Sea) yielded up themselves to him, and delivering up Hostages swore to him Allegiance. He only now imposed upon them the furnishing of his Army with Horses and Provisions, and then delivering the Hostages and the Fleet into the Hands of *Canute* his Son, with a choice Party of Auxiliaries taken from amongst the *English*, undertook an Expedition against the Southern *Mercians*. Having passed over *Watling Street* he gave order to his Men to waste the Fields, burn the Villages, rob the Churches, kill all the Males they could meet with, reserve the other Sex for their lust, and do all other sorts of mischief they could devise. This being fully exercised, in the terror thereof he came to *Oxford*, and became Master of it sooner than he expected, where having received Hostages he hastened to *Winchester*, the Inhabitants of which conque-

Simcon Du-
nelm. ad Ann.
MXII.

Vide Simcon.
Dunelm. Flo-
ren. Wigorn.
Hoveden.

Lambardus de
piscit. Angl.
Legib. f. 128.
Danegeld h. e.
ad Danos
nummus
Bani. Gelder,
Geld, Belgis
& Germanis
tributum
Niamm. Vo-
cabatur aliat
Depezylo-
for Niamm
Militarie.
Leg. Ingu-
phum.

Danegeld rais-
ed to secure
the Coasts
from Pirates.

Swane and his
Danes are mas-
ter of great
part of the
Island.

conquered also by the terror of his Cruelties, without delay made Peace with him, giving up what and how many Hostages he required.

102. From *Oxford* he bent his course for *London*, and in passing the *Thames* being neither careful for finding out a Bridge nor a Ford lost many of his Men. He endeavoured both by force and all sorts of devices to take this City, but King *Ethelred*, together with *Turkill* the *Dane* being then here Resident, he was beaten off and went to *Wallingford*, after that to *Bath*, where waiting all in his way he staid some time and refreshed his Army. Thither came to him *Ethelmar* the Earl of *Devonshire* with other Officers of the Western Parts and made Peace with him, giving up their Hostages, which things accomplished according to his desires, and being returned to his Fleet he was by all the Nation of the *English* both titled and accounted King, if by right one can call him a King (saith our Authour) who acted all things in a manner like a Tyrant. The Citizens of *London* concluded that it was not safe for them to strive against the universal current, and therefore sent also their Hostages and made their Peace, for they fear'd he would be so enraged against them that having spoiled them of all they had he would either command their Eyes to be pulled out, or their Hands or Feet to be chopped off. *Ethelred* now in a manner unkinged thought it most consistent with the strictness of his Fortune to send away *Emma* his Queen, with his Treasure and his two Sons *Edward* and *Elfred* into *Normandy* to her Brother *Richard*, the Second of that Name, Duke of that Province. He himself continued sometime at *Greenwich* with the *Danish* Fleet then lying in the *Thames*, and thence removed to the Isle of *Wight*, where having kept but a sad *Christmas* he followed them into *Normandy*, and at *Rouen* was splendidly entertained all the time of his abode. In the mean while *Swane* the Tyrant at *Gainsborough* laid insupportable Taxes upon the Countrey, besides the contribution for maintenance of his Fleet and *Turkill* at *Greenwich* was not behind hand in his Exactions for enriching of himself and his Followers. So that they were fully agreed in this by their Violence and Rapines to harass and exhaust the poor *English* Nation.

103. But *Swane* to all his other cruelties and impieties, added one, which in the opinion of our writers, completed his condemnation. He exacted a grievous Tribute from the Town of *St Edmunds Bury*, or that where the Body of that King and Martyr then rested: Moreover, he would often detract from the worth of the Martyr, and dared to affirm he had no holiness. In case the money were not speedily paid, he often threatened that he would certainly burn the Town over the heads of the Inhabitants, utterly subvert and demolish the Church of the Martyr, and put the very Clerks to various Tortures. Now to tell a story which is so generally told, and was so universally believed, because he would not moderate at all, say they, his wickedness; Divine Vengeance would not suffer the Blasphemer longer to live. At *Gainsborough*, as he held a general Assembly, when it grew toward Evening, being incircled with Armed Men, he cast out these said threats, but he saw presently *St Edmund* coming Armed upon him, whereupon he cried vehemently out, *Help, help, fellow Soldiers, look here, St Edmund comes to kill me*, which words as he was speaking, he received a mortal wound by the Saint's hands, fell from his Horse, and lying till the dusk of the Evening in great torment, he then died on the 2^d second of *February*, and was carried to *Tork* and buried. So our writers report from the Legend of *St Edmund*, which seems to hint this truth to us, that *Swane* was killed by an unknown hand; to be sure here he ended his days, and by his death ennobled this Town more than by his making it the Seat of his Kingdom or Tyranny, for so it was; here being his chief Residence all the short time of his *English* Royalty; here lay his Ships, hence he made excursions into all Parts.

Is killed by
an unknown
hand.

Danorum Regem qui Swano patri apud Gainsburgh mirabiliter & miserabiliter exstincto successorat, regnum tandem cum eodem Canuto equo pariter.

104. This Town conveniently seated upon the River *Trent*, which here Ebbs and Flows to a considerable depth, and by the convenience of Navigation and Traffick, hath procured it two famous Martes in a year, each of them of nine days continuance, is both ancient, and was of good account before it became more known by being the Rode of the *Danish* Ships. To omit impertinent Etymologies

super Editio hac habet: Genep-bupuh, vel fortis antiquius Genepne-bupuh ab Angl. Sax. Genep Persugum Aljlam & Bupuh Oppidum. q. d. Oppidum persugij Aljlam.

Sect. 10.

Denique im-
minente ves-
pera diei qua
in generali
placito quod
apud Gains-
burgh tenuerat
se cadem mis-
ericorditer re-
traxit, &c.
Sim. Dunelm.
ad Ann. 1014.
2. Nonas
† De Edmundo
cognom. Fer-
reo latere se
ingulpius:
quo fortissime
dimicanti con-
tra Canutum

Sect. 10.

And Gains
thereCnut chosen
King of the
Danes.Ethelred recov-
ers his king-
dom.Driving Cnut
out of Lind-
sey, and thence
Parts.An Inunda-
tion.

as if it had its name from being an *Asylum* or Refuge of I know not who, or from what, it was called *Gainsborough* or *Gainsburh* (in Latin *Gainorū burgus*) as indeed being the chief Burgh, Borough or Town of the *Gains* or *Gains*. If it be demanded who these *Gains* or *Gains* were, I answer, the same with those of which *Ethelfred* the Father-in-law of King *Alfred*, was Earl. *Aferius* writes, that *Alfred* Married *Exorem de Mercia Nobilem scilicet genere filiam Ethelfredi Gainorum Comitiss qui cognominabatur Mucil*. That *Alfred* Married a Wife out of *Mercia*, one of a Noble Stock, viz. the Daughter of *Ethelfred*, Earl of the *Gains* or *Gains*, who was Surnamed *Mucil* or *Great*. There was then a sort of People called *Gains* or *Gains*, and these *Gains* were seated in *Mercia*, to which Kingdom of old *Lindsey* did belong, as is most evident, and not to *Northumberland*, from which it was separated by that River, though some particular Conquests of these Petty Kings of that Tract might cause sometimes some places to be mentioned, as within the Bounds of their Kingdoms, to which for the main they did not belong. The Reader must observe that, besides the common Names of *Jutes*, *Angles* and *Saxons*, when these People Planted in *Britain* certain Select Companies of them had peculiar Names, even as the ancient *Britains* themselves had, which either happened to them from their Principal Leaders or Governours, or were Names they brought from beyond the Seas, or else proceeded from some other accidents. Thus some of the *Northumbrians* were called *Deiri*, others *Bernicii*, the West Saxons were called *Geuiffi*, and we read of a People called *Wicci*, and another *Meanuari* Seated in *Hampshire*, not far from *Portsmouth*, besides the *Girni*, whoas appears from *Ingalphus*, lived not very far from the *Gains*, and inhabited the *Fens*, lying in the Counties of *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, *Huntingdon*, and *Cambridge*. Those *Gains* were such a sort of People, from which this place being their principal Town or Burgh, received its name, as did *Ethelfred* his Title, though he was descended of the Bloud Royal of *Mercia*. The Burgh of the *Gains* it was, and long after the death of *Swane* gave it not name, yet Habitation to the Noble Barons of Burgh, who by the *Scotch* Earls of *Arbhol*, and the *Percies* descended from *St. William de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, by whose intercession it obtained from King *Edward* the First (after the Conquest) the liberty of having a Fair. This digression is too much not to be practised upon the name of every Town; but so much I ought to this out of gratitude, having received in it a great part of my Education; though born in that of *Nottinghamshire*, which, on the other side of the River, stands over against it.

105. *Swane* being dead, his Subjects the *Danes*, chose *Cnut* or *Cnut* his Son, *Malmesb. Math. West. Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. 104.* for his Successor. But the Inclinations of the *English* were toward their own true and natural Prince, whom hoping that he would demean himself more like a King for the time to come, as being disciplin'd sufficiently by adversity, they sent for home out of *Normandy*. *Ethelred*, before he should put himself into their hands, thought fit to send over his Son *Edward* to promise all good deportment, and found the affections of the Nobility and People, who having found all things correspond with his desires, returned back with confidence to fetch his Father. The King was received with all joy and applause imaginable, and to make a Show, that he had offered violence to his former disposition, and of compliance with their expectations, used all dispatch in levying an Army against *Cnut*, who lying now at *Gainsborough*, with the Fleet and Hostages was not wanting to himself, but spent his time in raising Men, and getting Horses, threatening to chastise severely the Revoltors from his Father's Empire. But *Ethelred's* Forces took him before he was fully prepared, and constrained him to quit the Parts of *Lindsey*, the Inhabitants whereof, for their so readily siding with strangers, as they found them, they put to death. *Cnut* Sailed away with his Fleet, and by the course of the Winds, was driven into *Sandwich Road*, where to revenge himself upon the *English* Nation, he miserably deformed the Hostages he had in his power, cutting off their Ears, Noses, and Hands, and depriving some of their Genitals. This done, he set them on shore, and departed into *Denmark* to recruit his Army. These *Danes* being gone, another Calamity succeeded them; for on the twenty seventh of *September*, the Sea arose to such an height by the impetuosity of Wind and Tide, that it brake the Banks, and overwhelmed many Villages, drowning a great multitude of surprized People. However the Nation was hereby impoverished, yet necessity urging a Tribute of thirty thousand pounds, was levied for paying the *Danish* Fleet, which lay at *Greenwich*.

106. The year following, being the *MXV*. of our Lord, a great Assembly of the Estates was held at *Oxford*, as well of *Danes* as *English*, where by advice of *Edric*

Sect. 10.

Compare
Math. West.
cum. Sim. Du-
nelm.

Edric Streone, the King caused several *Danish* Noblemen to be put to death under pretence of a Conspiracy against his Person. *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, the Sons of one *Earnrgan*, of a place called *Seanenburgh* in *Northumberland*, *Edric* drew by good words into his own Lodging, and there secretly murdered them. Their Servants and Dependents thereupon arose, and endeavoured to revenge their death, but were beaten back by the King's Forces, and so closely pursued, that they were constrained to betake themselves into the Tower of *St. Fridewich's Church*, where *Frige* being set to the Steeple, they were burnt to Ashes. The King seized upon the Estates of the murdered Earls, and commanded *Aligtha* the Wife of *Sigeferth*, to be conveyed to the Town of *Maidulf* (or *Malmesbury*) and there to be kept in Custody as a Lady of great Nobility and Interest. But not long after, *Edmund* the King's Son coming thither, fell in love with her, and without his Father's knowledge, married her, after which, he took her along with him into *Northumberland*, and there seized on the Estates both of *Sigeferth* and *Morcar* his Brother. At the same time Arrived King *Cnut* from *Denmark*, together, as some write, with two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Sweden*, and *Olan* of *Norway*, and made for the Port of *Sandwich*, where it's said that *Turkil* joyned with him, and gave the *English* a notable defeat. To be sure *Cnut*, Coastng about *Kent*, entered the mouth of the River *Frome*, and by it passed up into the Counties of *Dorset*, *Somerset* and *Wilt*, where he committed all sorts of Hostilities. King *Ethelred* at this time lay sick at *Cosham*, a Town in *Wiltshire*, but had his place very well supplied by his Son *Edmund*, whose only infelicity it was, that the false and traitorous *Streone* was joyned with him in command, which not only hindered his present success, but brought him into great danger of Life. For *Edric* made a faction in the Army, and plotted how to have him slain, which being timely discovered, the Prince was forced for his security to depart from the place where he lay. Now whether this discovery made him desperate, or for that he was before prepared, and resolved so to do, for other reasons, he openly revolted; carrying away to *Cnut* forty of the *Danish* Ships which served the King, to whom he submitted as his Leige Lord. The West Saxons awed by his Inroads, did the same: gave up Hostages, and made provision of Horses for his Army.

Edric revolts,
swearing obe-
dience to
Cnut.

107. *Cnut* being thus strengthened beyond expectation, in the following year, which was the *MXVI*. of our Lord, with *Edric* the Traytor, passed over the *Thames* at *Greeklade*, about *Christmass* Holydays, and Invaded *Mercia*, where in *Warwickshire* especially, he burnt all the Towns, and killed all Persons he could meet with. *Edmund* the King's Son, upon the Report, gathered together what Forces he could, but when they were to march, the *Mercians* refused to engage against the *Danes* and West Saxons, except King *Ethelred* and the *Londoners* would joyn with them, and thereupon the Army disbanded it self. But *Christmass* being over, *Edmund* raised more Forces, and sent to *London* to his Father to come to him with all the preparations he could make, *Ethelred* complied with him, and they joyned their Forces together, but by the craft of the Enemy, a Rumour was spread abroad, that if the King did not carefully look to himself, he would speedily be betrayed. This struck such a fear into this pusillanimous Prince, that he disbands his Army, and retires back to *London*, which done, his Son hastes into *Northumberland*, as was imagined to raise a greater Army against *Cnut*. But in this they seemed well agreed, that whereas on one side *Cnut* and *Edric* wasted the Country, on the other, he and *Thired* Earl of *Northumberland*, did the like, this being the only difference that one Party harried the poor People, because they would not revolt, and the others pretended to punish them for their neutrality; for, first *Staffordshire*, and then *Shropshire* and *Leicestershire*, they miserably waited because they refused to fight against the *Danes*. In the mean time *Cnut* and *Edric Streone*, committed all acts of cruelty in the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntingdon*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln* and *Nottingham*, and at last pierced into *Northumberland*.

The Country
wasted on all
hands.

108. This approach of theirs obliged *Edmund Clito*, as our Writers call him, to leave off his Trade of pillaging, and to betake himself to *London*. *Thired* hereupon hasted into *Northumberland*, where shortly after he was constrained to submit himself to *Cnut*, to give up his Country; and deliver Hostages into his Hands, which notwithstanding either by Command or Permission of *Cnut*, he was killed by one *Tarebrand* a *Danish* Nobleman, and with him one *Turketel*, the Son of *Narvene*. This done, *Cnut* preferred one *Eric* to be Earl of *Northumberland*, and hasted Southward by another way to his Fleet; with which

Sim. Dunelm.
ad Ann.
MXVI.

Seet. 10. which he joynd his Army before *Easter*. About the same time *Ethelred* died at *London* on the two and twentieth of *April*, after a tedious and ill management of affairs for seven and thirty years, and was buried in the Church of *St. Paul*. *Edmund* his Son by the Nobility at *London* was chosen his Successeur, not his Son by *Emma* his Queen; but as *Matthew of Westminster* says by an ignoble Mother, though others affirm her the Daughter of an Earl called *Thored*, and *Ethelred's* former Wife. *Matthew* writes, that though his Mother was base he illustrated the Ignobility of her Defect by the Ingenuity of his Mind, and the Activity of his Body, and indeed such was his Courage and indefatigable Industry, that he obtained thence the surname of *Ironside*. He having obtained the Title haſted into *West Saxony*, where he was received and owned by the People of those parts, while a far greater Number with many Bishops, Abbats, and others of the Nobility obeyed *Cnut* as their Sovereign, whom being assembled they had chosen for their King, admitted at *Southampton* to that Dignity and sworn to him Allegiance, having abjured the Race of *Ethelred*, and received an Oath from him of good Government in all, as well Religious as secular Affairs.

Cnut much animated by so powerful a party haſted to *London* with his Fleet about Rogation week, where being arrived on *Surry* side, he caused a great Ditch to be made, and drew up his ships Westward of the Bridge. The City he begirt with a deep and broad Trench, and with armed men, and often attempted by force to take it. But the Citizens so manfully demeaned themselves, that perceiving he lost but time, and that the Defendants were to be starved out, he left a guard for his ships, and haſted into the West to attack *Edmund* e'er he could be provided, who indeed was provided ill enough, but as he was with the Company he had got together, he ventured to give him Battle at a place then called *Peosum* (or *Pei*) near *Gillingham* in *Dorsetshire* with such success, that he forced his Enemy to retreat. Encouraged herewith he made greater preparations, and Midsummer being now past resolved to fight *Cnut* the second time, whom meeting near a Town called *Swarthan*, he gave him Battle but could only defend himself, though he performed all the Offices both of a stout Soldier, and an expert General, because *Edric* the Traitor together with *Almar* and *Algar*, the chief of the Nobility, having command of the *Hampshire* or *Wiltshire* Men, sided with the *Danes*. It was a drawn Battle, this day the Armies being parted by the darkness of the Night. The next Morning they renewed the Fight, and King *Edmund* had won the Garland, but for the cunning device of that perfidious *Edric*, who perceiving Victory inclined to his side, cut off the Head of one *Osmeor*, a Man that in the face very much resembled the King, and lifting it up on high, called to the *English* bidding them behold the Head of their Party, and if they respected their own Lives, be gone as fast as their Heels could carry them. This very much startled and discomposed them, till *Edmund* sensible of the cheat from an Ill made known himself to his Souldiers, and tossed a Javelin against *Edric*, whom yet it had the fortune to miss. They continued the Fight till it grew dark, and then parted as they had done the Night before.

Cnut seeing what little advantage he was like to receive from a pitched Battle ditched in the dead time of the Night, and making towards *London* where he had left his Ships, again besieged the City. *Edmund* when he knew he was gone, with speed marched into *Wessex* to recruit his Forces, and now the perfidious *Edric*, having sufficient experience both of his Valour and Conduct, thought the onely way was to be reconciled to him, that he might reveal his Councils, and by his treacherous Insinuations give a Check to the current of his good Fortune. He made application to him, owning him for his natural Prince, swore for the time to come to be faithful to him, and obtained Pardon for what was past. Being sufficiently recruited, he haſted to *London*, and raised the Siege, beating off the *Danes* to their ships. After two days he passed the *Thames* at *Brentford*, where many of his Men were lost in the Water, yet coming upon the backs of his Enemies, he put them to the rout. By his loss sustained in passing the River, and the several Engagements, the Number of his men was to be diminished, that he found himself obliged to return into *Wessex*, to fill up his troops, which the *Danes* perceiving returned and laid close siege to *London*, which they attacked by all means possible. Yet did the Industry and Courage of the Inhabitants, still frustrate all his Attempts, to that despairing he drew off his Men, and with his Fleet, entered a River then called *Aerne*, where landing in *Mercia*, he burnt the Villages, killed the Country People, and made havock of all things at his pleasure. The Foot he caused on ships to pass to *Medway*, and

and the Horse by Land with the Captives and Cattel. In the mean time *Edmund* **Seet. 10.** *Ironside* was not idle, but the fourth time having levied a strong Power of Men out of all *England* crossed the *Thames* again at *Brentford*, and marched into *Kent*, where at a place called *Osford*, he found and engaged the *Danes*, who not able to sustain his violence fled such of them as were horsed into the *Iſle of Shepey*. All he could take he put to the Sword, and had his Prudence as well as his Courage stood by him, he had obtained a complete Victory. But he was so blind as not to perceive the Treachery of *Edric*, who by specious allegations procured him to stop his pursuit at *Engleſford*.

Edmund finding the *West Saxons* most firm and true to him, after this Success for Recruits returned into that Country, the opportunity of whose absence *Cnut* took to vent his malice and revenge upon a naked People, for going into *Essex* he thence invaded *Mercia*, where he shewed more Cruelty than ever; commanding his Men to omit no Act which could be committed against Enemies. *Edmund Ironside* with an Army gathered out of all Countries overtook, and engaged them in their Retreat at a place called then *Aſſandune* (or * the Hill of an Aſs) now corruptly *Aſſdown* in *Essex*. The Battle was fought * with great resolution and vehemence on both sides, and *Edmund* had great hopes of gaining the Victory, which the wretched *Edric Streone* perceiving as he had engaged formerly to *Cnut* (having coming over for such a purpose) with the Troops he commanded fled over to him, and so leaving the *English* overmatch. *Cnut* whom by casting out the King's death he had laboured to dis- courage, by his Treachery procured their Defeat and Ruine, for they never received a greater blow, almost all their Nobility here falling, particularly *Alfric*, *Godwin*, *Ulfketel* and *Ethelward* all Dukes: *Eadnoth* also the Bishop of *Lincoln* (of *Dorchester* rather) and *Wulf* an Abbat who came to the place to pray for the Army, amongst the rest lost their lives, yet did not this disaster, so far discourage *Edmund*, but that e'er long he was in case to make another Trial of his Fortune in the Field, of which *Edric* and those of his Faction fearing the issue, gain circumvented him by their wiles, persuading him for quietness and security sake to divide the Kingdom with *Cnut*. After much reluctance he was drawn to consent, and after many messengers to and fro, and Hostages received, an Interview of the two Kings was appointed at *Deorkirſt* in *Glocestershire*, a place situate somewhat low upon the Bank of *Severn*, *Edmund* with his men taking the *Western*, and *Cnut* with his *Danes*, the Eastern parts side, both the Kings from their Armies waſted over into a small Island called then *Olanege*, now the *Eight*, where by oath a Fraternity and firm Peace they established, and divided the Kingdom, which concluded they interchanged their Arm, and the Habits they wore, and having settled the Pay which should be allotted to the Fleet, each repaſt to his Followers.

Such is the Account which the History that goes under the name of *Simeon of Durham*, gives us of this matter: others do otherwise relate it. *Malmeſbury* having said what the issue of the Battle was at *Aſſandune*, tells how *Edmund* surnamed *Ironside* betook himself with very little Company to *Gloceſter*; there to gather new Forces, and set upon his Enemies who he thought would be secure after the late Victory, as he saw convenient. *Cnut* was aware of him, and so industrious as to attend and watch his courſes. They were coming to a fresh engagement when *Edmund* demanded a single Combat, that for the ambition of but two men, the blood of many innocent Persons might not be shed, and they two without any inconvenience to their Subjects, might decide the controversy in their own Persons, and hereby obtain for the care of their People, great renown in future Ages. But *Cnut* was deaf on this Ear, affirming he had Courage enough but not strength sufficient to encounter a Man of so vast a size, and for an expedient propounded, that each of them should enjoy what their Fathers had held, from whom they had both received just Titles. The proposal was well received by the poor *English* Nation, so miserably spent by these perpetual Hostilities; and *Edmund* by this universal approbation was overcome and silenced, the Accord being that he as his Hereditary Kingdom should hold the *West Saxons* with the Southern, and *Cnut* *Mercia* with the Northern Parts. Thus one of our Authors speaks of an Accord without so much as the mention of a Combat, another hints that mention was made of a Combat but it took no effect; but another there is who writes both of the Proposal, and the Fighting of the Duel.

Sect. 10.
Another Relation of it.

113. Henry the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* speaking how after the Battel at *Egghuse* (as he calls it) the Armies in *Glocestershire* the seventh time faced each other, adds, that the Noblemen on one side dreading the courage of *Edmund*, on the other of *Cnute*, began to mutter among themselves what Fools they were to often to venture their Lives, and how they should let them fight alone, who designed alone to Reign. This saying pleased well enough the Kings, for *Cnute* was a King of no small honesty. The Kings therefore fought a Duel. Their Darts and Lances on both sides being broken, they fell to it with their Swords upon each others most incomparable Armour, the noise of which struck the ears of the Lookers on with terror, as their eyes were dazzled with the fire which was struck from the Swords upon such admirable Metal. At length the incomparable vigour of *Edmund* prevailed, whom *Cnute* very strenuously resisted, yet fearing the success, with fair Language instead of foul Blows thus accosted his Adversary. *Young man, of all others the most valiant, what necessity is there that either thou or I should die by the Sword, out of desire of reigning. Let us be Adoptive Brethren and divide the Kingdom, let me have a share in thine, and do thou command in mine Affairs.* Denmark also shall be at thy disposal. With these words the generous mind of the young King was mollified, and a kiss of Peace was given on either part; after which their Followers came together, and weeping for joy, *Edmund* had the Kingdom of *Wessex*, and *Cnute* that of *Mercia*, who thereupon returned to *London*. Thus much *Huntingdon*, with whom agrees *Matthew of Westminster* as to the Duel, mentioning *Edric* as the man who first moved it amongst the Nobility. But both *Hoveden* and *Florent of Worcester* agree with the first Relation of *Simenon*.

114. The Danes retiring to *London* after the agreement (which was certainly made, whatever might be the Circumstances or the manner) were received by the Inhabitants, and permitted to take up their Winter Quarters in the City, where, about the Feast of St. Andrew died King *Edmund Ironside* unexpectedly, and was buried with his Grandfather *Edgar* at *Glastenbury*. Concerning his death our Authors write variously. The History of *Simenon*, *Florent of Worcester*, and *Roger de Hoveden*, tell us only that he died, without mentioning the cause. *Malmesbury* confesses it was uncertain of what Disease or Casualty he died, but adds, that Fame charged *Edric* with hiring two of his Chamberlains, to whose Fidelity he committed himself, to murder him which they effected by thrusting a sharp Iron into his Body as he sat at Stool. *Huntingdon* will have it done at *Oxford* by one of the Sons of *Edric* as the King sat in an House of Office, with whom accords *Matthew of Westminster*; *Radulphus de Diceto* names neither place nor a certain person, but says it was done by an Iron Spit at *Edric's* procurement. *Edmund* thus in the fame year both began and ended his Reign, leaving two Sons behind him, *Edwi* some call him, some *Edmund*, and *Edward*. By his own Mother he had a Brother called *Edwin*, and by *Emma* his Step-Mother two more, viz. *Elfred* and *Edward*. These Relations he left, but *Cnute* resolved none of them should succeed him but to Reign himself alone. "He summoned all the Bishops and Nobility to meet at *London*, and cunningly demanded of such as had been present "at the agreement betwixt him and *Edmund*, what provision was made by that agreement for the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund*, and whether in case he died before *Cnute*, any of them was to succeed in the Kingdom of the West Saxons? They overcome with fear answered, That to their knowledge *Edmund* neither living nor dying had made any provision for his Relations, but designed him the Protector or Guardian of his Sons, till they should come to Age. For this their false Testimony they hoped for great Rewards, and some of them indeed he afterwards rewarded with an Halter or some Instrument of such like Desert. But *Cnute* taking the advantage it afforded him, exacted Oaths of Fidelity from all the Nobility, who readily chose him for their King, and abjured all the English Line, which was disposed of as we shall see hereafter, and set aside for a certain time.

Who are called by Cnute.

Leaving Issue.

Edmund dies.

SECT. XI.

SECT. XI.

The Monarchy of the Danes in Britain, from the beginning of that of Canute or Cnute, to the Death of Hardecnute, and the Restoration of the English Line in Edward the Confessor.

The Space of Twenty six Years.

Cnute King.

1. *Cnute* thus obtained the Kingdom of the English, of which his Father rather had a prospect than firm possession, about two hundred and twenty seven years after the first arrival of his Danish Nation, two years after his Father's death, in the one and fortieth year of *Basilus Junior* Emperour of the East, the seventeenth of *Henricus Junior* the German Emperour, in the Reign of *Robert* the Son and Successor of *Hugh Capet* King of the Franks, A.D. MXVII.

Is sole Monarch.

2. The Danes had formerly in some parts of the Land, as East England and Northumberland set up their petty Kingdoms, but now obtained the fabled Monarchy of all England. Formerly they had been Strangers, now come to be the principal Inhabitants, not in Numbers but in Reputation. Before time they were fierce invaders, cruel and Savage Enemies, as bloody, as Ravenous, and base as ever any Invader had ever been, but now were turned Proprietors, and one of them Lord of the whole; sweetened and civiliz'd not so much by Christianity and good Education, as by self-seeking and worldly interest, for the late Inroads made by *Cnute* were accompanied with as great Cruelties and Devastations, as those of his Predecessors. Baseness and fear made the English Nobility servilely to truckle, so that there was no need of any thing more to work his Will but his bare Commands. Nay they would prevent his Commands by doing those things, to which they knew he was but inclined. For *Edwi* or *Edwin* the Brother of *Edmund*, a young Prince of excellent Endowments, and exceeding great hopes, they immediately voted to banishment, which Resolution as soon as *Cnute* perceived so full of flattery and injustice, he went much pleased into his Chamber, and calling to him the perfidious Duke *Edric* asked him by what means he might trepan young *Edwin* to his death. The Traitor answered, that he knew one *Ethelward* who could easily do it if he would speak with and promise him a great Reward. *Cnute* sent for the man, and telling him what the Duke had said of him, not only promised him all that his Ancestours had enjoyed, but to hold him more dear than a Brother in case he would do him that Service. He promised to use his utmost endeavour, but as yet had no such intention, and said it only to put him off; for he was defended of the most Noble stock of the English Nation.

He divides the Kingdom.

3. *Cnute* being settled in his new Power and Sovereignty over all England, divided his Kingdom into four parts, whereof one he committed to the Government of *Edric*, viz. *Mercia*, it not being as yet seasonable to lay him aside. East England he assigned to Earl *Turkill*, Northumberland to *Irc* or *Eric*, and reserved West Saxony as that which being the ancient Possession of the English Line had most reason to bear respect to it, to his own Care and Vigilance. Then the first thing he did was to punish such as had an Hand in the death of *Edmund*, whom having discovered their wickedness in hope of Reward he kept close up, and now in a great Assembly of the People caused to be put to death, as those whom their own mouths condemned. Having thus sweetened his way, a Covenant with all the Nobles and the whole People now he made, which was confirmed by Oath and an Amnesty decreed for whatsoever had formerly past betwixt the Nations. But this could not put him out of his fears so long as *Edwi* *Etheling* lived, who was commonly called

Punisheth the Murderers of his Predecessor.

Sect. 11.

Sect. 11. led King of the Countreymen. Banishment would not serve his turn, but after a seeming Reconciliation to ensnare him by his earnest Solicitations, he procured him to be made away by those whom he had most trusted. *Edric* now that his hand was in, advised him to put to death also the young Sons of *Edmund*, the *Cli-tunculi*, as *Simoon* calls them, viz. *Edmund* and *Edward*; but it being esteemed a thing very odious, and which would much incense the People to have them murdered in *England*, within a while they were sent to the King of the *Swedes* there to be made away, who notwithstanding the League and kindness betwixt him and *Cnut*, abhorred the fact, and by all his Intreaties could not be brought to commit it, but conveyed them to *Solomon* King of the *Hungarians*, by him to be carefully brought up. *Edmund* in process of time in that retirement ended his life; but *Edward* Married *Agatha* the Daughter of *Henry* the German Emperor, by which Lady he had *Margaret* Queen of the *Scots*, *Christina* that turned Nun, and *Edgar* *Etheling* hereafter to be spoken of. This is the Account given by the general Assent of Historians, although there be a Passage amongst the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, which hints, that this *Edward* out of fear of *Cnut*, fled to one *Malefior* King of the *Rugians*, who both received him with honour, and bestowed on him in Marriage a Lady of that Countrey.

He Marries. 4. *Cnut* having rid himself of all his Competitors, for the Sons of *Ethelred* by *Emma* were escaped into *Normandy*, and all others of the Blood Royal he had banished, thought he should much farther establish his interest by Marrying with *Emma*, which he effected in *July* following, concluding that it would win him the hearts of the People, and take off the thoughts of her Brother *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, from the Sons he had had by *Ethelred*, and he approved of the Match sending over in *July* his Sister into *England*. Being now arrived at the top of his Expectations, he thought fit to remove the Ladder by which he mounted, lest it should serve the end of some other Pretender. What use he had all along made of the Treachery of Duke *Edric* has been sufficiently discovered. Now instead of loving he abominated the man not so much in hatred to his Vallany as for his own preservation, imagining that he who had betrayed those who had so well deserved of him, would not stick to do the same by him a Foreigner, when there should but a sufficient temptation or opportunity present it self. The former Treason serving his own ends, he loved, but hated the Traytour, because in his destruction he doubted not but he would be ready to serve the ends of others, and therefore resolved to make him away. It's reported, that after he had procured King *Edmund* to be slain in the manner before related, he came to *Cnut*, and bade God save him now the only King, to whom when he had told all the Story, the King answered, that for so great a piece of Service he would make him higher than all the *Engliff* Nobility. Remembring therefore that Promise, he caused him in the time of *Christmas* to be Beheaded, and his Head to be set upon a Pole on the highest Tower in *London*. *Ingulphus* the Abbat of *Croyland*, who lived in or near those very days, writes, that unsatisf'd it seems with what had been done for him, he upbraided *Cnut* with his great services in betraying the two King *Ethelred* and *Edmund*, and by his own Mouth being convicted of Treason, was as a Traytour hanged and thrown into the *Thames*. Later Authours in compliance with this Relation, say, that suspecting the King's intentions of depriving him of the *Mercian* Dukedom, and upbraiding him with his Services, *Cnut* said to him with an angry Countenance, Traytour to God and to me, thou shalt die, thine own mouth accuses thee to have slain thy Master, my Confederate Brother, and the Lord's Anointed, and thereupon caused him to be Strangled in the Room, and thrown out of the Window over the Wall of the City into the *Thames*, where his Trunk lay unburied, his Head being fixed on a Pole and set on the highest Tower, which as some say, *Eric* at the King's command struck off. Upon this occasion either for that they were familiar with *Edric*, or upon some other jealous grounds, as his Complices he put to death several other Noblemen, as *Norman* the Son of Duke *Leofwin*, and the Brother of *Leofric*, *Ethelward* the Son of Duke *Aglemar*, and *Brithric* the Son of *Elsege* who governed *Devonshire*, all reputed Innocent Persons. For all this he thought himself not yet secure except he kept on foot an Army, for the maintenance of which, the following year, he squeezed out of all *England* seventy (some say eighty) two thousand Pounds, besides fifteen thousand out of the City of *London*. But no less than these severities could be expected from an Ulfurper and a Foreigner. After some years he sent back his Army at the Importunity of the Nobility, having by a severe Law made against killing any *Danes*, taken security for the safety of his Nation.

5. These

5. These things were done in the South, while in the Northern Parts a Quarrel arose between *Malcolm* Son of *Cyneth* King of the *Scots*, and *Orbred* the Son of *Waldelf* Earl of *Northumberland*, or rather his Successor *Eric*, for *Orbred* was (as we have heard) slain by *Cnut* two years before. The Rupture proceeded to a great War (as our Authour terms it) wherein on the part of the *Scots*, *Eugenius* Calvus King of the *Lutinenfes* or *Lothians* was engaged; but what the effects of so great a controversy were, he doth not tell us. *Cnut* having united the *Engliff* and *Danes* in one Government, though the best Centent would be to frame their minds to the same Laws and Customs, for which purpose he called a Convention to *Oxford*, where both Parties agreed to observe the Laws of King *Edgar*. Now he thought he had so well settled his matters here, that he might without any danger give a Visit to his ancient and Native Kingdom of *Denmark*, whither he sailed the year following, being the third of his Reign, and continued there the whole Winter. The *Archdeacon* writes, that he led thither an Army of *Engliff* and *Danes* against the *Wandals*, by which he must mean no other than the *Swedes*. That incamping near his Enemies with intention not to fight till the next day, *Godwin* the *Engliff* General (whom he terms him) without his knowledge by Night set upon them at unawares, killed many and put the rest to flight. When it was day the King imagining that the *Engliff* were either run away or had revolted to his Enemy, set his *Danes* in order of Battle, and marched toward the *Swedish* Camp, but here he found nothing but Blood, Carcasses, and Plunder, which thing caused him exceedingly to prize the *Engliff*, (who by their valour procured their Captain an Earldom and renown to themselves) and hold them in no less esteem than the *Danes* themselves. In Spring he returned into *England*, and in *Easter* Holydays held a great Council at *Cirecester*, in which he banished Duke *Ethelward* or *Edward* as others call him. This same year in the place of the Battle fought at *Essandune*, which won him the Kingdom, he was present at the Dedication of a Church which there he had caused to be built as others in other places of the Fights he had been in. In this building he was assisted by *Turkil* the Earl, whom the year following, suspecting it seems his power, he banished out of *England* with his Wife *Egitha*. With *Turkil* others joyn *Eric* or *Iric* the Duke of *Northumberland*, a *Dane* also by descent. As soon as they set foot in *Denmark*, *Matthew* writes, that *Turkil* (who had been the procurer of the death of St. *Elphege*, and had first persuaded *Swane* to invade *England*) was killed by the Noblemen of the Countrey. But whether it was that those he banished and sent home, stirred up the People against him, or that being absent his Authority was despised. *Huntingdon* writes, that in his ninth year he carried over another Army into *Denmark* against *Olaf* and *Eilaf*, who had got a great multitude together against him both by Sea and Land, and now gave him such a Defeat, that of both Nations *Engliff* and *Danes* very many were lost. But others make this the same expedition with the former.

6. And indeed had his matters been so much imbroiled now in *Denmark* he would not have cast his thoughts so soon upon *Norway*, whence having intelligence that the People despised their King *Olaus* for his plainness and religious simplicity, he sent great sums of Money to make way for him, that rejecting their true and natural Lord they should revolt and chuse him for their King. His Gold had such effect upon them, that not able to withstand the Operations thereof, they promised him a good reception whensoever he would come, which the following year and the MXXXVIII of our Lord he did, failing into *Norway* with fifty ships. The King *Olaus* he drove out of the Countrey, and then easily subdued it to his own Command, whither *Olaus* the year after returning to try the minds of the Revolters was slain by them with all his Followers. The year after his Conquest he returned into *England*, but not till the Feast of St. *Martin* was past, where being arrived under a pretence of an Embassy, he sent into Banishment *Havie* a *Daniff* Count, who had Married *Gumilda* his Neice by his Sister and the King of the *Wendidi*. This man was grown to powerful and popular, that he stood in fear of being killed or deposed by him, and thereupon he drove him to such straits, that within Twelve months he either perished on the Sea, or else was killed in the Isle of *Orkney*. Such were his fears, such were the means he used to prevent what he feared, sparing neither fair nor foul, sticking at nothing how unjust soever, for fixing the Diadem on his Head. Now he had no occasion nor temptation to be bad, and therefore resolved to be very good, and eminently religious, as such who have arrived at great wealth by griping and fordid Practices, many times think to make Heaven satisfaction by dedicating some of their ill gotten Goods to Reli-

ous

Disculpare igitur virum Angli & vicariam Communitatem Comitatuum Ducis, filii laudum paraverunt, Matrem, ubi faga. Math. Westm.

Simoon Duncelm. ad Ann. MXXXVII. Ge.

He falls into Denmark.

And beats the Swedes.

At his return banisheth Turkil and other Nobles.

Henr. Huntingdon. lib. 6.

Cnutus Edric and others of the Nobility to be executed.

Vide infra.

Sect. II.

Journey to Rome.

His Epistle Written from thence.

ous Ufes. To Rome he will go to visit the Tombs of the Holy Apostles, a Pilgrimage which would obliterate all Crimes whatsoever. On St. Peter the Prince of the Apostles, he confers very great gifts of Gold and Silver, with other precious things. He procures from Pope John a Relaxation of all Tribute and Toll to the English School there, both in his way thither and in his return gives large Alms to the Poor, buys off several Tolls and Impositions laid upon Travellers; and at the Sepulchre of the Apostles, vows to God an amendment of his Life and Manners. So much are we told by that of *Simeon* and other Historians.

7. In the History of the Monk of *Malmesbury* is extant an Epistle which from Rome it's said he wrote to *Ailnoth* or *Egelnoth*, the Metropolitan, to *Alfric* of York with all the Bishops and Primates, and the whole English Nation as well Noblemen as Plebeians. "Herein he gives an account of his Journey, both the reason of his undertaking it, how he was received at Rome, what he had negotiated for the benefit of his Subjects, and then gives directions and command to his Officers to do all justice and right to the People in his absence. The thing he decreed he says long before, but never could till now accomplish what he had designed for the pardon of his Sins, and the safety of all his Subjects. He signifies that he was received by all the Princes who at that time were with Pope John solemnizing the Feast of *Easter* with extraordinary respect and honour, but especially by *Conrade* the German Emperour. That he had dealt with them all about the concerns of all his People both English and Danes, that their passage toward Rome might be more free and open; and had obtained that all well Merchants as others should with all safety pass and repass without any Toll or Imposition. He complained to the Pope that his Archbishops paid vast sums of Money before they could obtain their Pass, which grievance by Decree was taken off. All these Immunities procured from the Pope, the Emperour, King *Redolphus* and other Princes * through whose Territories he Travels were confirmed by Oath under the Testimony of four Archbishops, and twenty Bishops, with an innumerable multitude of Dukes and other Noblemen that were present. "Then follows a Thanksgiving to Almighty God, that what ever he had designed in his Journey had prospered. After this he desires it may be published to all the World that having devoted his Life to Righteousness, and resolved to Govern the People subject to him in all Piety and justice with a respect to Equity in all particulars, in case any thing had slipped in his Youth which might justly be taxed with Intemperance or Negligence, with the help of God he was ready to make for all such Extravagancies full amends. "Therefore all his Officers whatsoever, Sheriffs or others, he charges that neither for fear of himself, nor out of favour to any other Person they pervert Justice, nor in respect to himself because there was no necessity that by any unjust exaction there should be any Collection of Money. At last after a great afterthought how much he studied the profit and convenience of his People, he adjures all his Officers before he should arrive in England they would procure all Debts to be paid due according to the Ancient custom, as Alms for the Plough, the Tithes of all Cattle brought forth in the same year, Peterpence, in August the Tithes of Corn, and at Martinmas the first Fruits of the same called *Curecot*, or rather *Circetot* because given to the Church. In case this were not paid before his Return he threatens to animadvert upon every one according to the Laws.

8. It's not much that a Foreigner and Usurper should mention the Laws; for such having, though by lawless courses, obtained the secure Possession of what they aimed at to gain the People, usually both observe the Laws of their Predecessors so far as they contradict not their Ends and make themselves very good ones. There be but two courses, viz. absolute Conquest, and force with Sword and Halber; or else such as may win and cajole the People. The former is dangerous, and must have a standing Army, and the Conquered must be turned out of their Estates, which are to be distributed amongst the Officers and Souldiers; the other more practicable and suitable to such as have a mind to live at ease. Especially the Laws of King *Ethelred* he commanded under a Penalty to be kept, the latest and most fitting the present case and temper of the Nation, but whereas the Monk adds in all Ages or Times, he understood not that positive Laws or Statutes must be changeable according to the mutability of the state and condition of a People. Besides the reinforcing of these former Laws, others he published in his own Name, as we shall see in another place. From Rome he went to Denmark, and thence at this time (as some would have it) passed into Norway and expelled *Olaf* the King,

Simeon Dan. ad An. XXXXL
Cnut Rex totius Anglie & Danemarchie & Norwegie & partium Suevo-normannicarum Metropolitano, & Africa Eboracensi, omnibusque Episcopis & Primatibus, & toti genti Anglorum tam Nobilibus quam Plebeis Salutem.

* A mouse Gorgo usque ad finem precium mare.

Omnem enim Leges ab antiquis Regibus & maxime ab antecessoribus suis Ethelredo latas sub immutabilitate vigie multo perquisitius temperari preceps.

Sect. II.

Add Scotland to his Dominions.

Din.

His Character.

King, but better Computers place this Action four years before. At his return he spent his time in building and repairing Monasteries and Churches, which with the Monks the Writers of those times hath so far repaired his Fame and Esteem, that notwithstanding all his violence and injustice, nay notwithstanding he was the Depriver of one of their Saints, King *Olaf*, and the Procurer of his Death, (if not immediately by sending Assassins to murder him, as some have Written, yet mediately by procuring the Rebellion, and reducing him into the hatred of his People) they dismiss him with a very fair character. Nay some tell us, that for his Piety he was rewarded with another Kingdom, viz. that of Scotland, which, as appears from *Matthew of Westminster*, at this time depended on this England, for he writes that the Scots now Rebelled, and that upon that occasion he led his Army thither where he easily Conquered *Malcolm* the King, with two other Regents which *Huntingdon* mentions by the Names of *Melbeath* and *Jermare*. From those passages in the Ecclesiastical Affairs of these times it also appears that *Wales* was subject to him as it had been formerly to his Predecessors, although one *Ritherech* was styled King of all Wales, by which this only was meant that there were several other Petty Kings which acknowledged his Superiority. But if the Kingdom of Scotland was given him for his Piety, that of Heaven followed not long after, for within two years he Died on the twelfth of November at *Shaftsbury*, and was Buried at *Winchester* in the Old Monastery, after he had Reigned twenty years. It cannot be denied but that he was a Magnificent Prince, bountiful both to Religious Men and the Poor, even of other Nations. His fault was that he could never have been so Magnificent or Bountiful, but that he came to that greatness by Indirect means. His method and means were bad; but few that have obtained Crowns so unjustly have managed their Power once obtained with so much Justice and Humanity; so that well may he bear away the Title generally given his Character. him of *Cannus* the Great.

9. And this he may the better deserve if that Story be true which is commonly told of his sensibleness of his own Meanness as a Man and his ascribing absolute Greatness only to him in comparison of whom Kings themselves, though in respect to one another they may be styled Great, yet are to be accounted little greater than Nothing. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* having told us that before him there was never a King of England so Mighty, as being Lord of all Denmark, Scotland, adds that besides his many Wars he waged, he was eminent for three things especially. The first was his marrying his Daughter to the Emperour with unspeakable Riches. The second was the diminishing or abating to one half all the Exactions or Impositions upon Travellers between France and Rome. The third was this: when the Tide came in he set his Chair on the Sea Shoar, and as the Sea grew to be high he spake to it in these terms: *Thou art under my Dominion, and the Land where I sit is mine; neither is there any, who without due punishment shall resist my commands. I command thee therefore that thou rise not so high as where I sit, neither presume to wet the Cloaths nor the Limbs of thy Lord. But the Sea according to the custom without any Reverence, flowing up, first to the Feet and then to the Legs of the King, wet as he was he leaped back and said. Let all Inhabitants of the World know that vain and frivolous is the Power of Kings; neither is there any one worthy that Title but he alone whose Command by force of Eternal Laws the Heaven, the Earth and the Sea obey. He that after this he never set his Golden Crown upon his head, but placed it upon a Crucifix. Some filly blame his carriage as Superstitious, others see such a Demonstration of Almighty God's Prerogative was needless. But say such a Demonstration was seasonable enough to convince and reprove such as were apt to be dazzled with the worldly glory of those who have so small command over the Sea, that at land it felt the Power of the greatest of them extends it, felt scarcely one intire Mile from the place where they stand, either upward, or below; the surface, so long as he pleases too, they can only call their own.*

10. Cnut by *Algia* of Northampton his Concubine the Daughter of *Earl Aelfelm* had two Sons, whereof one was called *Swane*, and the other *Harold*, as the current opinion went, though some speak doubtfully, as if to conceal her Barrenness, the former she had procured from a Priest's Wife (or a Woman *Malmesbury* calls her a *Servant*) and the latter from the Wife of a Shoemaker. By *Emma* the Relict of King *Ethelred* which he seems to have Married in the life-time of *Algia*, though others call *Algia* Queen, he had a Son Named *Hardecnut*, and a Daughter of *Alia* the great Beauty called *Gundbilda*, married by her Brother afterward to *Henry* the Emperour

Godwinus in Law. E. s. p.

Matt. Westm. Huntingdon. Hoveden.

Sect. ii. *Emperour of Germany.* Before his Death it's said that he appointed *Swane* to be King of *Norway*, *Hardecnute* King of *Danemark*, and to *Harold* assigned the Kingdom of *England*. But this seems no ways probable that he would separate the Son of his dearly beloved Wife so far from her, especially if that be true, which some have written, that he formerly promised to leave the Crown of *England* to such Issue as he should have by her. However *Harold* by means of the *Danes* and the Citizens of *London* (whom *Malmesbury* writes to have been almost) by this time degenerated into Barbarians by their continual intercourse with them) and afterward by injustice obtained the *Engliff* Crown, but not till after much contention. For each Pretender endeavoured to strengthen himself with Friends and Forces: as *Earl Godwin* with the *Danes* and *Londoners* stood for *Harold*; so most of the *Engliff* contended for *Edward* the Son of King *Ethelred*, and some for *Hardecnute* the Son of *Cnut* by Queen *Emma*. No expectation was there but of a great War to follow, which caused multitudes of People (who had not yet forgot the dreadful waftes made by the *Daniff* Inrodes) to quit their Habitations, and betake themselves into watriu and fenny places where they thought the Enemy either could not or would not pursue them, particularly to the Monastery of *Croyland*, where they caused such a disturbance that the Religious of the Place could neither meet in the Church, nor in their Refectory. All seemed now to tend to a slaughter, when by the Interposition of some of the more sober fort Advice was given to the Heads of all the Factions to meet and hold a Consultation to prevent the effusion of Christian Blood. The place appointed was *Oxford*, where when they sufficiently debated the matter by the Major part it was at last concluded, that the Kingdom should be divided betwixt *Harold* and *Hardecnute*, so that *Harold* should have all the Countries lying Northward from the *Thames*, together with the City of *London*; and *Hardecnute* enjoy all the Southern Provinces.

Which is ended.

Harold putting his Brother, sets up for himself.

11. *Hardecnute's* disadvantage was that at the time of his Father's Death he was in *Danemark*, whither he was sent to order matters, and by his intercourse to gain the affections of the People, and indeed he seems to have been designed by his Father both to the Succession of the one Kingdom and the other. *Harold* took his opportunity to gain Friends, and some think that at first he was chosen King alone by a prevalent Party, but *Hardecnute* arriving e'er he had confirmed his Possession, this Agreement was made betwixt them for dividing the Kingdom, which settled *Hardecnute's* Affairs called him back into *Danemark*, and then again *Harold* taking an advantage at his Absence, being already in Possession of the greatest part, seized upon all. But whether in this juncture of Affairs *Hardecnute* returned into *England* or was absent all the while, *Harold* got to be sole King by assistance of the *Danes*, the *Londoners*, and now at length of *Godwin* created for his former Services in *Danemark*, *Earl of Kent*, who being a Man made up of ambition and cunning; at the beginning of the Contest had professed himself a stout Champion of *Emma* and her Children, but now upon the turning of the tide resolved to swim with the stream, or was wrought upon by the promises of *Harold*, who made as if he would Marry one of his Daughters. Yet did the Clergy stick close to the Children of *Emma*, and though the Nobility sided with *Harold*, so much contended for them, that *Egelnob* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* refused the Office of Crowning him, protesting that as long as any of the said Children lived he would never give his Assent or Benediction to any other, and affirming (as some write) that *Cnut* on his Death-bed had commended them to his care and fidelity. The Ensigns of Royalty he laid upon the Altar, denouncing a Curse against his Brethren the Bishops in case any of them should deliver them to *Harold*, and inhibiting him from meddling with such things, and by his private Authority taking them away which he had commended to God and that Holy Place. Yet for all this was he Crowned, for we cannot but believe * *Ingulphus*, that he bestowed on their Monastery the Robe of his Coronation. That this Archbishop notwithstanding all this adoe overcome either by his threats or promises, performed the Ceremony, though one of his Successors writes, yet we dare not affirm. † Others will have him Elected King without the Royal Ornaments, but herein they are not to be credited.

12. *Harold* having secured now, as he thought, his Royal Estate, so far as the People were concerned (which if *Simeon* tell true, he had by means of *Godwin* communitis and others so far cajolled, that from being King of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, together with the Nobility, they chose him to Reign through all *England*, † *Parker* in abjuring *Hardecnute*, who it was pretended, though sent for, would not return out of *Antip. Brit. Danemark*)

Eligunt tunc Dani & Londonenses civem qui jam pene in Barbarorum mores propter frequentem commercium transierat. De Goffis Regum Anglor. lib. 2. ch. 12. Ingulphus. Malmesb.

* *Iste dedit Monasterio nigro Clo- ro-pendit coronationis sue de serico aureo sive foribus intextum, quem postea Secretarius in capam, &c.*

Danmark cast in his mind, as the custom is, how to entrap and obviate his Emulators and Rivals. *Emma* or *Algina*, as some call her, his Stepmother, he had already deprived of the greatest part of the treasure which his Father had left her, so the less reason he had to fear her effectual tampering with any for her Sons, having nothing present wherewith to allure them, and it being accounted but a spare diet to fedge merely upon hopes. But her two Sons, *Alfred* and *Edward*, hearing in *Normandy* how matters passed, could not forbear looking on, if they could not be the principal Actors in these Revolutions: into *England* they come with a splended attendance of *Normans*, and haste to their Mother then lying at *Winchester*. But passing through *Kent*, the Charge and Residence of *Earl Godwin*, *Alfred* falls into his hands, and then pretending (at least) to be going to *London* to the King who had sent for him, is stopped and put into close Custody: *Godwin* affirming it was dangerous under pretence of Kindred, to bring so many strangers, and those of a crafty Nation into the Land, of his followers, some he put into Chains, of some he put out the Eyes, of others he cut off the Hands and Feet, and many he caused to be sold, some he tortured by pulling their Skins over their Ears, of others he caused the Guts to be bound about a stake, and then their Bodies to be turned round the stake till all the Entrails were drawn out, and in conclusion, by various and miserable deaths, fix hundred Men he murdered at *Gulford*; some write, that he only spared one in ten, and after that was done, thinking that too many *Normans* still survived, he decimated them over again, and amongst the rest thus murdered, sent away her Son *Edward* into *Normandy*, to be out of harms way. And well did the ground her fears; for while the one Brother thus shifted for himself, the other that was entrapped by command of *Earl Godwin* and others, was sent away to the Isle of *Ely*, where he was scarcely Landed, when most cruelly his Eyes were pulled out of his Head, which done, he was led to the Monastery, and there delivered to the Monks to be safely kept. But he troubled them not long, presently after his sight ending his days, and in the Southern Porch of the Western End of the Church, was decently buried.

Among whom *Alfred* if it was procured and ulthered in by the treachery and forgery of *Harold*, who as the Encomium of *Emma* (the Authour whereof seems to have lived about those times) gives us the Relation, on purpose to get those young Princes into his Hands, counterfeited a Letter as written by their Mother.

He banished *Emma*.

13. Thus cruelly was poor *Alfred* dealt with, but still greater was the cruelty, if it was procured and ulthered in by the treachery and forgery of *Harold*, who as the Encomium of *Emma* (the Authour whereof seems to have lived about those times) gives us the Relation, on purpose to get those young Princes into his Hands, counterfeited a Letter as written by their Mother. "Herein perfonating her, she chides them gently for their delay in looking after their own concerns, seeing they could not but know, that it procured the dayly confirming of the Usurper in his Power, who omitted no Arts whatsoever to gain the chief Nobility to his Party. He assures them yet that the *Engliff* Nation had much rather that one of them should be their King, and in conclusion, desires they would rather that one of them should be their King, and in conclusion, desires they would come as speedily and privately as they could to consult with her what course was to be taken. The Letter was conveyed by a surnamed Messenger, who by presents sent as from their Mother, and by his insinuations plaid his part so well, that the truth of the Message was not doubted of. Now some Historians say, that the better to conceal themselves, they came into *England* several ways. Others in say, that *Alfred* only Arrived, and that *Edward* with forty Sail of well manned Ships came to *Southampton*, where he found the Coast guarded with Souldiers to prevent his Landing. He adventured to fight, and that with good success, but finding himself too slenderly provided to march up into the Country, and Conquer the Kingdom, with much Booty he sailed back into *Normandy*. Indeed, considering that *Alfred* only was taken, these Relations seem nearer to truth, and that *Alfred* with a few Ships, and not many Men Landing in *Kent*, fell into the Snares laid for him by *Earl Godwin*. The Children being thus disposed of, the Mother he thought fit not to suffer here to remain, but presently after banished her the Kingdom, though Winter was begun, she retired not into *Normandy*, because, as some allege, Duke *William*, the base Son of her Nephew *Robert*, was then brought up in the French Court, and some add what may be more improvable, that her Son *Edward* was then gone into *Hungary* to consult with his Cousin *Edward*, surnamed the Outlaw, whom as we said, *Cnut* had banished thither. She went straight for *Flanders*, where she was courteously received by *Earl Baldwin*, who pitying the Case of a distressed Lady and Queen, assigned her *Bruges* to dwell at, and munificently provided for her all the time she there staid.

Simeon Dunelm. ad An. 1066.

Apud Gillingham in feribis Malmesb.

Walsingham. in Hypodigm. Neufria. lib. 6. c. 4.

as will make even the Lame man to find his Legs, and the Coward to grow valiant. Not able to bear the continual Indignities and burthen put upon them, they took this opportunity to shake off the yolk, reassumed some Courage and gathered together (saith mine Authour) a great Army, which was called *Houneher*, from one *Houne* who first gave the Advice and was their Captain in the Enterprize. Many *Danes* they slew, and the rest they banished out of *England*, (that is, such as they had most cause to be angry with, for that Multitudes had identified themselves with the *English* Nation and still continued, especially in the Eastern and Northern parts is evident enough) whither they never afterwards returned, when they had here tyrannized by times for above two hundred and fifty years, and of these been possessed of the Supreme Power or Royalty, twenty fix.

But at length
were most of
them banish-
ed.

SECT. XII.

The Monarchy of the English Saxons restored in Britain. From the Promotion of Edward the Son of Ethelred, (afterward surnamed the Confessor) to the Death of Harold the last King of the English Race, the final Period of the English Saxon Empire, and the Conquest of England by Duke William the Norman.

The Space of Two and twenty Tears, Six Months, and odd Days.

SECT. 12. 1. **T**he *English* being rid of the *Danes*, resolved to have no King but of their own Native Race, and having so good an opportunity to discharge their Resolution, by reason that *Hardicute* died Childless, agreed to pitch upon one of the Posterity of their late King *Ethelred*. The generality of Historians concur as to *Edward* his Son by *Emma*, that their eyes were fixed upon him, yet *Henry of Huntingdon* tells a Story of *Alfred* his Brother, as if he were still alive in *Normandy*, and was now sent for by the Nobility, whom the concurrent Testimony of others affirms to have been before this blinded and imprisoned in the Isle of *Ely*. Most of our Writers will have *Edward* preferred by the means and procurement of Earl *Godwin* especially, yet some others tell a Tale, that *Godwin* for fear of life, as Conscious of what he was guilty of in reference to the Relations of *Edward* was fled into *Denmark* and returned not till he was owned as King, and held a Parliament in the City of *London*, by Mediation whereof he obtained pardon. But in this case we have best reason to trust to the * Testimony of *Ingulphus*, who himself lived in this *Edward's* days, and writes expressly that his Promotion happened by the Advice and Persuasion of Earl *Godwin*. † *William of Malmesbury* after him, the Authour of most credit, gives us the Relation in this manner. *Hardicute* being dead, *Edward* was at a great loss in himself, not knowing what way to turn him, or what course to take, but at last resolved to cast himself upon the Council and Fidelity of Earl *Godwin*, who being sent to for a friendly Conference for some time fluctuated in his thoughts whether he should own him or not, but at length was content to speak with him. "Edward getting Access, was about to fall at his feet, which when he would not suffer, "he told him the sad Story of his Brother *Hardicute's* death, and with great "Promises craves his assistance for his safe return into *Normandy*. *Godwin* gives "him

*Edward made
King by the
assistance of
Earl Godwin.*

*Vide Chroni-
con Joh.
Bromton.*

* Post ejus
obitum omni-
um Electio-
nem in Edwardum
Concordatur,
maxime co-
hortante God-
wino comite,
Sic.
† De Gestis
Regum Angl-
orum lib. 2.
c. 13.

"him this unexpected answer, that he had better live gloriously a King in *Eng- Sect. 12.*
land, than dye ignominiously in Exile; that the Crown did of right belong
"him, as the Son of *Ethelred* and Nephew of *Edgar*, one who was of ripe Age,
"inured to Labour, and who had learnt by experience how to order publick Af-
"airs with Justice, and had been taught by his own late afflictions how to re-
"move and prevent the miseries of his People. To bring this about there would
be no obstacle, for if he would but trust him, he should find that his Interest was
very great in the Land. He told him that Fortune would be favourable to his In-
clinations, which way soever they tended, and if he took it upon him he was
sure there would be none to contradict. On condition he would establish a fast
Friendship with him and his House, prefer his Sons, and marry his Daughter, he
should shortly see himself a King, who now as one Shipwrackt in his Fortunes,
and a Man Banished from all Expectations, implored the help of another
Person.

Who is
Crowned at
Winchester.

2. *Edward's* Case at this time was such, as not to reject so fair Proposals, but agree to every thing, and comply with the state and condition of the times, whatsoever he required he promised by Oath. *Godwin* was a Man fitted by Nature for managing such a Business, having a very smooth and pleasant Tongue, so copious and eloquent, that he could work upon the affections of the People, intimate whatsoever he desired, and draw them with ease to any thing, which he could but design. He procures a Council to be summoned to *Gillingham*, (some Copies have it *London*) and there some he persuades by his own Authority, some by promises, and others inclined before to favour *Edward's* Cause, he fully brings over to his Party, the rest that made opposition, were overpowered at present, disgraced, and afterward hurried out of the Land. On *Easter* day, of this year fell on the third of *April*, he was Crowned at *Winchester* by the two Archbishops, *Edvi* of *Canterbury*, and *Aelfric* of *Tork*, assisted with other Prelates, of whom, *Living* Bishop of *Worcester*, contributed very much to the bringing about this design. Thus was the Empire of the *English* restored to the *English* Royal Blood, and the People so unexpectedly delivered from the *Danish* Tyranny, were exceedingly satisfied, yet still making a way for another Revolution, which they little imagined to be so near. Betwixt the Death of *Hardicute* and the Coronation of *Edward*, intervened about ten Months, the one happening in *June*, and the other in *April* following, so that this alteration required some considerable time, and probably found as considerable opposition, notwithstanding the great power of Earl *Godwin*. This Promotion of *Edward*, if we reckon no *Interregnum*, and begin his Reign where *Hardicute's* ended, fell out in the first year of *Constantinus Monomachus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, the fourth of *Henricus Niger* the German Emperour, in the year of our Lord, *MXLIII*. But if we reckon from his Coronation, his beginning is to be fetcht from the year next following.

He seizes on
his Mother's
Treasure.

3. *Edward* the creature of *Godwin*, after his Advancement, conformed himself wholly to his Dictates and Advice. The first thing he did, was to seize on the Treasure of his Mother *Emma*, then at *Winchester*. The Cause pretended was, that he had been harsh to him in the time of his banishment and necessities; and indeed, she is thought to have born no great affection, either to *Ethelred* or his Children; but *Godwin* however seems to have been the Infidler of this Indignation into the King's mind, bearing her malice for concerning her self about the cruelty exercised toward her Son *Alfred*. *Simeon* writes expressly, that *Edward* did it by advice of *Leofric*, *Godwin* and *Giward*, who accompanied him from *Glaworn* or *Glocester* to *Winchester*, where coming on her at unawares, he took away from her whatsoever Gold, Silver or Jewels she had then about her; to which Relation, *Matthew of Westminster* adds, that he yet commanded that she should be supplied with Necessaries, and be free from all farther disturbance, which how far it was observed, we shall see anon. But whatever his Actions were towards his Mother, *Godwin* would take care he should deal fairly with him, in the marriage of his Daughter *Editha* or *Egitha*, which about this time he procured to be Solemnized. The Lady indeed for her perfections, both inward and outward, deserved a Crown, so that this was not the particular wherein this Earl imposed on him. Herein we may give credit to *Ingulphus* the Abbot, who knew her very well, and testifies that she was most beautiful, most chaste and virtuous, especially humble, and very well seen in humane Learning, favouring nothing of the rudeness either of her Father or Brothers, but mild, modest, faithful and honest, never doing any ill Offices, so that it became a Proverb, that as a Thorn pro-

And marries
Godwin's
Daughter.

duces

Seçt. 12. *duces a Rofe, fo Godwin begit* Egitha. When he was a School-boy, and came to fee his Father, then living at Court he faith he met her very often, and she would often oppofe him of his Leffon, both in Grammar and Logic, wherein ſhe was very expert, and when by her ſubtle arguing ſhe had non-pluſ'd him; ſhe would order her Maid to give him money, and not diſmiſs him till he had alſo filled his Belly with good chear, thus ſhe obliged him: but though ſhe did this to him when a Boy he wrote not the ſtory till he was Abbat and an Aged Man.

He baniſhes many of the Daniſh Nobility.

4. *Edward* thus ſetled in the Throne, yet thought not himſelf ſecure as long as any eminent Perſons of the *Daniſh* Blood continued in the Land. He baniſhed *Guthilda*, the Daughter of *Worgern* (King of the *Vandals* ſay ſome) and the Siſter of King *Cnut*, married firſt to *Hacn*, and then to *Harold* both Earls, but now a Widow, and with her her two Sons *Hemmung* and *Turkili* were alſo ſent away. They firſt went to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, and thence afterward proceeded into *Denmark*. But while he thus as he thought prevented ſtorms at home, a Tempeſt had like to have fallen upon him from the North, where *Magnus* King of *Norway*, the Son of Holy King *Olave* to revenge, it ſeems, the Injury done here to his Father in the Days of *Cnut*, prepared to invade *England*. *Edward* to ſecure himſelf provided a ſtrong Fleet which lay-expecting *Magnus* in *Sandwich* Rode, but *Swane* King of *Denmark*, though he had no reaſon to befriend the *Engliſh* who had fo lately expelled his Countreymen, yet to hinder the growth of his next Neighbour, diverted him by making an Inrode into his Kingdom. This procured ſuch feuds betwixt theſe two Northern Kings, that *Magnus* in revenge the year following entred *Denmark*, whence he quite expelled King *Swane*, and made himſelf Lord of the Countrey. Now *Swane* ſent his Ambaſſadors to King *Edward*, hoping he would return ſuch a kindneſs as he had received from him when he was in danger. *Godwin* was for ſupplying him with a Fleet of fifty Vefels both to requite *Swane*, and to give a check to the Succes and Ambition of *Magnus*, and the thing had been done but for the oppoſition of Earl *Leofric* and others, who thought it ſafer the King ſhould ſit ſtill and be a looker on than perhaps diſoblige the Conquerour, and bring danger upon himſelf. And whereas *Swane* had formerly indeed by the Inrode he made into *Denmark*, done that which tended much to the repoſe of *England*, yet ſeeing he took his meaſures from his own Intereſt not that of *Edward*, he could not take it amiſs, that *Edward* alſo ſhould ſteer his courſe by the ſame compaſs.

5. And their Council had this effect, that as *Magnus* during his Life (all which he enjoyed the Kingdom of *Denmark*) offered no more to attempt any thing upon *England*, ſo *Harold Harvaager* his Uncle and Succellour, aſſoon as he came to the Crown ſent Ambaſſadors to *Edward*, and made a League and Alliance with him. Thus above ground there was nothing but quiet and ſerenity, when within the Earth happened on *Mayday* being *Sunday* a great motion and conſuſion, at *Worceſter*, *Derby* and many other places. A great motiion of Men, and a Murrain amongſt Cattel followed, and Fires in the Air, or thoſe Meteors which being kindled are called *Ignes fatui*, in *Derbyſhire* and other Countreys burnt many Villages and much Standing-corn. But while *Edward* was free from Wars at Home, he was engaged by the Emperour *Henry* the following year againſt *Baldwin* the Earl of *Flanders*, with whom he had a quarrel about a Palace of his Countrey, which the Earl had fired. Pope *Leo* and *Swane* the King of the *Danes* he had to aſſiſt him by Land, and left *Baldwin* ſhould eſcape by Sea he procured the King of *England* to ſecure the Coaſts, which he did, lying fo long with his Fleet before the Port of *Sandwich*, till he had an intelligence that an Agreement was made betwixt them. In the mean time *Swane* the Son of Earl *Godwin*, and whom ſome make Earl of *Berkſhire*, *Oxfordſhire* and *Gloceſterſhire*, having formerly been baniſhed, or at leaſt left the Land, for having deſoured *Edgida* the Abbeſs of *Cheſter* whom he would have married, came back from *Denmark* with eight ſhips, pretending a great deſire to be reconciled to the King. *Boern* an Earl, and his Couſin German the Son of *Viſt* a *Dane* undertook to make his Peace. The War being at an end betwixt the Emperour and Earl *Baldwin*, this *Boern* and *Godwin* who commanded the Fleet with forty two ſhips, by the King's leave were removed to *Pevenſey*, the reſt of the Navy, except what the King kept with him, being diſmiſſed. To *Pevenſey* *Swane* comes and ſolicits his Couſin *Boern*, according to his promiſe, to carry him to the King, then lying at *Sandwich* and obtain his pardon; *Boern* miſtruſting nothing becauſe of their Conſanguinity readily went with him attended onely by three Servants, but he having brought him

Engages with Henry the Emperour againſt Baldwin Earl of Flanders.

Sicut ſpina regium, genuit Godwinum Regium.

Simcon ad An. 1044. Alii.

Simcon ad An. 1045.

Simcon ad An. 1045. Florent. Wigton.

him to *Bofenham* where his ſhips lay at Anchor, and having carried him aboard ſetled him firſt to be bound faſt, and keeping him till he came to *Dertmouth*, there he murdered him, which done he caſt his Body into a deep Ditch, and covered it with a bundance of Earth. Six of *Swane's* ſhips the Inhabitants of *Hafſings* took, and killing all the Men they found aboard them, carried them to *Sandwich* to the King. With the other two he fled into *Flanders*, where he continued till ſuch time as *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* brought him back and reconciled him, for all this, to the gentle King.

6. Crimes of this nature were at this time but too common and too little puniſhed, ſuch was the wickedneſs of the *Engliſh* Nation which now fell again into ſecurity, though the late dreadful Rod was but juſt removed from their backs. Nay it was at this very time again, as it were ſhaken over them. For *Oſgod Clapa* being it ſeems baniſhed with his Wife as well as other *Danes*, had got together nine and twenty ſhips, with fix of which taking his Wife from *Bruges* he failed into *Denmark*, the reſt went to the Coaſts of *Effex*, where doing very much harm in their return they were ſeized with a mighty Tempeſt, and loſt but two, which being driven into foreign parts were ſeized, and the men put to the Sword. But not onely were they put in mind hereby of the *Daniſh* Cruelties more lately praſtituted, but by ſomething then happened on the other ſide of the Iſland of the old Devaſtations made upon theſe parts by the *Iriſh Scots*, but here was the difference, that whereas formerly the *Britains* were ſufferers, now they were become Actours with them. For, as *Florent* of *Worceſter* writes, the ſame year in the Month of *Auguſt*, certain Pirates from *Ireland* with thirty fix ſhips entering the Mouth of the River *Severn*, landed at a place called *Wileſceaxon*, where joyning with *Griffin* King of *Southwales*, they foraged the Countrey and did ſome miſchief. Then he at the head of them paſſed the River *Weage*, they burnt *Dunedham*, and ſlew all the People they could find, the Alarm being now taken by the adjoining Parts, *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* with ſome *Gloceſter* and *Herefordſhire* men haſted againſt them, but certain *Welſh* men that they had with them ſent privately to *Griffin*, and gave him notice when he might moſt conveniently fall upon the *Engliſh*, and he taking the opportunity together with the *Iriſh* Pirates fell accordingly upon them early in the Morning and killed many, the reſt making their eſcape. The next year that followed but one, King *Edward* to comfort and relieve his People, forely vexed with a Famine of which many thouſands died, took off the Tax of Eighty thouſand Pound, formerly impoſed by his Father, and called *Danegeld*, which had lain heavy on them for eight and thirty years. But as this effect of his good nature to them, tended much to their eaſe and convenience, ſo other Acts of his kindneſs to Strangers this very year, proved of ill conſequence unto the whole Nation.

The Tax of Danegeld reſcinded by him.

He is kind to Strangers.

7. *Eufſace* Earl of *Boloin* Father to *Godfrey* and *Baldwin* who were afterward Kings of *Jeruſalem*, and King *Edward's* Brother-in-Law by a Marriage with his Siſter *Goda*, from *Whitſand* ſailed over to *Dover*, and having had conference with the King about ſome affair of conſequence, and returning back in the month of *September*, one of his Harbingers at *Canterbury* was ſo rude with a Townſman in ſeeking for Lodgings, that he provoked him to kill him in heat of Anger. *Eufſace* enraged heret with all his Company, haſted to revenge his Servants death, and killed him that had ſlain him with other eighteen of his Company; but thereupon the Citizens riſing fell upon him and his men, whereof one and twenty they ſlew, and wounded many others, he himſelf hardly eſcaping with one Follower from the Tumult. To Court he poſts with great Clamour, and aſſiſted by ſome of his own Party, greatly incenſes the King againſt thoſe of *Canterbury*. Earl *Godwin* is ſent for and commanded with all ſpeed to march with an Army and puniſh the Offenders. He on the contrary affirms, that no man is to be condemned before he be heard, and frets that the King ſhould favour all Strangers more than his own Subjects, for many of them he had preferred to great places, and truſt in the *Engliſh* Church and State; one *Robert* a *Norwan* lately Biſhop of *London* he had made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and another of that Countrey called *William*, he had promoted to the See of *London*, which thing exasperated the *Engliſh* againſt the *Normans*. Being backed by ſome others that loved their Countrey, he urged that the chief Actours in the late diſorders were firſt to be ſent for and fairly tried; in caſe they were found innocent to be diſmiſſed, but if culpable to be fined, or undergoe ſome corporal Punishment for the breach of the King's Peace, and the Violence and Affront they had offered to the Earl. He farther put him in mind, that it was his part to protect his People, and not condemn them

Seçt. 12.

Ingulphus.

Vide Malmſb. ubi ſupra cap. 13. Simcon. ad Ann. MLL.

Sect. 12.

Godwin and his Sons take up Arms.

them without due process. In conclusion, the thing he refused to do, not esteeming the King's Anger which he thought would be but a fit; but Edward displeased with his refusal, and farther egged on to revenge called an Assembly of all the Nobility at *Glocester*, that the matter might be therein debated. All the Nobility was present or few excepted, only *Godwin* and his Sons appeared not, suspecting that the Nobility were too much of the King's humour, but Armed themselves, *Godwin* raising Forces out of his Earldom, containing (as *Simoen* writes) *Kent, Southsex and Westsex*; his Eldest Son *Swane* out of his, which comprised *Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Somersetshire and Berkshire*; and *Harold* his Youngest Son out of his County, wherein *Essex, East England, the Shires of Huntingdon and Cambridge* were included.

8. They took up their Quarters at *Beverlan*, and gave out that they Armed against the *Welfs* who designing mischief against the King had fortified a place in *Herefordshire*, where *Swane* the Son of *Godwin* then lay Incamped under that pretence. But the *Welfs* having fore notice of the Device prevented it by clearing themselves at Court, where *Godwin* and his Sons were rendered so odious, that the King's Army was expected to March against them. And *Edward* had sent to *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*, and *Syward* of *Northumberland* to come and succour him in his extremity with all the Power they could raise. They at first came but with a few; but sending afterwards throughout their several Commands, got together in a little time great Forces, with which *Rodolph* the King's Nephew by his Sister *Goda*, and her former Husband *Walter de Maunt* joyined himself though with small expectation, for being Earl of *Hereford* but a very Coward, he had turned (as we shall see) his back of the *Welfs* Men, and left his County with the City and the Bishop in it to their Sword and Fire, and they had done greater mischief if *Harold* had not by his industry and valour timely prevented it. *Godwin* and his Sons in the mean time proceeded into *Gloucestershire*, and Incamped themselves at a place then called *Langtree*, whence they sent to the King then lying at *Glocester*, and demand Earl *Esseaxe* and his Company, together with such *Normans* and *Bullognais* as held the Castle at *Canterbury* to be given up into their hands, upon refusal denouncing War. The King was very much discomposed at the Message, not knowing what course to take; but when he understood that the Forces of *Leofric*, *Syward* and *Rodolph* were on their March, he flatly refused to give them up, and with that Answer sent back the Messenger. They were scarce gone when the Armies came to *Glocester* so enraged that the King had much ado to keep them from going out immediately to engage *Godwin*. Now *Leofric* and others of the wiser sort seriously considering the sad consequences of a Civil War persuaded the King to come to a Treaty, of which there was the more hopes because *Godwin* had given order to his Sons not to fall on first, but defend themselves in case they were attacked by the King's Forces. They brought the Parties to this Accord, that Hostages should be given on both sides, and the whole matter referred to a farther Debate to be held at *London*.

9. The King hereupon encreases his Army by Leavies in *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, and up to *London* he comes; *Godwin* also having done the like in *Westsex* comes up to *Southwark*. "Here his Son *Swane* to appease the King's anger is commanded to be gone, *Godwin* and *Harold* to appear before the Council unarmed and accompanied onely with twelve Attendants, and to give up all their Forces into the Hands of the King. They pleaded they could not give up themselves into the Hands of their Adversaries without sufficient caution and security, otherwise they were ready to surrender their Forces, and do all things else the King Commanded which were consistent with their Honour and Safety; but to come unarmed was to hazard their Lives, and but with twelve Followers their Reputation. The King by this Answer was farther exasperated, and thereupon an Edict was published by consent of the Council and Army that they should quit the Land in five days. His Souldiers it seems fearing the Issue came to drop away from him and his numbers to lessen, as concluding it was safest to give way to the times, he departed with his Wife *Gytha*, and his three Sons *Swane*, *Gyrth* and *Toft* into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, whose Daughter *Judith* his Son *Toft* had Married; with as much Treasure as the Ship could carry. *Harold* and *Leofwin* his other Sons went to *Bristol*, where taking a Ship that their Brother *Swane* had provided for himself they sailed into *Ireland*. *Harold's* Earldom was conferred on *Elgar* the Son of *Leofric* an Industrious Man, who as willingly afterward surrendered it to him again as now he received it.

And

Who at length depart for Flanders.

Reus in suo consilio & unanimitate exercitum suum con- fessum illius & quinque filios suos exierunt de decore: Sincere ibid.

And the King still pursuing his Indignation deprived *Edgytha* his Wife of all her Sect. 12. Jewels and Treasure, and putting her away sent her with one only attendant to *Wakewell* or *Warewell* to be there kept in custody by the Abbess's Sister. The Enemy thus gone, *William* the Earl (as they call him) or Duke of *Normandy* with many of his *Normans* comes over into *England*, where he and his are liberally Feasted, all other ways nobly entertained, being after some time as richly presented they return home, after they had been most imprudently led up and down to Castles and Forts, and shewed the whole strength of the Nation and what else, after some little time was to be their own. Although, as the Abbat *Ingalphus* writes, there was no hope as yet of Succession in the Kingdom, at least no mention made of it betwixt the King and the Duke.

William Duke of Normandy visits Edward.

Emma the King's Mother Dies.

The manner of Trial by Ordeale.

10. The year following * *Emma* the King's Mother Died, and was Buried at *Winchester*; we have said before how ill she was treated by her Son, who under pretence of her harshness to him in his Adversity took away from her all her Treasure. She had several Enemies which incensed him against her, but especially *Robert* the *Norman* whom he had first made Bishop of *London*, and then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who accused her of being too familiar with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*: Hereupon she was sent to the Abby of *Werewell* having first she had taken from her; and the Bishop was committed to Prison, *Robert* crying out that such villany was not to go unpunished, lest it should be an encouragement to others to doe the like. She being kept not very strictly wrote to all the Bishops of *England* whom she knew to be her Friends, professing that she was more troubled at the disgrace offered to the Bishop than at her own infamy, and that she was ready to clear his innocence by passing, after the manner of *Ordeale*, over red hot iron. The Bishops hereupon met, and had easily brought the King to put up the business but that *Robert* opposed them. He demanded of his Brethren how they durst take upon them to defend that Wild Beast and not a Woman which had defamed the King her Son, and that had called her uncon- stant Lover, The Anointed of the Lord. "But loe (said he) this Woman will purge the Bishop, but who shall purge her that consented to the Death of her "son *Alfred*, and prepared Poyson for his Brother *Edward*? But be it so that she may prevail above the condition of her Sex, if so be she will pass barefoot over nine red hot Plowhires, four stedy paces for her self, and five for the Bishop, let her pass for Innocent. The day for Trial is appointed, which come, the King and all the Bishops, *Robert* excepted, are present: the having the time came, passed unhurt over the Plowhires to the great joy of her self and all the Beholders, as also of the King that she had so purged herself, though to his great sorrow that he had been so credulous as to admit those Calumnies against his own Mother, whose pardon he begged, as also that of the Bishop, and received Penance from them on his bare Back, as some interpret it. But *Emma* for so great a deliverance gave to St. *Swithin* nine Manors, and as many gave the Bishop, the Innocence of them both being hereby cleared: moreover the King is said to have bestowed on the Church of *Winchester* the Isle of *Portland* and other Possessions. The substance of this Story is delivered both by *John Bromton* and *Henry de Knighton*, and *Harpsfield* hath enlarged it with some circumstances. But Ancienter Authours, as *Malmesbury* and others, say nothing of it; and that which follows follows all, viz. that *Robert* (whom some will have Bishop, and others Archbishop, at this time) fled out of the Land, whereas he continued in the Kingdom longer, as we shall see, and fled out of *England* upon another occasion.

Godwin and his Sons returning.

11. This same year wherein *Emma* Died, *Griffin* the *Welfs* King made an Irri- rode into *Herefordshire*, and wasted a great part of the Country, against whom the Inhabitants arose, and the *Normans* that held the Castle of *Hereford* issued out and gave him Battel, but were defeated, and he returned home with great Booty. Not long after *Harold* and *Leofwin* the Sons of Earl *Godwin* returning out of *Ireland* passed with many Vessels up the River *Severn*, and landing in the Counties of *Somerset* and *Somerfet* many went out against them they routed them, out of *Devonshire* and *Somerfet* principal Officers, besides many of the ordinary sort, and having slain thirty principal Officers, besides many of the ordinary sort, returned with much Booty to their Ships. King *Edward* alarmed with the noise, and expecting Earl *Godwin* was not far off, dispatched away forty Ships very well furnished into *Sandwich* Road to prevent his landing, but for all that he made a shift to come ashore undiscovered in *Kent*, whence he sent Messengers round

Wakewella
Wakewella at
Wakewella
Simen:
Reus in suo
exercitu
confessum
illius &
quinque
filios
suos
exierunt
de decore:
Sincere
ibid.

SECT. 12. Church against them, which done they burnt the Monastery with all its Ornaments and Relicks, killed some of their Townsmen, took Prisoners more, and having plundered and burnt the City went their ways enriched with great spoil. *Edward* loudly alarmed with the noise hereof, commanded Forces to be raised throughout *England*, which meeting together at *Glocester* he committed the Conduct of them to *Earl Harold*, who Marching swiftly into *Wales* incamped himself beyond *Straddale* where *Griffin* and *Algar* durst not look him in the Face, but knowing him to be a Man both of skill and metal fairly betook themselves into *South Wales*. He perceiving they were not to be reached, left there the greater part of his Men with orders to engage the Enemy if they could come at him, and with the rest returned to *Hereford*, which he fortified all ways possible; during which employment of his the two Captains thinking it best to obtain Peace, send their Messengers and procure a meeting at a place called *Bylgesleage*, where a firm Peace and Friendship was concluded, in pursuance whereof *Algar* sent his Ships to *Chester* till he could pay them off, and he himself went up to the King from whom he received his former Command. But *Griffin* the year after broke the Peace on his part by setting upon *Leofgar* Bishop of *Hereford* at a place called *Glastfyrig*, whom he there slew, together with his Clerks, *Agelnoth* the vice Earl of the County, and many others.

16. The next year being the MLVII. of Our Lord, *Edward* the Son of *Edmund Ironside* at the desire of his Uncle came into *England* out of *Hungary*, being destined by him his Successor; but he Died not long after at *London*, and was Buried in *St. Paul's* Church, leaving behind him *Edgar Etheling*, and two Daughters *Margaret* and *Christina*. Not long after he was followed to a better life by *Earl Leofric*, who Died in his own Village of *Bromleage*, and was Buried in a Monastery of his own Founding at *Coventry*, a Pious Charitable Man, and the Nefor of his Age, to his Councils all the Kings he served, and the whole Realm of *England* being beholden. In his Earldom succeeded his Son *Algar*, but quickly found a misfortune, being Banished the second time not a year after his Father's Death. Yet by the assistance of *Griffin*, the *Welsh* King, who would not desert him, and a Fleet of *Norway* Men, which by chance came in to his help, he is said shortly after by force to have recovered his Government. The following year, *Malcolm*, King of *Scotts*, came and gave a visit to *King Edward*, and contracted to great a Friendship with his Neighbour, *Tofti* the Earl of *Northumberland*, who brought him on his way, that they became sworn Brethren, though to what effect, the event shewed within two years; for *Tofti* being gone to *Rome* with *Aldrid* the Archbishop of *Tork*, to fetch his Pall from *Pope Nicholas*, his sworn Brother fell in upon the places under his Government, which he cruelly wasted, and brake the Peace of *St. Cuthbert*, in the Island of *Lindisfarne*, as *Simcon* complains. While *Malcolm* thus disturbed the Northern Parts, *Griffin* the King of the *Welsh*, ceased not by his frequent Inrodes and Depredations, both by Land and Sea, to hurry the Western, which gave so great discontent to *King Edward*, that sensible how much he was concerned in honour, he dispatch'd from *Glocester*, where he then lay, after *Christmas*'s Holy-days, *Harold* against him with a Party of Horse, if possible, to surprize him. Yet got he notice of his coming, and made a shift to escape; but left behind him most of his Ships, which he commanded to be burnt, and so returned. But about *Rogation* week, having got a Fleet in readiness, from *Bristol* he set Sail, and compassing the greatest Part of *Wales*, joyning himself to the Horse, with which his Brother *Tofti*, by the King's Order, met him, and did such mischief in the Country, that the *Britains* yielded themselves up to him, delivered up Hostages, consented to pay Tribute, and renounced quite their King *Griffin*. At present *Griffin* escaped, but the following year, he was taken by *Griffin* the King of *North Wales*, and slain, his Head, with the Head of his Ship, being sent as a present to *Harold*. He sent them to *King Edward*, who was so kind as to bestow the Dominions of *Griffin*, upon his two Brethren, *Blecgens* and *Rithwalan*, who in *Harold*'s presence, swore Allegiance to him, to obey him, both by Land and Sea, and engaged to pay without fail, what had been paid out of the Country to former Kings.

17. *Griffin* left behind him a Son named *Caradoc*, who could not digest his Inheritance, thus made over to his Uncles. *Harold*, as a curb to the Country, and for his own (or the King's as he pretended) convenience for hunting, caused in the *British* Country, at a place called *Porsafcrib* (now *Potskewoth* in *Monmouthshire*, upon the *Severn* Sea near to *Wymouth*) a great House to be erected, and furnished with all conveniences for eating and drinking. *Caradoc* having no

tice of it, out of disdain and revenge, on *St. Bartholomew's* day, the year following his Father's death came down upon a sudden, slew all the Artificers that there were at work, and took away all the good cheer that was provided. Thus was *Harold* robbed of his good cheer, in those Parts; and within a little after, his Brother *Tofti* was in danger of being bereaved of his Life, by a Conspiracy raised against him in his own Government, upon these occasions. There was one *Gofpatrick*, an Officer in *Northumberland*, with whom he having a quarrel, his Sister, Queen *Egitha*, caused him to be slain at Court, the *Christmases* before. The quarrel being taken up by the Friends and Companions of *Gofpatrick*, two of them, viz. *Ganiel* the Son of *Orme*, and *Ziff* the Son of *Dolphin*, he himself having treacherously drawn them in, had also killed in his own Chamber. Besides he had laid intolerable impositions upon the People, which so incensed them, that three or four of the principal Men, viz. *Ganiolbarn*, *Dinflan*, the Son of *Agelnoth*, and *Gloineorn* the Son of *Heardulf*, with four hundred Men in Arms, entered *Tork* a little after *Michaelmas*, and first slew two of his household Servants, (his *Hufcarles*) *Amand* and *Ravenheart*, having reached them, though they were fled out of the City, and the day following, above two hundred more of his Attendants, on the North side of the River *Humber*. They broke open his Treasury, and having rifled all they could find, then went their ways. *Tofti* hereupon made a loud complaint to the King, and at his desire, was appointed *Harold* his Brother and others to take up the Business. But as they were going down into the North for this purpose, the whole Country in a manner met them at *Northampton*, where, and afterward on *St. Simon* and *Jude's* day at *Oxford*, they vehemently opposed the Resolution of *Tofti*, and by no means would admit of Reconciliation; and so vehement they were and resolute, that after the Feast of all Saints, they procured him and his Ministers to be banished. He went over with his Wife to *Baldwin* the Earl of *Flanders*, his Father-in-law, and *Morkar*, the Son of *Algar*, was made Earl of *Northumberland* in his room.

Tofti one of Godwin's Sons banished.

For his cruel murders and other Villanies.

18. Such was the occasion of *Tofti's* banishment, as most probable, though the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* (who lived in the time of the *Normans* their Rule over *England*, and heard many tales of the hated *Earl Godwin*, and his Sons) tells us another story. On a day, as the King sat at Dinner at *Windsor*, he was served with the Cup by *Earl Harold*. *Tofti* being present, and not able to endure that his younger Brother should be more favoured than himself in the King's presence, flew in his Face, and caught him by the hair. The scuffle being parted, the King foretold that their destruction was nigh, and that the wrath of God no longer would be deferred. For they were come to that height of barbarism and cruelty, that if they but liked the House or Possessions of any one, they would by night procure the owner to be murdered, with all his Offspring, to get his Estate: And those were the Justiciaries of the Kingdom. *Tofti* in great rage leaving the Court, went to *Hereford*, where at that time his Brother *Harold* had made vast preparations for Entertainment of the King. There he made a most terrible havock of his Servants, into each of the Vessels of Wine, Mead, Ale, and other Liquors, putting either a Man's Leg, or an Arm, or an Head, sending word to the King, that he should take no care for pickled Meats, as for other sorts he might carry them down with him to his Farm. For this so horrid a villany, the King commanded him to be banished, which the *Northumbrians* understanding, for the many murders he had there committed, they drove him thence with all his Family, as well *English* as *Danes*, and seized on his Treasure and Magazine in *Tork*. Into his Place they preferred *Marger* (so he calls him) the Son of *Earl Algar*, who with them, and multitudes out of *Lincolnshire*, *Derbyshire*, and *Nottinghamshire*, went as far as *Flamton*. Against him marched *Edwin* his Brother, with Men under his Command, and many *Britains*, and at last came up *Earl Harold*, whom the *Northumbrians* procured to go to the King, to get leave that *Marcher* might be their Governour, which he granted, sending back *Harold* to them to *Hamton*. They in the mean time burnt and pillaged the Country, killing many of the Inhabitants, and when their request was granted, many thousands they took along with them, doing that part of the Kingdom so much mischief as it could not recover many years after. Such is the account which *Huntingdon* gives us, strange as to the manner of the behaviour of the *Northumbrians*. And had *Tofti* been guilty of such a rash Act toward his Brother in the King's presence, the King would never have interceded with those of *Yorkshire*, for his keeping his Place as it appears from *Simcon* that he did. Nay, *Malmesbury* tells us plainly, he had it from those that knew that another was put into *Tofti's* place by the

Ad. An. Edw. 24.

The Scotts infect the North of England.

And the Welsh the Western Parts.

Who are subdued, and Griffin slain.

Sim. ad Ann. 1063.

Sect. 12. the endeavour of *Harold*, quite contrary to the inclinations of the King, who bore a great love to *Tostig*, but being spent with his Disease and Age, he now began to be slighted by all, and could not succour whom he affected, but thence fell into such trouble of mind, that his Dislemper being thereby increased, he died not long after.

Harold another Son of Godwin Shipwreck.

19. But if the King upon this or some other occasion predicted the Ruine of the Sons of *Godwin* (who doubtless were enough to blame) to be near at hand, he was so much in the right, that their ill Stars about this very time began to operate; for if *Tostig* was banished by the King, *Harold* was also driven from *England* by the very Winds and Weather. About the time that his Brother went into *Flanders*, he being for his recreation at his house at *Bosham* in *Sussex*, upon the Sea side; for his farther Pleasure, he took a Fishers Boat, meaning to plye up and down, but going farther off to Sea than he was aware, a Tempest rose and carried him cross the Channel to the *French Coast*, where glad to be safe any where, he was forc't to Land in the Territories of the Earl of *Ponthieu*. The men of the place (according to their custome and that barbarous practice which is on foot in most places, to make a prey of distressed and shipwreck'd Persons) presently fall to work. Armed they seize upon the naked, a multitude upon a few, on their hands they put Manacles, and Fetters on their Feet. *Harold* considering what was to be done, hired a Messenger to goe to *William*, by whom he acquaints him how he "was sent by the King, by his word and presence, to confirm what other little "Messengers had but whisper'd, but was kept Prisoner, and hindered from the "discharge of his Message by *Guido* Earl of *Ponthieu*. It appeared they had a "barbarous and extravagant custome in that Country, that such as escaped drown- "ing, should on Land it self be endangered, that it would suit well with a man "of so great repute as he was, not to suffer such villany to go unpunished, ha- "ving detracted from his Authority, by daring to cast bonds upon one that had "appealed to his Justice; if with money his Liberty was to be redeemed, he would "willingly pay the price to Earl *William*, but not to such an half Man as *Guido* "was. By command of *William* he is quickly set at liberty, and by *Guido* con- ducted to his Court, where being honourably treated in all respects, he is also in- vited to an expedition into *Little Britain*, where at that time the *Norman* had War. By his Wit and Valour he so approved himself to the Duke, that he was very much taken with him, to whom, that he might the more endear himself, he promised by Oath, that in case King *Edward* died, he would deliver up to him the Castle of *Dover*, which belonged to him, and procure him to succeed in the Kingdom of *England*. This said, the Duke's Daughter, as yet too young for Mar- riage, was betrothed to him, and he was sent home with great gifts.

Bosham now obtained by Godwin.

20. Some said he was sent over on purpose by *Edward*, who finding himself decay'd, had in his thoughts pitched upon his Kinsman *William* for his Successour, but *Mattheus* approves of the other report, that he was driven by Tempest. However, by this promise of his, he intangled himself and incurred the indignation of *William* by his breach of it, which procured him his end, so that he had reason to curse the time of his knowing *Bosham*, which because it was wrong- fully and deceitfully got from the right owner, seemed indeed to draw down a curse upon him the second Possessor of it, and it is not amiss here to insert the story, the more to discover the humour of his Father Earl *Godwin*, who as by this and other passages, it appears, so he but got, cared not by what means he came at it. This *Bosham* (or *Bosham*, as anciently it was called) lying under- neath *Chichester*, in the confines of *Hampshire* and *Sussex*, environed round about with Woods, and the Sea together, was formerly before *Bede's* time, onely fa- mous for a small Cell, which one *Dicul*, a Scotch Monk had in it, where he lived with five or six other Religious Persons, very poorly in the Service of God: Af- terwards it came into the hands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Godwin* upon sight of it had an itching desire after it, and therefore with a great Train of Gal- lants, comes smiling and jesting to the Archbishop, with these words. *My Lord, I pray you give me Bosham*. The Archbishop much marvelled what he meant, but at length, whether he thought he alluded to *Basilian* a *Buffe*, as now we term it, which in times past was used in doing Homage, or was unwilling to dis- please him, answered; *I give you Bosham*. He hereupon, immediately with his Followers, falls down at his Feet, as was beforehand ordered, and kissing them, with many thanks went back to *Bosham*, of which as Lord, he kept possession by strong hand, and having the slender Testimony of his Friends and Followers to back him, praised much the Archbishop to the King, as his Benefactor, and so held it

Walterus Ma- gister de Nigri Curciani.

it peaceably till he left it, as it seems, to his Son *Harold*, whose passage hence into Sect. 12. *Normandy*, procured the Shipwreck, though not at present, both of his Person, of his Fortunes, and indeed of his Father's Family.

21. But as to the Message carried over to Duke *William*, there are still more opi- ^{Ad Ann. 1065.} nions. *Inglufus* obliged by the Duke, and therefore a favourer of him, writes, that King *Edward*, not long before his Death, perceiving his Kinsman *Edgar Ethel- ling*, the Son of *Edward Clito*, lately deceased, both in respect of his Body and Mind, unfit for Government (of which temper his Father is also reputed to have been) and that the evil Off-spring of Earl *Godwin*, daily increased, and got more strength and interest, fixed his thoughts upon Earl *William* of *Normandy*, his Kinsman, and fully resolved to have him succeed him in the Kingdom of *England*, for he was then become famous in War, had triumphed over the *French King*, in the Exercise of Arms, was invincible, a most just Judge in deciding of Causes, as well as most Religious and devout at Divine Service. Hereupon he dispatched to him *Robert*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to acquaint him that both in respect to his Kindred and Merit, he had designed him his Successour. Besides this, *Harold* the Major domo of the King's Palace, going into *Normandy*, swore not onely to keep the Crown for him, after the decease of King *Edward*; but to marry also his Daughter, which things having passed, he returned magni- ficently rewarded. This is the account we have from *Inglufus*, but such as will not hold in reference to the Messenger, for *Robert* the Archbishop, was driven out of the Land before, and therefore King *Edward* could not send him from his side, or presence, as the Abbat words it. *Simeon* has another Story, which sends *Harold* into *Normandy*, but upon another occasion quite different. When *Godwin*, ^{Hinc Rex Ed- wardus Robert- wardum archie- piscopum Can- tuariæ lega- tum à latere suo direxit.} he tells us, was reconciled to the King, he was constrained to give up Hostages for *Edward's* security, which were *Wulnoth* his own Son, and *Hacn* his Grandson, by his Son *Swane*, and were sent into *Normandy* to *William* the Barlard Son of *Robert*, who was Son to *Richard* the King's Mothers Brother. In process of time, when *Godwin* was dead, *Harold* asked leave of the King to goe and fetch home his Brother and Nephew, to whom he answered, that he would not be Author of his Journey, but that he should not say that he hindered him, he might goe whither he pleased, and try what he could doe; onely he foresaw his Journey would tend to the detriment of the whole Kingdom of *England*, and his own disgrace. For he was assured the Earl was not such a Fool as to dismiss them, without he knew it would redound to his own convenience. But *Harold* ventures to take Ship, and by a great Tempest, is cast upon the Coast of *Ponthieu*, into the mouth of a River called *Maia*, where his Vessel is seized on, as a wreck by the Lord of that Country. Hereupon he procures one to goe to *William*, to let him know in what a condition he was, who immediately sends to the Lord of *Ponthieu*, to discharge him, and upon refusal, a second time, threatening else to fetch him away by force. Being now set at Liberty, he goes to *William*, who, very courteously receives him, on purpose to draw him over to his design.

The Engage- ment between Harold and Duke Wil- liam.

22. When he thought him fitly prepared he broke his mind, acquainting him how when his Cousin *Edward* lived there with him in exile, he seriously inga- ged to him, that if ever he came to be King of *England*, he would transfer the Inheritance of the Kingdom upon him. Headed, that if he would oblige himself to assist him in this matter, keep the Castle of *Dover* with the Well of Water for his service, would send his Sister to him in time convenient to be married to one of his Noblemen, and promise to take his Daughter for his Wife he should now receive his Nephew, and as soon as he came to be King of *England* his Brother should be set at liberty, and when he was once settled in the Throne by his as- sistence he should have every thing else he could reasonably desire. *Harold* was sensible of the case he was in, and saw there was no remedy but promise whatso- ever he required. But *William* with his bare promise would not be satisfied, but bringing forth the Relicks of Saints, made him open their sacred Bodies to swear really to perform whatsoever they had now agreed, which done *Harold* took his Nephew, and with him returned into *England*. When upon the King's demand he had given him an account of what had passed, he said, *Did not I tell thee that William was no fool, and that many mischiefs might happen to this Kingdom by what thy Journey? I foresee great Calamities coming upon this Nation of ours by what time Ah, which I pray God may not happen in my days.* And his Prayer was granted, for King *Edward* shortly after died; and *Harold* as before his death he had ordained succeeded him in his Kingdom. So writes *Simeon*, with whom agrees *Eadmerus* as to the occasion of his Journey. Though *Matthew Paris* believes him driven

Se^{ct}. 12. driven thither by force of Tempest, but when he came to get his liberty to have told another Tale quite contrary to the meaning of his Heart, and to have entred with him into that secret confederacy out of Necessity. Of this opinion also as we said is *Malmesbury*, and it seems the more probable.

King Edward
died.

23. Whatever the occasion of his Promise and Engagement was, the time was at hand, that he should be put to the Trial. For now approached that year, that dreadful year to him and his *English Saxon* Nation signalized by a Comet, which portended as *Ingulphus* is of Opinion that great change of Government, that Slaughter of the People, and that great misery which came shortly upon the Land. King *Edward* grew every day more sickly, yet kept his *Christmas* at *Westminster*, and assisted at the Dedication of *St. Peter's* Church there, which he had re-edified with all magnificence; but on the Eve of the Epiphany or Twelftide he died, and the day following was buried in his late dedicated Church with Royal rites, to the great sorrow of the miserable People. The general opinion is that he was a simple, honest, harmless Man, and much devoted to Religious Exercises, exceedingly hampered by *Earl Godwin* and his Sons, who were but too sensible that he received his Preferment from their Family, and upon that ground were too confident and imposing, as often it happens in such cases. It was the Misfortune of the Nation as well as of himself, that he was driven into banishment, and living in another Country was molded into the humour, fashions and customs of it, and out of good nature constrained to be grateful to such as had well deserved of him in his Necessities, more than the Temper if not the Interest of his own Subjects could bear or brook. Most of them yet were in compliance and conformity with him so transformed into foreign shapes, as foretold their Subject in a short time to those the manners and usages of whom they had already taken up, so that the Conquerors needed but to come to mangle their Bodies, their minds and affections were theirs already, their humour was already run out of *England*, so that the *Normans* needed not herein to play any after-Game.

Is mightily
Frenchified.

24. *Ingulphus* an Eye-witness is our informer, who writes that *Edward* being born in *England* but bred in *Normandy*, through his long continuance in that Country was almost changed into a *Frenchman*, and brought very many over with him whom he promoted to various Dignities, and greatly exalted under the King and other *Normans*; thus introduced all the Land began to leave off their *English* Customs, and to imitate the manners of the *French*. All the Noblemen in their Houses spake the *French* Tongue as mighty gentile, made their Characters and Writings after the *French* fashion, and grew to be ashamed of their own usages, both in these and other matters; and this humour more and more increased, till to those they admired, at length they became Slaves and Vassals. But so King *Edward* died, or as *Malmesbury* words it, being full of years and glory yielded up his temple (that is his innocent well-meaning) Spirit to the Heavenly Kingdom, after he had reigned, faith *Simeon*, three and twenty years, six Months and seven and twenty days, which must be reckoned then from the death of *Hardecute*, and not from his own Preferment, which was as we said in the year following. He is said to have been so chaff that though he was married, yet he never as an Husband enjoyed his Wife, which some attribute to the Aversion he had to her for her Father's sake, but if that was the Cause of his Abstinence, his self denial, and in this respect his suffering, he could not in this deserve the Name of a Confessor (given to those that suffer for Christ though not unto death) which yet in respect of this or other parts of his Conflicts against flesh and blood he obtained, and came to be known by the Name of *St. Edward*. But in him the Royal Regnant-Line of the West Saxon Kings, which from *Cerdic* according to the Calculation of *Malmesbury* had in *Britain*, Dominion for five hundred and seventy one years, and from *Egbert* two hundred and sixty one years, received its Period.

A dispute about the Succession.

25. To the Glory and Happiness of this West Saxon Family, it did belong not by its ending to put an end to the *English* Empire, and in its own Ruine involve the Catastrophe of the whole Nation: this was reserved to a safer House, out of which an Upright should arise to pull down the whole Fabrick, and bury himself in the Ruines thereof, *Edward* being dead there were three that laid claim to the Crown. The first, whose undoubted Right it was, was *Edgar Erbeling* the Son of *Edward*, the Outlaw lately mentioned, the Grandson of *Edmund Ironside*, the Elder Brother of him who had the last Possession, though according to the Right of Primogeniture not the best Title. The next was *William of Normandy*, the Kinman of the late King by his Mother being her Brothers Grandson, one who in blood could

Anno autem Domini 1066. Cometa in caelo apparuit, quod Regni mutationem magnam populo significavit. Et multum terra miseram precepsit: unde dictum illud mercurium: Anno Millesimo Sexagesimo quaque Sexo. Anglorum inter Crimen fuisse Cometa. Ut enim Philosophi dicunt quod dirigat Crimen, sic dirigat et Crimen. Sic Ingulphus.

Rex autem Edwardus natus in Anglia sed nutritus in Normannia et diutissime immoratus pene in Galliam transiit. Scilicet ergo ita vera sub aliis Normannis instructus Angliis ritibus dimittitur. Vide ad annum 1043. Ita est plenius et gloriolipicium scriptum celesti Regno exhibetur.

Harold is chosen king.

Takes good Counties at first.

His Brother Tostig infests the Land from Flanders.

But Duke William is expected.

could find no pretext; but upon the kindness and pretended promise of his Kinseman. The last was *Harold* the Son of *Godwin*, who could not produce any shew of Right by Descent, but alleged the late King's Designment, and thought he could plead more merit than them both. *Edgar* was a Stranger, had had neither time, nor ability in Estate or mind to make any more Interest than what mere Conscience had wrought in the minds of men, which is usually very infirm upon such Occasions. *William* indeed was a considerable Prince, and as such acknowledged, but betwixt him and *England* there was a deep Ditch, not easily got over as was imagined, and Dangers at a Distance are not so much regarded. *Harold* was Noble, a goodly Man, the greatest Minister of the deceased King, one of much Valour and excellent Conduct, a Person civil and obliging, of such Qualifications as fitted him for a Crown; and what was more than all, had all the Court and Grandees at his beck, whom by kindness he had either won, or by awe had conquered and brought over to his Party. He took the advantage and knowing delays to be dangerous, the same day that *Edward* was buried he assumed the Title and was crowned King, being chosen, as *Simeon* faith, by the Princes of all *England*.

26. Being King he straight took those Counties, which most of those who are conscious to themselves of their bad or weak Titles are wont, and all other Princes ought to take. All unjust Laws he antiquated, made better in their stead, became a Patron of Churches and Monasteries, seemed not only to respect but even reverence Bishops, Abbots, Monks, and even all the Clergy; to all good men he shewed himself pious, humble and affable, and to all that was bad he manifested an Aversion, commanding all his Officers in general to lay in wait for all Thieves, Robbers and Disturbers of the Peace; in conclusion, he made it his Business to defend his Country both by Sea and Land. But both his own Fate, and that of the Nation was too urgent to suffer him long to continue these practices. On the twenty fourth of April a dreadful Comet appears, seen, as was reported, throughout the world with great Lustre for seven days together. The first mischief portended thereby, was from *Harold's* own Brother *Tostig*, who himself much chief portended thereby, was by his procurement to be out of the way, and not able to digest his preferment to the Regal Dignity, was moved with so much Envy and Indignation as to endeavour all ways possible to unking him, for which purpose he came out of *Flanders* with some Ships to the life of *Wight*, whence afterwards he had forced Money from the Inhabitants, he departed and plaid the Pirate upon all the Coasts till he came to *Sandwich* Haven. *Harold* being then at *London*, upon notice thereof got in readiness both a strong fleet and a good Party of Horse, with which he resolved in Person to go to *Sandwich*, which *Tostig* understanding took along with him all the Seamen he could find, and went to the Coast of *Lindsey*, where he burnt many Villages, and killed many Men; but *Edwin* Earl of *Mercia*, and his Brother *Merka* Earl of *Northumberland*, halted into those Parts with an Army, and soon forced him to quit the Country. Thence he sailed into *Scotland* to King *Malcolm*, and with him continued the whole Summer.

27. *Harold* lying at *Sandwich* in expectation of his Brother when he perceived he had taken another course failed to the life of *Wight*, and about those Coasts he plied all Summer and Autumn, having a land Army bestowed in all places he saw convenient at the Sea side. For another Guest he looked for who required the greater Preparations for his Reception than his Brother *Tostig*, viz. *William* the Duke of *Normandy*, who had before this sent him to put him in mind of his Promise and Oath, and to require a performance of what had been agreed betwixt them. This *Harold* thought was very unreasonable to require of one who was already in Possession of a Kingdom, and was come to it by the unanimous consent of the Nobility and People. He answered, that what he then promised was in Captivity at a time when he was not his own Man, and that could not be called his own Act which Constraint and Necessity forced from him. But he had voluntarily done what he was so far from intending, it could not have been valid, forasmuch as he could not take an Outlandish Woman to Wife, being King, without the Assent of the Estates, much less could he Swear away the Succession and Right to the Crown without their knowledge, consent and allowance. To these reasons which he looked upon as very good when backed with a better Sword it's said that he added contempt, because as he thought he was out of danger, sending away the Ambassadors on lame Horses. That on which he chiefly insisted was, that *William's* Daughter was dead, the Marriage with whom was the foundation of all that had passed before.

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De eo sic Malmesb. Perstitit incipere Haroldus (post mortem Regis) intelligit, ut Freeman exlogat. vet. De Willmo primo, lib. 3 p. 104.

Sect. 12. ^{fo} great a quantity of Gold was found, that twelve lusty young men were scarcely able to bear it on their Backs.

32. *Harold* having obtained the *Victory* and so much *Treasure*, became *Penny* wife, as the *Proverb* is, and *Pound Foolish*. He thought it behoved him to play the *Good Husband*, not to be lavish of his *Money*, but fill his *Coffers*, and lay up for future and distant Events. He little imagined that this great *Gamster* was landed, and that he must now speedily push for all. In the two last *Bartels* he had lost the flower of his *Army*, most of his best *Souldiers* were slain; and those that remained he so disfigured by taking all the *Plunder* to himself, and defrauding them as they alleged of the price of their blood, that they renounced his Interest, repented of what they had done already for him, and resolved, in case he should have the like occasion, to suffer him to fight for himself. This error was no sooner

Then hears of
the Duke's
Landing.

But acts with-
out confide-
ration.

Rejects all
good advice,
and the Pro-
posals of Duke
William.

They prepare
for Battel.

33. *Harold* by no means would hearken to his Advice, as that which tended to his dishonour, and by objection of Cowardice would blemish the Actions of his Life. And in as great heat and haste he rejected the Monk who brought him three Proposals from the Duke, "Either to resign the Kingdom to him, according to what had formerly passed betwixt them: or to hold it of him: or to decide the Controversie with him before the two Armies in a single Combat, to prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood. His Answer was, that God should be Judge betwixt them; or as others write, that the Swords of the Nations should decide it. No hopes then of any Accommodation appearing, each according to the custom of his Country prepared to fight the next Morning. The *English* are said to have spent all the Night in Singing and Drinking, the *Normans* in Confession of their Sins, and in the Morning to have Communicated. The Fatal day being come, which was the two and twentieth of *October*, the *English* were drawn up into a close Body armed with Battel-Axes and Shields, and by the Standard stood the King on foot with his Brothers, that the danger being common, none might think of running away. The forefront of the *Normans* consisted of Foot, being most Archers, and flanked with a Wing of Horse on each hand, wherein consisted the great strength of their Army. The Duke himself cheerfully and audibly affirmed his Cause.

Cause was just, and that God would accordingly respect it, and called for his Armour, which being brought to him in a hurry, his Corset was put on the wrong way, which error he corrected by this pleasant Conceit, that *He perceived his Dukedom was changed into a Kingdom*. At the Head of his Army he put them in mind of the Valour and Renown of their Ancestours, and especially of *Rollo*, how they had beaten the *French King* in the very Heart of his Kingdom, and compelled him to give them as large a part of his Countrey as they would accept. How since that they had taken another *French King* Prisoner at *Rouen*, and compelled him to restore *Normandy* to Duke *Richard* when a Child, and last of all he brought to their Memories what memorable things they had done under his own Conduct, and concluded with confidence of the whole Nation, upon which he cast the cruel and traitorous Murder of his Kinsman and their own Prince *Alfred*.

34. The *Normans* then beginning the Song of *Rowland* by the Martial Example of that Heroe, as they accounted him, to excite themselves to imitation, and imploring Divine Assistance went against the *English*, who were as ready to meet them, though the ground they stood on was strait and inconvenient for fight; which as *Simoen* writes, caused many of them to take the opportunity of slipping away. Those that staid to be sure fought very valiantly, and neither by the showers of Arrows nor any other means could their Impenetrable Body be broken, till *William* bethought him of this Stratagem, to cause his Men to retire back as if they fled, which by a desire of Pursuit drew them out of their order; this done, they faced about and fell upon them, who by this means had half routed themselves. Yet in their flight did they often rally and make Head against the Pursuers, selling their Lives at very dear Rates, and part of them having got an Hill, when the *Normans* all in a heat climbed up after them, having the advantage of the ground they tumbled them down, and by casting down Stones quite overpowered them. In another place by their knowledge of the Countrey, being more dextrous in passing a Ditch, they made very great slaughter of their Enemies, and filled it up with their dead Carcasses. Thus remained the success doubtful, sometimes seeming to incline to the one side and sometimes to the other, from nine of the Clock in the Morning, till it grew dark, and then *Harold* after he had discharged all the Parts both of a skillfull Commander and a valiant Soldier was shot into the Head and died. He being gone, about whom the Controversie was, though their Countrey was as much concerned, the *English* Soldiers began to loose their Courage and take the advantage of the Night to flee. With him fell his two Brothers *Gyrib* and *Leofwin* and the greatest part of the *English* Nobility. *William* hereby remained Victuor, who by his Courage and Activity deserved the Garland, having so belittred himself all the day, and ventur'd his person, that three choice Horses after another were killed under him. Toward his dead Enemy he shewed himself generous, freely and without Ransome giving up his Body to his Mother, though she offered much Money for it; and, before that, when, as it lay in the Field, a certain Souldier by way of Contempt and Revenge gave it a cut in the Thigh, he was so displeased with the man, that he instantly cashier'd him the Army, for doing so pityfull and Cowardly a Deed.

Wherein *Harold* is slain,
and his *Army*
routed.

Deed.

35. *Harold* by his Mothers care was buried at *Waltham* in a Church of *Canons* founded and endowed by himself. When the News of his Defeat was spread abroad, the two Earles *Edwin* and *Morgan* who had upon difcontent withdrawn themselves from him came to *London*, and sending away their Sister *Alghitha* the Queen to *Chefter*, they tampered with the Citizens to make one of them King, but found them very cool in the busines, for as in duty they were concern'd, their Inclinations were toward *Edgar Etheling*, and with them joynd *Aldred* the Archbishop of *Tork* and many of the Nobility. Hereupon the two Earls went away in difcontent into *Nortumberland*, where they thought Duke *William* would not come, not caring what became of the Cause of *Edgar* or of their own Country, because their ambitious purpoves were not gratified. The Conquerour having settled his matters about *Hastings*, made not firft to *London*, and afterwards went back into *Kent* (as *Spot* the Abbat of *St. Auguftins* in *Canterbury*, and others following him, have erroneously written, and thereupon told a Tale of the *Kentishmen* their meeting him with Boughs, and procuring from him a Confirmation of their Privileges) but took his Journey toward *Dover* Caste, which he and many others long time after esteem'd as the very Key of *England*. In his passage by *Romney*

Sect. 12. *Romney Marsh* he avenged himself of some Savage kind of People dwelling thereabout, who had killed some of his men that by mistake had landed at that Place. To the Cattle Multitudes of People had betaken themselves because it was hold impregnable, yet affrighted at his presence they straight way surrendered it, in the fortifying whereof he spent eight days, and then proceeding Northward at a place not far distant the *Kentish* men of their own Accord came in to him, swear fealty to him and gave up their Hostages for performance. Continuing then his March he understood what canvassing there was at *London* betwixt the two Earls and those that stood for *Edgar Etheling*, whereupon he made toward them and fate down not far from the City. Thence certain Companies issued out against him, but with five hundred Horse he easily repelled them, killing divers in the Chace, and here began the misery of poor *England*. The Duke seem'd resolv'd before this to carry himself with all gentleness (at least some so believe) and bring over the *English* by kind usage, but seeing they made head against him, and put him to farther trouble and danger, he changed his purpose resolving to make an absolute Conquest of the Land. For upon this Sally all the Buildings South of the *Thames* he commanded or permitted to be fired.

36. Passing the *Thames* he removed to *Wallingford*, whither *Stigand* the Archbishop, and others of the *English* Nobility, confounded in their Designs, and not knowing what other course to take, came to him deserting young *Edgar*; as also did the *Londoners*, who giving up themselves into his Power, delivered such and so many Hostages as he thought convenient. Thence by degrees he came to *London*, permitting his men all the while to do as in an Enemies Country with Fire and Sword, and on *Christmas* day was Crowned King at *Westminster* by *Aldred* the

Archbishop of *York*, for against *Stigand* of *Canterbury* objection was made, that he did not legally hold that Place, nor had rightly taken his Pall. Before the Crown was set on his Head, he gave his Oath at the Altar, in presence of the Nobility and all the People, to protect the Church in its Rights and Liberties, to govern the People according to Law and Justice, to maintain them in their Rights, and protect them from Spoil and Rapine. Here is our Period. For having set him on the Throne, the Discourse of his Life, and how by Particulars he either governed according or contrary to his Oath, whether he that had made such a noise with the Perjury of *Harold*, had not ever a special care not to be guilty of that horrid Crime, belongs to a Treatise of the New Dynasty of the *Normans*. Yet shall we, though we have no full prospect, admit the Reader to look as it were through the Curtain, and see a little how he acted his Part of King over his new Subjects, by the assistance of *Ingalphus*, who was himself a prime Spectator, if not a sort of Actor, being preferred to be Abbat of *Croyland*, and otherwise much favoured by him. Having intimated in several Noblemen, whom either he had Imprisoned or Banished, he adds, That the *Earldoms, Baronies, Bishopsricks, and the Preferments of all the Land* be distributed to his *Normans*, and scarce admitted any *Englishman* to any State of Honour or Power. Nay, they so abominated the *English*, that how deserting soever they were, they were outed of all Preferments: And Strangers left fit by far, of any Nation under Heaven, were admitted gratis into their places. How they abominated and altered their Language and Customs, it's not convenient here to insinuate. Almost all the *Kentish* Lands he seized, as well as those of other Provinces; Church Lands were every where devoured, and all things belonging to the *English* became Prey and Booty.

Coronationis autem Officium voluit ab Archiep. Stigando percipere (cujus dignitas solebat illud Officium ex debito pertinere) eo quod ab Apostolice Sede illam Canonum auctoritate sumptualem non sumpsisset Canonice. Ingalphus.

But neg'lects his Coronation Oath.

37. But here it may justly be said, that the *English* were the forgers of their own Fortune; all these mischiefes having come upon them through their own Egregeous folly and neglect. So they behaved themselves as if they had a desire to be enslaved by those whom they did so much admire, but only imitated in what was worst; and being so set for their own destruction, destiny put to her helping hand. For how strangely, how like an harebrain'd Man did *Harold* in this business behave himself; how contrary to his former wisdom and conduct? He being really a Man for all accomplishments, very well worthy of a Crown. He could not

not but know that *William* would invade him the next year, if he came not this, and yet he must disoblige his Soldiers, and that by a dirty action of taking all the Booty to himself, a folly of which at another time he could scarcely have been guilty. Then doth he amend one error by another, hurries away against the *Normans*, that he knew must be both resolved and desperate; that must be fully bent either to conquer, or dye, being penned in by a deep Ditch, the Bridge over which he himself had broken down. Without staying but a day or two for supplies, he hastes away as one who had designed first to fight with a disoblige Army, and then with no Army at all, alone, and in his own Person. The Battle shewed it was not Courage but Conduct, that the *English* wanted, if so few stood it out, and that upon even terms with the *Normans*, till their Captain fell, how easy would the Victory have been, had he used any moderate care in his management? Then after his death, how easily might this loss have been repaired? Though many of the Nobility fell, and many Soldiers, yet these Soldiers were but such as he picked up as he could, the strength of the Nation was not much more impaired, than after the Northern expedition; for *Ingalphus* writes expressly, that he flew away to *Hastings*, not staying for the Army. Such Forces as were coming up to *Harold*, with those of *Edwin* and *Morkar*, would have been sufficient, or might have been filled up with such numbers (all willingly resigning in their Names at such a time as this) as might have made the *Norman* repent he had burnt his Ships, for all his late success he obtained in *Success*. His expedition was not so quick, nor his march so in haste, but they had time enough to unite. Nay, he so carried himself in this, as if he had a mind they should reinforce themselves; for his best way had been to march directly for *London*, to dissipate all Forces, and hinder the forming of new Armies, for being every where Master of the Field, Forts and Castles must have come in of themselves, being of no great value in those days, as appeared by the large wings the *Danes* took throughout the Land, without any considerable let or interruption from Castles, notwithstanding all the Fortresses laid to be raised, or repaired, by *Edward* the Elder and his Sister. But instead of preparation for driving away the common Enemy, they become Enemies one to another, and stand in competition for that Crown which he had already got, on the point of his Sword, though not on his Head. These were prodigious miscarriages, not incident to any that had reason about them, but absolute effects of such vicious tempers as insatiate Mens minds, and enervate the Powers of their Souls, both effects and signs, and carrying the punishments along with them, of some notable extravagances, of which, not only particular Families, but even the whole Nation it self was guilty.

38. And that the *English* were now guilty of such extravagances, as ever fore-run such Calamities and Revolutions, as by debauching their minds, render them abject, pitifull, and fit for slavery, we have but too good Testimony to assure us. The Monk of *Malmesbury*, who being of *English* Descent, as well as *Norman*, professes he had no prejudice to either Nation, and we may take his word, the course of his writing making no thaw of the contrary, taking a view of their manners from their first entering and planting in the Island, observes that they were various. "At their first coming, their gesture and look was altogether barbarous, and they were wholly given to War as long as they continued Pagans. "When they had once received Christian Religion, they applied themselves in a manner wholly to it; giving to Arms but the second place; and here he instances in Rich and Poor, Ecclesiasticks and Seculars, Kings, Bishops, Hermites and Abbats, not one Nation indeed being able to vye with this in that respect. "But the study of Learning and Religion were grown quite out of fashion, in the foregoing Age; not a few years before the coming of the *Normans*. The Clergy contenting themselves with a trifling kind of literature, scarcely able to pronounce the words belonging to their several Services. He that understood Grammar, was a wonder, and Matter of astonishment to the rest. The Monks went fairly clad, and observed not the Rules of their Orders, as to Meat and Drink: The Nobles were given over to Gluttony and Lust, not going to Church in the Morning as Christians ought to do. The common People was exposed as a Prey to the great ones, both in their Persons and Estates, many having got their Women Servants with Child, when they had satisfied their lust, turned them over either to the common Brothel Houses, or kept them perpetually in that course of slavery. They were universally given to Drunkenness, spending night and day in Tipling, making great cheer, and being at great expence

A general character of the *English*.

rim ascendere permittit. —Tantum tunc Anglicos abominati sunt ut quomocunque merito pollicerent, de dignitatibus pollicerentur; & multo minus habiles alienigena de quacunque alia Natione que sub celo est, extraxissent, gratanter assumerent. Gervasius Doreborn.

Several miscarriages of *Harold* and the *English*.

Gail Piz. Gail. Piz. Ducis Capellanus in equo Gail. Piz. Ducis Capellanus in equo Gail. Piz. Ducis Capellanus in equo

Sect. 12

Such Forces Exercitum non expectant.

Deinceps ergo Commisus & Barones, & Episcopatus, & Prælati omnes de his suis Normannis Rex distribuit & sic aliquem Anglicum ad honorem suum vel aliquid dominii principum

Sect. 12. "expende in their mean and pitifull Houfes, of a quite contrary difpofition to the Normans in this refpect, who in fair and ftately Houfes lived very thriflily. And Drunkennefs was accompanied with the ufual Vices which debauch and render effeminate the minds of Men.

39. Hence came it to pafs, that rather carried headlong with temerity and fury, than any true skill they had in War, they engaged with Duke William, and by looting the day, inflaved both themfelves and Countrey. In Sum, the Englifh then wore their Clothes fhort, cut their Hair, shaved their Faces, (all, he means, but their upper Lip) loaded their Armes with golden Bracelets, marked their Skin with divers Images, would Eat till they fureited, and Drink till they vomited, which laft Vices they communicated to the Conquerours, in all things elfe taking up, and admiring their Modes. But this he would not have undertook of all, but of the Englifh in general; forasmuch as to his knowledge there were many good Men, both amongst Clergy and Laity. But, faith he, as in times of profperity, the goodnefs of God moft commonly cherifhes the bad with the good, fo in the Captivity of a Nation, fometimes his feverity involves the good in the fame Calamities with the bad. They had formerly, as Ingulphus affures us, run out of themfelves, and become French, by idolifing and imitating the Normans, in all that was light and trivial; now they muft ferve whom before they ador'd. Thofe that were fo enamoured of all things that were French, that they would with rather to be ferved by a French Dog, than an Englifh Man, now had the privilege to be called and ufed as Dogs, by their late Lacquies, upon whom, out of the influence of their former affection, it's to be prefumed, that like Spaniels, they more fawned the more they beat them. And fuch Women as ravifhed with the Perfons, and deportment of their French Guefts, would flock to ftare at and admire them even at the Gallows, or when they were Arraigned or led to Execution, now might ftay at home and fave their pains, might view and fatisfie themfelves with that contenting fight, while they beheld them knocking on the Head, or hanging up their dull Englifh Husbands, Sons or Brothers, at their own Doors. But no more of this difmal Subject. Onely, Reader, remember that the fame Causes ordinarily produce the fame Effects. We will difmifs our Englifh Saxon Ancestors with what is more comfortable; by taking a view of their Polity, their Laws, and better Customs.

40. To begin at the top. From the courfe of this Hiftory, the Reader will obferve that the Government was Monarchical, and that not only in refpect of the particular Kingdoms during the Heptarchy, which had their peculiar Kings, but even of the whole Body of the Nation, which was ufually Commanded by one of the feven, of all which Beda takes notice till his time, and Egbert more effectually than any of them completed the Defign, leaving his Pofterity in poffeffion of that Power, which brought the Sovereignty to the Houfe of the Weft Saxon Kings, that which none of the other could accomplifh as to their Families. The nature of the Monarchy we muft believe at the firft followed the condition of the Tenure, abfolute Conquefts and Territories, both got and held by the Sword alone, ufually producing abfolute Governments, which many times either by reafon of the infirm Foundations laid by the Conquerours themfelves, the humour of the People not enduring fuch fubjection, or other accidents, change into more moderate and lefs Arbitrary. That Hengift, Ella and the other Captains, when they firft erected their Dominations, Governed their Soldiers, whom now being Kings they called Subjects, with as great Authority, and as full Command as formerly, we little doubt. The Polity and Frame of their Governments for a long time could not be very Polifht; Laws and fetled Orders having little to doe amongst Arms and Confufion, and with Arms they were wholly taken up, Conquering by dint of Sword every foot of ground they called theirs, generally throughout the Countrey, which having by main ftrength, and after much contention and tugging on both fides, wrestled out of the hands of the Owners, they were afterwards as bufie in defending it, as well from the Incroachments and Rapines of one another, as the Re-entries of its former Mafters. Therefore till the time of Ethelbert the firft Chriftian King, hear we nothing of Laws, they having been formerly Governed by common Rules of natural Prudence, according to the Exigency of Affairs, and the nature of Circumftances, or fuch Customs as they brought along with them from their own Countreys.

41. After

41. After that their Kings became Chriftian; they ftyled themfelves fuch, (in the Singular Number, I, though the Plural in King Edgar's days was given to fingle Perfons) By Divine Difpenfation, By (a) the Mercy of God, By (b) Divine Difpofition, and By (c) the Grace of our Lord Jefus Chrift, or fuch like, though fome of them omitted fuch Expreffions, writing only themfelves Kings of fuch a Countrey. The other fix Kingdoms being brought under that of the Weft Saxons, the Welsh and Scots became alfo tributary, or acknowledged fuch Subjection, that Eadred the Son of Edward the Elder, A. D.

948. ftyled himfelf King (d) of Great Britain. After him Edgar took the Title of Monarch (e) of all Great Britain, and King (f) of Great Britain, and King (g) of all Albion, as alfo of the (h) Maritime or Kings of the Iflands, and of King of Albion and the (i) Neighbouring Kings, in which Titles he acknowledged the very large Munificence of Almighty God, in that he was advanced above all his Progenitours. The reafon of thefe high Titles, may be fetched from what we have written of his being waited on, and rowed in a Boat by Eight Petty Kings or Princes, amongst whom is found Maccefe King of the Ifles, for Edgar is faid to have been Lord of all the Iflands, as far as Norway. But this Dominion of the Northern Ifles continued not long, but as with Edgar the Grandeur and Felicity of the Englifh Monarchy, fo this large Title fell with him, not extending it felf to the Orcaides, which as both Giraldu Cambrenfis and others

affirm anciently were fubject to the Kings of Norway, with one of whom, viz. Harold Hargrager, as we have lately feen, Paul the Earl of Orcaides came and fought againft our King Harold, the Son of Godwin. Yet though they might not ufe the Titles, did many of the fucceeding Kings hold both Wales and Scotland in Subjection. The Englifh Saxon King whom they termed Cymyn, and contracted at laft Cyn, (as we now do the Saxon Language not knowing K) had Sovereign Power and Rights of Majefty, made Laws, raifed Money, and had power of Life and Death, as we fhall fee hereafter. The Wife of the King they called Qren, as we at prefent Queen, and fhe was Partaker with her Hufband though not in Sovereignty, yet in Refpect and Honour, till by reafon of the pragmatical Carriage of Eadburga, the Daughter of Offa, and Wife to Birtric, this Cuftome common to all Nations was interrupted in the Royal Palace of the Weft Saxons, where the Wives of the Kings were not fuffered to fit by them, nor to enjoy the Title of Queen, till this Decree was repealed by King Ethelwulf, though with much trouble in favour of his Queen Judith the French Lady. The King's Son or the Heir to the Crown was called Etheling, in Latin they termed him Clito, (fignifying the fame, as Cæfar, Princeps Juventutis or Nobiliffimus Cæfar, amongst the Romans) though thefe Names were in a manner given to all of the Blood-Royal, whom Hoveden in a diminutive way calls Clitunculi. The Eldest by the Prerogative of his Age challenged juftly the Title of King after his Father's death, but the Reader in perufal of this Hiftory may take notice how often this Courfe was changed, when either force prevailed, a former agreement had paffed, or the next and immediate Heir was but a Child.

42. Of all the Inftuments by which the Kings governed, their Principal were their Councils. Of thefe they had two forts, viz. their Ordinary or Domestick, confifting of Domesticks, or fuch as were near their Perfons; or Extraordinary; which was the Great Affembly or Council held for determining the great and urgent Affairs of the Kingdom. This was called Witenagemote, or the Affembly of the Wifemen, and confifted of the Prelates and Noblemen, or chief Magiftrates of the Kingdom. Hereof, befides what the Laws of Princes fpeak, we have ample Teftimony from feveral Charters of Kings, as well in the feveral petty Kingdoms during the Heptarchy, as after it came fully to be reduced into one Monarchy. Berthulf the King of the Mercians in a Charter, wherein he confirms the Revenues and Privileges of the Monastery of Croyland, fignifies that the Monastery had exhibited their complaint before the (a) Prelates and Nobles of his whole Realm of

per Fratrem Athilum Commendatum veftrum palam coram prelatis & proceribus totius Regni mei Mercie apud Benningdon ultimo congregatis. Omnia venerunt compenfationis—placuit; apud Ingulphum, p. 838. Edit. Merciarum.

By what Titles the Kings ftyled themfelves.

(a) Ita Ethelbaldus Rex Merciarum in Chirographo quod extat apud Ingulphum.
(b) Sic Kenulfus Rex Merciarum.
(c) Ita Wulfstan. Birk & Bonetud.

(d) Ego Eadredus Rex totiusque sub Imperialis potestate Regis Scotorum aeternus; Principis magna Britannia temporale gerens Imperium.

(e) Ego Edgarus ejusdem Dei nostri largitus Nomenfome poffident totius magnae Britanniae Monarchiam. A. D. 966.

(f) Ego Edgarus sub ipfo fidero Regge prefidentis Regno magna Britanniae. A. D. 970.

(g) Ego Edgarus totius Albionis bafitus nec non maritimum seu infularum Regum habitantium, adeo ut nullius progenitorum fubjectione largiffima Dei gratia fuffragante fublimatus. A. D. 974.

(h) Ego Edgarus totius Albionis finitimorumque bafitus.

Topograph. Hibernie Diff. 2. c. 11. cum adde Ordericum Vitalem in Euseb. Hift. lib. 10. & Chronicon Roberti de Montre continuatum. Chirograph. Siegerberri ad Ann. 1162.

The Queen.

The King's Heir and other Son.

Two forts of Council.

The great Affembly or Council for governing the Nation.

(a) Proprie ut ergo tati quicquid vestra

Nu

Mercia,

Seçt. 12. Honour) from which it is derived. Yet do they use the Adjective *Erlig*, that is, *Honoured*, with which they are wont to subscribe their Letters.

46. But of such Persons did the Publick Assembly of the Nation consist, viz. on the Lay part of Viceroyes, Princes, Patriarchs, (which Title King *Edgar* gives to *Turketele* the Chancellour) Dukes, Earls, Counts, Prefects or Governours, and Hlaifords, all who are comprized under the Name of Aldermen; and so also are Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Priests and Monks on the part of the Clergy. These were also the Wife Men and Elders which King *Ina* meant, for Seniors, Senators, Elders and Aldermen are the same, and moreover those of the Clergy are they whom he calls the Servants of God, this being an appellation in those times peculiar to Ecclesiastical Persons, a phrase taken up by Bishops, Priests and Monks, is notorious to any one but meanly conversant in the Monuments of those Ages. All they are comprized under the Name of the Servants of God, as well as the Lay Members of this Great Council under the Name of Aldermen, the *Thanes* only excepted, who must be added to the former, as appears by several Subscriptions both to Councils and Charters. Now **Thanes* were of two sorts, either **Saxones* † Ecclesiastical, or Secular. The Secular were also distinguished into two ranks, whereof the Greater were in Degree next to Counts, (as *Vavassors* were to them) being called the King's || *Thanes* as now are called the King's Barons. The other sort were the lesser **Thanes* or under *Thanes*, being the same with the lesser sort of Barons, Lords of Manors, *Vavassors*, and the like. In *Latin* they subscribed themselves *Minister*, after those who styled themselves *Comites*; and I little doubt but that the King's *Thanes*, or the *Ministri Regis* were meant here. Council as there was occasion to employ them, as by some Subscriptions we find † Merre- not only the Queen, but Abbesses, Priests and Monks to have been present. But as to any Representatives of the Common People, we must profess as doth † Sir *Henry Spelman*, that we can find no such in these Greatest Councils of our Saxon Ancestours.

The Laity comprized under the Name of Alderman. The Clergy called the Servants of God.

Thanes.

But no Representatives of the Commonalty.

Spelman. Glossar. in voc. Thegnus & Baro & Selden. Titles of Honour. Item Somneri Glossar. in voc. Thegnus.
† Sed ut uberior dicam de Personis in istiusmodi Concilio convocatis; occurrit primo nunquam me reperisse inter Saxones vestros plebi locum, cui in Germania Tacitus potorem tribuit in voc. *Parlamentum*.

The Governours of Council out of Parliament.

47. What we have said already of the several great Officers of the Kingdom being Members of the Great Council or Meeting of Wifemen may much serve to shew how the King out of the Council governed as well as in, for something has been said in reference to the nature of their Office and Employments. The chiefest Officer under the King was his Chancellour; for governing of the People, were the Earls, Counts or Aldermen of the Counties or Shires, who for this purpose held another Assembly or Council, which from the Folk or People therein gathered together was called *Folcmote*, and from the shire *Scynagmore*, over these the Aldermen of the shire presided, but in them assembled all the Great men in King *Edward* the Confessor's Laws called *Principes*, the Bishops, the military Men and Freemen of all *England*, therein they swore Allegiance to the King. The Buinesses of the Shires were here transacted, and hence it was not lawful to appeal to the King's Court but in failure of Justice, and here were chosen the Deputies of the Aldermen of the Shires called in *Latin* *Viccomites*, as also another sort of military Officers called *Heretochs*. The Deputies were in *Saxon* called *scynepar* and *scynsepar* (whence our *Shire-reeves* contractedly *Sheriffs*) and in the Absence of the Aldermen they managed the Buinesses of the County, and governed the *Folcmotes*. Before them as appears from *Ingulphus* Propriety was tried, and when evicted they were to put the right owner into Possession. From the same Writer it farther appears, that there were certain Officers formerly in *Latin* called *Vicedomini*, out of which two sorts were made, viz. This of *Viccomites*, and another whom he calls *Iustitarii*. Yet that the *Vicedomini* continued afterward is evident enough, but one of these two sorts might be meant, viz. either a Sheriff or a Justiciary, for it's an ordinary thing for the *Species* to be denominated by the *Genus*.

48. The *Heretochs* who as we said were also chosen in meeting of the Shire, are thus described to us by one who in the time of the *Normans* interpolated the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor. "There were other Powers and Dignities (saith he) constituted throughout all Counties and Provinces, and through the fe-
"veral

Heretochs.
by which were
To the hon-
oured and
Noblemen.

† Cynnyng
Seynar.
* Leydeg-
nar vide

A Description
of Heretochs.

"veral Shires which the *English* called *Heretochs*, viz. Noble, Eminent, Wise, Sect. 12.
"Faithfull and Courageous Barons, in *Latin* *Dufores Exercitus*, whom the *French*
"named Capital Countables, or Marshals of Armies. In Battels they Marshalled Ar-
"mies, and raised Forces as occasion served, and when they thought fit for the
"Honour of the Crown, and the benefit of the Kingdom. Now these Men were
"chosen by the Common Council, for the common Utility of the Realm through
"all the Provinces and Countries, and the several Counties in full *Folcmote*, as
"the Sheriffs of Provinces and Counties ought to be chosen; so as in every Coun-
"ty there was ever one *Heretoch* chosen to conduct the Forces of his Shire accord-
"ing to order received from our Lord the King for the Honour and Profit of
"the Crown of the said Kingdom, always when need required. Whosoever for
"fear of Battel or Death shall fly from his Lord, or Associate in the Conduct of
"his *Heretoch*, either in an expedition by Sea or Land, is to loose all he hath,
"life and all, and the Lord may seize upon that Land which he formerly gave
"him. Here add that all Men were bound to be provided of Arms, out of St.
"Edward's Law. 35. They were chosen then as Sir *Henry Spelman* observes in full
"Folcmote, not in the Assembly of the beginning of May, of which we shall speak
"anon, but at the beginning of October. At these *Folcmotes* these *Heretochs* * were
"present, and with the approbation of the Assembly ordered what was to be done,
"in reference to the *Militia*. This Popular Election of them seems to have been taken
"from the *Germans*, as appears from the Laws of the *Boii*. † And as Thing so
"Name came from them, with whom still at this day *Hertog* answereth to the
"Latin *Dux*, and they as well as our *Saxon* * Ancestours still give that Title to
"those Princes, and great Nobles which with us use the style of *Dukes*. Yet
"these our *Heretochs* were no such kind of Persons, but either of the same
"Dignity, and account with the Sheriffs or inferior to them. For the
"Laws of *Henry the First* directing who should be present at the *Shire-
"Folcmote* order that there be the Bishops, Comites, and Viccomites, then the *He-
"retochs*, *Tringreves*, *Ledgreves*, &c. Sir † *Henry* thinks them the same with those
"whom the Laws of *Aethelstan* call *Holdes*; for as he joins *Shire-reeves* and *He-
"retochs* together, so doth he also *Holdes* and *Helgreeves*, by which no other
"than the *Shire-reeves* are signified. But thus we have shewed that both the one
"and the other were chosen in the *Folcmote*, which as to the *Shire-reeves* held
"till the ninth year of *Edward* the Second, or the year of our Lord 1315. After-
"wards great Contentts and Tumults arising they came to be pricked by the King,
"in the manner they are at this present.

49. But farther, What has been said of the Power of the *Heretochs*, as to rais-
"ing and management of the *Militia* of the Shire, mult for all this be meant sub-
"ordinately to the Earl or Alderman. For in the *Saxon* Annals and other Histo-
"ries throughout, upon all occasions we find these great Men, those whom in *La-
"tin* they called *Duces* and *Comites*, still to be up and fighting, and of these *He-
"retochs*, otherwise than in the Law Books, find we no mention, their Actions and
"Authority being hid under that Employment of the Counts. They were chosen
"by the People in the *Folcmote*, as the Knights of Shires at this day, the Al-
"derman, Count or Earl, was appointed by the King, continued during pleasure
"for a time, or was now and then Hereditary as the Prince thought convenient.
"The Office of Count, Earl or Alderman, was to prevent and punish Force and
"Injury, restrain Robberies, and keep the King's Peace, not only by the vigour
"of the Laws, but if need served, by force of Arms; the King's Dues, as Customs
"and Tributes, he collected and brought into the Treasury. Yet the Causes of
"Noblemen were not tryable in his Court, a thing in force so much at this day,
"that Actions of Debt or Injuries cannot be tried in the County Court, if the
"value of the thing contended for be not under forty shillings. This is farther re-
"markable, that no Man by the Laws of King *Alfred*, could change his dwelling
"without the knowledge and testimony of the Alderman, in whole Shire he lived.
"In case he had taken a Thief and dismissed him, or concealed the theft, he was to
"loose his Shire, except the King pleased to dispense with him by the Laws of *Ina*.
"As the reward of his service, or stipend from the profits arising out of the Mulcts
"and Pleas of his County, he received the third penny, as did the *French* Counts,
"in the time of *Charles* the Great, which Custom was continued by the *Normans*
"after the Conquest. From *Doomday Book* also, it appears, that the Earl or Count
"received certain Rents or Payments from particular Towns, as that of *Chichester*
"paid fifteen pence to the King, and ten to the Earl. Such was the power, duty
"and reward of this great Officer, in *Saxon* called *Alderman*, in *Latin*, *Dux* or
"Comes,

How these
Officers were
chosen.

Their Power,
Duty and Re-
ward.

Vide l. l. *Ina*,
Alfredi, *alio-
rum passim*.

C. 33:
C. 34:

Sect. 12.

Comes, and often *Consul*; for our Writers about the Norman times, confound these Names, and finding them given to great Officers abroad, handle them hand over head; inasmuch, that *William* the Conquerour himself, they more commonly call *Comes* than *Dux*. His power was great, the extent of it was through his Shire or County, of the Original of which, and the nature of it, we must add a little.

The Division
of the Land.

Into Provin-
ces, Shires,
Hundreds and
Tithings.

Their Go-
vernours.

Of the Comes
and Viceco-
mites.

An Alteration
of the name
of the Shire.

50. *Shire* or *Scire*, signifieth a *Sectiō* or *Divisiō*, being a certain Portion of the Kingdom, into many of which, the whole was, as it were, cut or divided. In *Latin* it was called *Comitatus*, from the Officer of it in the same Language stiled *Comes*, as *County* at present from the *Count*, in *French* *Comte*, which word we reject, though *County* and *Countess*, thence derived, we retain. At what time, and by whom this Partition of the Land was made, is something controverted, the general opinion following the credit of *Ingulphus*, who writes, that Shires, were first made by King *Alfred*. Speaking of this Prince, how in ordering the matters of his Kingdom, he was most careful and sagacious, he tells us the occasion to have been; "That some of his Subjects, taught and encouraged by the example of the *Danes*, practised Robberies, and committed violence upon their Neighbours, whom desiring to restrain, he first changed all the *Pagi* and *Provinces* of England into *Counties*, *Counties* he divided into *Centuries* or *Hundreds*, and *Hundreds* into *Tenths* or *Tithings*, that every legal Inhabitant might be found in some certain *Hundred* and *Tithing*, and if any one was suspected of a Robbery, by his *Hundred* or *Tithing* he should either be condemned or acquitted. He adds, that the Governours of Provinces, whom formerly they called *Vicedomini*, he divided into two Offices, *viz.* into *Judges*, whom we now call, *faith* he, *Justitiaries*, and into *Vicecomes*, who still retain the same Name. By the care and industry of these Men, the Countrey was presently brought to go great tranquillity, that in case a Traveller left any money in the Fields or Highways, if he came the next day, or a month after, he might find it. So much *Ingulphus*.

51. Before the Division into Shires, we see by him there were *Pagi* or Territories and Provinces. And several of those we now term Shires, are by *Alfred* called *Paga*, as those of *Somerset*, *Suffex* and *Cornwall*; and *Wilsceire* he calls by this very Name. Nay much antecedent than this is the word *Scire* * being found in the Laws of King *Ina*, who speaks of the Ealdorman forfeiting his Shire, as also of * *Scirmen*. Now as we have seen before in the History of *Alfred*, *Alfred* lived in that King's time and wrote his life, and a wonder it is that speaking of many other remarkable things he should make no mention of this famous Division of the Land. To be sure whether there were those same Divisions we now call Shires, there were those Officers they then in *Latin* called *Comites*, who not being merely Titulars surely had their several and relative Districts called *Comitatus*. For in the History of the same *Ingulphus*, in the Charter of the Foundation of *Croyland* Abby by *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, in the Year DCCXVI, we find one *Egga* subscribing by the Title of *Comes Lincoln*, another *Leucius* by that of *Comes Leicester*, and another calling himself *Saxulph* the Son of *Count Saxulph*. Nay in the same Author in the Charter of King *Kenulf* which confirms the other in the Year DCCCVI. mention is made of *Thorold Vicecomes of Lincoln*, above threecore years before King *Alfred* came to be King. It's certain during the Heptarchy, the several Kingdoms had their Districts, Territories and Divisions, sometimes taken from the Habitation of such and such a People, as the *Wiccii*, *Meauuarii*, *Girni* and *Gaini*, of whom we find the Father-in-law of King *Alfred*, to be stiled *Comes*. So that Province of *Mercia*, lying near *Lincoln*, or that we now call *Lincolnshire*, was anciently divided into three Parts, the very same, and by the very same names they are now known, *viz.* *Lindsey* by *Beda*, called *Lindliff* from the City, doubtless, which he termes *Lindcolina Civitas*; *Kefteven* by *Ethelwerd*, the Historian, called *Ceoffene* Wood, and *Floyland*, which if *Ingulphus* may be credited, took its name from *Floy*, by which our Saxon Ancestours meant that we now call *Floy*, or else being in quality like to *Holland*, in the Low-Countries, from the same reason fetcht its appellation, being as infirm, or hollow as it.

52. Now for the Shires, probable it is that such other Divisions as were formerly made, during the Heptarchy, being found convenient, still continued; and that others were made as there was occasion, by reason of any newer Town, that was found fitter to be the Head of the Division; for the convenience of resort to the *Folcmote* or *Shire-mote*, and by reason of the decay of a former place. Of this later nature, we take the Town of *Derby* to have been, which was not of any note till that

A Cypan
feinder, divi-
dere, ad hoc
manent, To
theer, a pair
of shires, and
a shire.

* LL. Ina 36.
§ 39.

* L. 8. vide
infra in LL.
Ina.

that *Repandure* (now *Repton*) the Seat of the *Mercian* Kings was decayed, but being a lurking hole of the *Danes*, whereas it's former Name was *Northwiche*, from them, as *Ethelward* witnesseth, or in their Tongue, received that of *Deoraby*, contracted as some think from *Derwently*, because situate upon the River *Derwent*. *Ingulphus* writes expressly, that in the time of the *Danish* Kings, the Limits and Bounds of Territories and Shires, was often as rich Men who had money wherewith to bribe, were concerned. In the times of the *Danes* were thirty two Shires, of which, they invaded sixteen at one impression, which number, in the time of the Conquerours, as appeareth by *Doomsday* Book it self, was increased to thirty four, although some have written of thirty six. We said that some Districts, during the Heptarchy, might be continued afterward, when the whole Monarchy came to be afterward divided into Shires; but that generally it was not so, we may guess from a certain fragment, which belonging to some time of the Heptarchy, shews that the Land had other Regions distinguished by *Hides* after this manner. *Myrena* contained 30000, *Hides*, *Wokesetna* 7000, *Westerna* 7000, *Pecetna* 12000, *Elmedsetna* 600, *Lindesfarna* 7000, *South Gyra* 600, *North Gyra* 600, *East Winna* 300, *West Winna* 600, *Spalda* 600, *Wigelta* 900, *Heresfina* 1200, *Swordora* 300, *Eylla* 300, *Wicca* 300, *Whitgera* 600, *Noxgaga* 5000, *Obtaga* 2000, *Hwinca* 7000, *Clintersfeta* 4000, *Hendrica* 3000, *Vrecingga* 1200, *Arosetna* 600, *Feorringa* 300, *Belminga* 600, *Witerigga* 600, *East Willa* 600, *West Willa* 600, *East Engle* 10000, *East Saxena* 7000, *Cantwarena* 15000, *South Saxena* 7000, and *West Saxena* 100000, *Hides*. Of these *Hides*, we shall only remark, that from division of such Territories as here are, into but so many, the quantity of them must be very various, for other reckonings do not agree with this. In ancient times they much used the word *Setna*, for Inhabitants, terming also those that lived upon Mountains, *Danseten*. We are told that this Catalogue only respects the Land lying on this side *Humber*; so that the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians* being left out of it, and the five last Regions containing so many other Kingdoms of the Heptarchy, that of *Mercia* must have contained the rest before mentioned. *Pecetna*, was the Seat of such as Inhabited the Mountains, or the Peak, which was with other low grounds, afterward assigned to *Darby*. *Lindesfarna*, was *Lindsey*, *South Gyra* and *North Gyra*, were the Fenny Habitations of the *Girvii* or *Gernii*, formerly mentioned, part were belonging to *Lincolnshire*, *viz.* *North Gyra*, and the rest to the other Counties adjoining. *East Saxena*, *South Saxena* and *Cantwarena*, being formerly Kingdoms, and found to be of a proportionable size, without much variation, were left and made so many Shires of themselves.

Another divi-
sion of the
Land by the
Hides.

The occasion
of subdivi-
ding the Land
into Hun-
dreds and Ti-
things.

This Division
not certain,
nor equal.

53. Some Divisions therefore or Shires, King *Alfred* might find, others he might add, and he or his complete the Number which we said were found in the *Danish* times. If he divided not all the Land first into Shires, the Shires he subdivided into Hundreds, and these Hundreds into Tithings. Of these after *Ingulphus* the Monk of *Malmesbury* writes, that because the Inhabitants, taking occasion from the Barbarians "practising Robberies, so that there was no Travelling without defence of Arms, he ordained *Centuries*, which they call *Hundreds*, and *Decimas*, which they name *Tithings*; that every English Man, living honestly, might be found in his proper *Hundred* and *Tithing*. If it happened that any one were accused of a Crime, out of his *Hundred* and *Tithing*, he was to produce Sureties or Bail, if none would Bail him, he was to undergoe the severity of the Laws; in case any accused Person, either before or after Bail given, should make his escape, all in the *Hundred* and *Tithing* should fine to the King. By this Device, he procured such Peace to the several Countries, that where Highways parted, he caused Golden Bracelets to be hung upon Posts, which denoted the avoice of Passengers, of whom none dared to take them away. This gives us an account of the occasion of their Institution, and of the Success. As for the Division of the Land into them, it was neither certain nor equal. *Gervase* of *Tibury* wrote, that an Hide of Land consisted of an hundred Acres, and an Hundred of certain hundreds of Hides. *St. Henry Spelman*, takes notice, that of purpose he assigns no certain number, for one Hundred was three or four times bigger than another. Some have held that an Hundred consisted of an hundred Villages, as *Giraidus Cambrensis* describes the *Welsh* *Cantried*. But at present, scarcely any where are there to be found throughout England, that hundred Villages in one Hundred; scarcely half so many; they are great ones that contain thirty or forty. Many have but ten, some but two, and some, as the Hun-

Sed Danici
regibus Swa-
no, Cnutone,
Haraldr &
Hardnuto so-
ram Angliam
opprimenibus,
& multa im-
munantibus,
plurima pri-
vilegia mona-
stiorum
perdidit, fuit
ex proflis suf-
flata: imitus
ac terminus
Territoriorum,
& Comitatu-
um translati
& a statu vo-
luntatis sensim
mutati,
propterea pecunia
divitum in
monibus bar-
barorum qua
nihil aliud
quam ruinam
suarebona
praeparabat.
p. 911.

De regibus Regi.
Angl. l. 2. p. 44

Sect. 12. dreds of *Cherham* and *Marden* in the County of *Kent* confist but of one a-piece. And *Stanford* in *Lincolnshire*, as appears from *Doomsday Book*, paid for twelve Hundreds and an half.

The Govern-
ment of the
Hundred.

54. My Opinion is, that at first an Hundred consisted of 100 Hides, and that afterwards the quantity came to be altered, as all humane Institutions are subject to change, and *Ingalphus* tells us that great alteration was made in the Divisions of the Land in the time of the *Danes*. Just so at *Rome* when the several Centuries of the People were first ordained, a respect was had to the Number, but afterwards when *Servius* modelled the State anew he increased the numbers of People very much in some of them, but let the Name still remain as in that History we have observed to the Reader and given him warning not to take a Century for an hundred Men; but such a Division of the People. The Hundred to be sure was a part of the Shire, where an hundred men presided as Prefervers of the King's Peace, being called *Hundreders*, and in Latin *Centuriones* and *Centenarii*. They had Cognizance of the middle sort of Causes and Suits; the most inferior being heard in the *Tithing* or *Decuria*, by the *Tithingmen* or *Decuriones*, (each Hundred containing ten *Tithings*) and the highest in the County Court or *Sciremote*. Over these *Hundreders* and the whole Hundred, one presided, called the Lord of the Hundred; not in his own right, but of the Count or Sheriff of that Shire, to which the Hundred did belong. Most anciently he was chosen by the People, though a Statute of *Edward* the Second long after appropriated the Election to the *Chancellor*, *Treasurer*, and *Barons of the Exchequer*. He received money from those that were under his Jurisdiction, and had many Privileges. The Court of the Hundred, by the Laws of King *Ina* and *Edward the Confessor*, was to be held every Month, except the King's Affairs required haste, and then several Hundreds sometimes were called together for quicker dispatch. It was not lawful for any to be absent, as appears from the Laws of King *Edgar*. The *Thanes* here assembled, whom Posterity called *Barons* and Ecclesiastical Judges too, for as the Bishop was to be present at the County Court, so others of the Clergy at this, and as there, so here both Ecclesiastical and Secular Matters were heard and determined, till *William the Conqueror* distinguished the Jurisdications, and commanded the Courts to be held a-part, as is evident from a Writ of his directed to all that lived within the Diocese of *Lincoln*, which prohibits all Bishops and Archdeacons any more to determine their businesses in the Hundred; or to bring a Cause concerning the regiment of Souls before Secular Persons. But if any application was made about any Cause or Crime relating to Ecclesiastical Laws, they should appoint a place of meeting where they thought convenient, and there right should be done to God and the Bishop, not after the custom of the Hundred, but according to the Canons and Episcopal Laws.

It is also called
a Wapentack.

55. The Court day being published a Week before if any one were absent the third time, he was punished as Contumacious against the King himself; and in case he paid not his Fine, all his Goods were to be seized. When the Court was set, the Laws of *Ethelred* commanded that twelve Elderly men of free Condition should take an Oath together with the President, that they would neither condemn the Innocent nor Absolve the Guilty. The Hundred, by another name was and still is called a *Wapentack* from the *Saxon* *Wapen* and *Tac*, which signifies a king or touching or betaking. *Hoveden* thinks it so named from the touching or concussion of Weapons or Arms. The ancient *Germans* indeed, from whom so many will have the *English* Saxons descended, neither met in Council nor in Judicature without their Weapons, and when any Proposal they liked they testified their approbation by the shaking together of their Arms, as *Tacitus* informs us. And from them some believe the Institution of Hundreds or *Wapentacks* it self to have been derived both to us and to the *Lombards*, from the Laws of whom as also those of *Charles the Great* it is evident that the Courts of the Centenaries both among the *Lombards* and ancient *Franks* were ordered by the same almost Customs and Laws as ours are and were. But we are told by one very knowing in the *Saxon* Tongue, that the word *Tac* with our Ancestours never signified *Tacitus* in Latin or touching, so that to derive *Wapentack* from the touching or Concussion of Arms cannot, according to him, be warranted by the Etymology. *Brompton* the Abbat gives us another derivation, writing that it was called *Wapentack* from this custom, that when any Lord of the Hundred was new made, those under his Jurisdiction were wont as a Ceremony, and in token of subjection, to deliver their Weapons or Arms up to him. Whether this be more agreeable or not to the Etymology, the *Germans* are wont from such like Ceremony to term

LL. Ethel.
Sax. c. 20.
De Sen. &c.
semoe pop-
pate.

Papen arma
getacan
traderet, red-
dere.

Sommer. in
Glossar. Voc.
Wapentack.

their lesser sort of Vassals, whom otherwise they call *Arimanni*, *Wapendemannen*, or *Gewapende*.

56. But if credit be to be given to the Publisher of the Laws of King *Edward the Confessor*, the former Etymology is the truest, the reason this. "When any one, say they, undertook the Government of the *Wapentack*, at the appointed time and wanted place, all the Elderly men gave him a Meeting, and as he lighted from his Horse all did him reverence. He erecting his Lance received an Agreement or Association according to the custom from all, and all those that were armed with their Lances touched his Lance, and so by the Contract of Weapons strengthened them, an agreement being thus publicly made. For in *English* Arms are called *reynu*, and *taccap* signifies to Confirm; as it were a Confirmation of Arms; or to speak more expressly, according to the *English* Tongue *Wapentack* is the Touching of Arms; for *reynu* signifies Arms, and *tac* is Touching. Therefore it may sufficiently be known, that for this Reason all the Assembly was called *Wapentack*, because by this Touching of Arms they confederated amongst themselves. There were also other Divisions above *Wapentacks*, which they called *þingungar*, which was the third part of the Province. Those that ruled over them were called *þingunsepar*, before whom were brought such Causes as could not be decided in *Wapentacks*. And so what the *English* in general called Hundreds, the Counties of *Tork*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Leicester*, and *Northampton*, as far as *Watlingstree* termed *Wapentacks*, and what they termed three or four Hundreds, these called *þingungar*. But in some Provinces they were called *leðs*, which these called *Þrithinge*: And what could not be tried by the *Þrithinge*, was removed into the *Shire*. Here the Reader may observe what Counties they were that used the word *Wapentack* and the word *Þrithinge*, which he must by no means confound with *Tithing*, for the one is so named from *Three* and the other from *Ten*. The Division of *Shires* belonged to the King, the Divisions of *Hundreds* and *Wapentacks* to the Earl or Sheriff.

57. Such was the Division, Government, and Governours of the Countries or Provinces. The Cities and greater Towns had also their Governours, who were also called *Ealdormen*, which name in them continues to this very day, and their power, as the publisher of *Edward the Confessor's* Laws affirms, was much like to that of the Governours of Hundreds and *Wapentacks*. Having told us that *Greve* was a Name of Authority extending to *Shires*, *Wapentacks*, or Hundreds, and to Towns also, that it signified properly what *Dominus* doth in Latin, that the *Teutonicks*, as *Frifons*, and those of *Flanders* called their Governours *Mergreves*, he adds, "That in his time they who had authority over others, were called *Greves*, amongst the *Britains* in the time of the *Romans* they were termed *Senatours*, and *Aldermen* by the *Saxons*, not in respect of their Age, some of them being young, but for their Wisdom and Experience, and their knowledge of the Laws. And that I may confess the truth, faith he, the *Aldermen* also in the Cities of this Kingdom in their Bailiwicks, in their close Burghs, their Walled Towns and their Castles have the same Dignity and manner of Power as the Governours of *Wapentacks* and Hundreds have in their Bailiwicks under the King's *Viccomes*, or Sheriff, throughout the Kingdom. For it is their duty to preserve the Laws, Liberties, Rights, and Peace of the King, as also the just customs of the Kingdom, such as are ancient and approved by our good Ancestours, inviolably, without fraud or delay, all manner of ways according to their power. When any sudden, unexpected, doubtful, or ill thing happens against the Kingdom or Crown of our Lord the King in their Bailiwicks, they ought to ring the Bells, in *English* called *moebel*, to call all the whole People together, which Meeting in *English* they call *polcmoe*, that is, the calling or Congregation of all the People, because all that live under the Protection and in the Peace of the King, within the said Kingdom, ought to meet, and there by their Common Council provide for the Indemnity of the Crown or this Kingdom, and for repressing the Insolence of Malefactours. For it is ordained, that there the whole People meet once in a year, viz. on the First of *May*, and by Oath confederate and unite themselves as sworn Brethren together with the King to defend the Kingdom from Strangers and its Enemies, with all Fidelity to defend his Territories and Honours, and to be faithful to the said Lord the King, both within and without the Kingdom of *Britain*. This ought all Princes and Earls to do, and swear together before the Bishops of the Kingdom in *polcmoe*; and in like manner all the Nobles of the Kingdom, as also the Soldiers and all Freemen whatsoever of the whole Kingdom of

Pullatit can-
panis quod
Anglicis vocant
Moebel. In lo-
realibus parti-
bus Anglie
Locum ubi
convocantur foli-
bane oppidani
novi vocari so-
lunt.
The Moore-
Hall.

" Britain,

Sect. 12. "Britain, ought to doe in full *Folcmote* before the Bishops of the Kingdom. He is the first Invention of this Law to King *Arthur*, and saith it lay long buried in Oblivion till raised as it were from the dead by *Edgar* the English *Saxon* King.

Two sorts of *Folcmotes*, and the difference of them.

58. From what this Writer saith, and what farther he adds in the same Chapter, the Reader must observe what formerly we hinted, that there were two sorts of *Folcmotes*, viz. That of the whole *Shire* called *Shiremore* and this other of all differed, that by the Law of King *Edgar* the *Shiremore* was to be held twice, but the *Burghmore* thrice in the year. And what he here speaks of *Aldermen* is not to be understood of such as we call *Aldermen* of Towns at this day constituting the Aristocratical form of the Government of Corporations between the chief Magistrate and the Commonalty; but those we call Mayors and Bayliffs, being the principal Officers. For this present sort of *Aldermen* is of a much later date coming up much about the same time as did the Name of *Mayor* slip into the room of the *Saxon Alderman*, *Portreeve*, *Burghreeve*, and the *Anglo-Norman Bayliff* about the Reign of *Richard the First*. The *Folcmote* was the Meeting of the Citizens or Burgers, not in their Representative as the Common Council of the City but in their own Persons, as at *London* of all Freeman at the Election of the Mayor. And as we said formerly of the *Folcmote* of the *Shire* that it was held also at extraordinary times by the King's order, if the exigency of his Affairs required. This we find to have been practised in *London* (the mentioning of which City lately brings it to our mind) long after the end of the *English Saxon* Policy. For in the one and fortieth year of King *Henry* the Third, two hundred years wanting ten after the *Norman* Conquest, the *Londoners* were by the King's Councils called to *Folcmote*, and commanded to distribute themselves into *Ward-motes*, the better to debate and determine the business of supplying the King with Money; and in his fifty fourth year this King himself was present at a *Folcmote* of *London* held at the Temple.

The private Division and Government of the Land, viz. Tenure in Fee.

59. We have seen the publick Division and Government of the Land, the next thing we shall consider, is its private Division in reference to Propriety and Possession: And the first inquiry is, whether Lands were held in *Fee* during the *English Saxon* Government before the Conquest. By *Fee*, with *Cujusque*, we understand Right of using and enjoying another man's Ground in perpetuum, which the Lord thereof grants on this condition, that he which receives it perform Fidelity to him, with Military or some other Service. Or more largely to explain it, A Feudum or Beneficium is that which for good will is granted, so from one to another, that the property of this Immoveable thing granted, remaining in the Giver, the Ulfructus thereof passeth to the Receiver in such manner, that to him and his Heirs Male, and Female also, if they be expressly mentioned, it shall perpetually belong, on this condition, that he and his Heirs faithfully serve the Lord, whether the Service be by name expressed, or the promise be indeterminately made. This last Definition is more agreeable to a *Fee* of the Inferiour Age, as our *Spelman* observes, when the Nature of it was altered from its Primitive Institution; but both together lay a sufficient foundation for our inquiry, with this farther consideration premised, that the thing was more loose, and the Lord not bound by such Bargains and Conditions as following Ages invented. For as elsewhere we have already observed what the Feudal Book it self suggests; In most ancient times it was in the power of the Lords to take away the thing by them granted in *Fee*. Afterward it came to pass that it should continue certain for a year, and that after that it was continued for term of life to the Vassal. But nothing for all this descending by right of succession to the Sons, at length it was brought down to them, to whomsoever of them the Lord would confirm it, which at this day is so established, that it equally appertains to all the Sons, faith the Book.

60. Now the general opinion of our learned Countrey-men is, that *Fees* or *Tenures* were not in use in *England* before the *Norman* Conquest, after which the Conquerour, according to the custom of the Countrey whence he came, distributed all *England* to his Followers, which then began to groan under the burthen of *Fees*, not heard off in the Age of the *Saxons*. They urge that the Term or Word *Feudum* or *Feodum*, is no where to be found in any Record or Monument of these times still extant, and of credit; for it occurs sometimes in the Laws of King *Edgar* and *Edward the Confessor*, as also in several Charters mentioned in *Inglap's* History, the Text is corrupted, or the Laws are of a later Date; and *Inglap's*

1. hebbes mon þyja on gean Buphge-more. 7 epa þorpe-mot. c. 5.

Feud. lib.

Feud. lib. tit. i. Feudum est ius in predio ali-

Lib. i. Tit. in quibus causis Feud. emic.

Lib. i. Tit. i.

Vide Spelman. Glossar. v. Feudum. Seldeni Tit. Hon. et Pot. Summar. Traict. de Gavelkind.

Bocland and Folcland.

The general word in Grants.

Fee and Folcland of the same nature.

Villanage.

Gavelkind.

The Antiquity of Fees.

They become Military.

golphus having been Secretary sometime to Duke *William* in *Normandy* before his Conquest of *England* had both his Tongue and his Pen tipt with Words and Phrases peculiar to those Countreys where he had so long resided. They affirm that no other *Tenures* were in use, or to use the *Scotch* expression, *Haldings* of Land, but these two *Bocland* and *Folcland*. The former was a Possession by Book or Writing, and the latter without. That by Writing was a *Freehold* and by Charter; hereditary with all immunities, and for the Free and nobler sort. That without writing was to hold at the Will of the Lord; bound to Rents and Services, and was for the rural People. But, not much to concern our selves about words, whether in the *Saxon* times the term of *Feodum* or *Feudum* was used, is not very material, for by the most knowing Antiquaries it is granted, that till about the beginning of the Tenth Century, scarcely can any Monument whatsoever of any Nation shew these words, *Beneficium* being generally used before to signify Lands so granted. And to come to the thing, as the word *Feudum* was scarcely known in the *Saxon* times, *Fee* then were of a more lax nature, not tied up by such Circumstances, Laws and Covenants, as in after times, as appears sufficiently from what we have already said out of the Books themselves.

61. Then again, the most learned acknowledge some kind of Footsteps of these Customs among the *Germans*, and that from the *Germans* our *English Saxons* issued as well as the *Lombards* and *Franks* they ever own. If therefore out of *Germany* the custom was derived, the *Saxons* coming out of the *Cheerfulness* were as capable of receiving it as the rest. "If (as the Definition which most agrees with the Primitive Institution of *Fees* affirms) the nature of a *Fee* consisted in this, that it was granted for some Service or other to be performed (whether Military or other) and at first it was in the Lord's power to take it away when he pleased, I can see no reason why the *Folcland* they mention may not be accounted of this nature. "For they grant that *Folcland* was Land letten out, and in opposition to *Demefine* Land, termed in *Servitio*, or *Tenementalis*, that is, granted out in Service by the Lord to his Tenants, to be holden of himself like the *Frenchman's* *Fief* *Servant*, i. e. *Terra Servientis*, in respect whereof the Tenants were bound to be Retainers Attendants, and Followers to their Lords, Suits to their Courts, and were thence called *Folgarii*. There were also *Villani* or *Villains*, not in that sense the word hath lately been taken for *Slaves*, but as *Pitzherbert* expresseth it, *Base Tenants* that did Villain Service, but nevertheless were no *Villains*, that is, not in the latter sense, for from *Villa* a *Villain* was named. Mr. *Sumner* contends that *Gavelkind* is a Tenure, confesses also, that in its nature is liable to works, and though he be carried away by the Authority of some Learned men, without examining it, to believe that *Fees* or *Fiefs* were not in use here before the Conquest, yet he will have his *Gavelkind* ancient, supposing it to have been an Universal Custom in *England* before the Conquest. The Propriety of Land held in *Gavelkind* was this, that it was partible; and *Gerard Niger* where he treats of the Original of *Fees*, tells us, that after a *Fee* came to descend to Sons to which of them the Lord would name, at length in his time it was came to be established, that it should belong equally to them all, which, as our learned Glossarist notes, the *English* call them by the Name of *Gavelkind*.

firmare. Quod bodis sic stabilimum est, ut ad omnes aequaliter filios pertineat. † Hoc Angli Gavelkind dicunt.

61. So *Fees* seem here to have been in use before the Conquest, as they were in a more large sense received out of *Germany*, and as they were in their Infancy. But as afterwards they were clothed with straiter Circumstances and Laws, so were they not in use (as little elsewhere before the tenth Century) not such as *Littleton* writes of in his Book of *Tenures*, as *Fee-simple*, *Fee-Tail*, *Fee-ferme*, *Frank-fee*, *Grand* & *Petit* *sergeanty*, *Escheage*, *Burgage*, or the like. Military *Fees* seem also of a later date in *England*, than the *Saxon* times, though they might have been very serviceable for repelling the insolent and pertinacious *Danes*. In after times in all places the chief part of feudal service became military, and for the most part that of old *Fees* was granted out *militia causa*, which thing gave occasion to many Learned Men of Error, both in denying *Fees* never to have been where indeed they were, and in defining *Feudum* by that which Feudists call *Clientela militaris*, that is of a *Genus* by a *Species* most illogically as *Vultres* challengeth upon this account *Hoteman* himself. The general service was that

Vide Lambard in explic. verb. v. Terra ex scripto.

Vide Sumner. in Traict. de Gavelkind. p. 114, 115.

* Sic proferretur: sum est & ad filios decemvire & in quem filii domini velles hoc beneficium con-

Sec. 12. of works imposed upon the *Folcland*, though not all of it, for most of that which was called *Gafolland*, the same with *Gavelkind Land* (for that *Gavel* comes from *Gafol* signifying *Census, Rent, or Tribute*, and is not derived from *Gineall*, Mr. *Sommer* hath convinced me) was only subject to Rent or Payment, the works were of a divers Nature. * *Fleta* tells us, that in (or before) the Conquest there were *Freemen*, that freely held their *Tenements* by free Services, or by free Customs; but being cast out of them by those that were more powerfull, afterward they returned and received back the same *Tenements* in *Villinage*. There were others that were *Bafe Tenants* amongst the Saxons, who might be called *Villains* in this sense, that in Villages they lived, and there performed bafe services to their Lords. But a question may be moved, whether during the *Saxon* times there are such *Villains* as are the same with *Bondmen* or *Slaves*.

Et cum perpauciores ejcti essent, postmodum reversi receperunt eadem tenementa sua tenenda in villenagio. lib. 1. c. 8.

Two sorts of Slaves.

62. Some make a distinction of *Slaves* into *Personal* and *Predial*, and contend that as well the one sort as the other, were in use not only with our *Norman*, but *Saxon* Ancestours, the one being received from the *Romans*, and the other from the *Germans*. The latter sort at the pleasure of their Lords possessed Lands and Estates, and in the Villages did Rustick works and bafe Services, whence they were called *Villains*, and these seem little or nothing different from the *Villains* of which we lately spake: their possessing of Lands makes them distinct from absolute *Slaves* (of whom amongst the *Romans*, many wrought in the Fields and Villages, but yet held not ground) and shews them like to those of the *Germans*, who were in far better condition than those of the *Romans*, as appears from *Tacitus*. To be sure *Doomsday Book* makes several the *Villani* and the *Servi*, as to influence only in that part of it which concerned the Abbey of *Croyland*, and which *Ingulphus* hath transcribed in his History. Speaking of *Gouddanefound Hundred* in *Ading-ton*, he saith *St. Guthlack* hath had, and hath two hides of Land, the Ground is of four Carucates. One is in *Dominio* and two slaves (*Servi*) and six Villains and three *Bordarii*, &c. Again speaking of *Wendingborough* in *Ausfordeshe Hundred*, and what *St. Guthlack*, or the Monastery had both formerly, and at that time there, he adds in *Dominio* is one Carucate with one Slave, and one and twenty Villains with the Church and the Priest. Afterward he mentions in *Badeby*, being in *Dominio* Eight Carucates, Eight He-Slaves (*Servi*) five She-Slaves (*Ancille*) and twelve Villani. All these are in the same Page. In the next we meet with four Cotages and three Slaves, and again there is one Slave. Now he saith *St. Guthlacus* habuit & habet, *St. Guthlack*, both *had* and *hath*, which *had* refers to the times of *Edward* the Confessour, or before the Conquest. It's true indeed, that there are many words which are purely *Norman* in that Description of *England*, and *Ingulphus* having lived in *Normandy*, made use of such in his Translation of *English* Charters, but if *Servi* and *Villani* had been the same, he would not have used several words to express them. But he plainly distinguisheth them by the Number of each; and if any should yet doubt that this Distinction was brought in after the *Norman* times, this may satisfy him that *Slaves* were before the Conquest, because they are frequently mentioned in the *Saxon* Laws, particularly those of King *Ina*, by the Name of *Theowum*. One of this King's Laws mentions those who were pite Jeo- for Theft deprived of their Liberty and called *Wite Theowum*, ordaining that if sum, c. 23. such Slaves steal again they should be hanged, and no compensation therefore made to their Lords. In case any body killed him, nothing upon that account was to be forfeited to his Kindred, except they had redeemed him within six Months. As for the Villans or Countryman he was called by the Name of *Ceorl* or *Ceorliff*. Ceopl. Co- mon, and in the League between King *Alured* and *Guthrum*, is described to be one onljrcan. that occupieth *Gafolland*.

The Saxon Name of a Slave.

That of a Villain a Countryman.

Folcland answerable to Free.

Allodium what.

63. For, so in a larger sense were all called, that held that sort of Land called *Folcland*, whether it was *Gafolland* especially so called, viz. that for which Rent was paid, or the other for which Services belonged. This *Folcland* answered to *Feudum* or *Fee*, at least such of it as was held by service, and that to which we must now speak, viz. *Bocland* answered to that which was opposite to *Feudum*, and termed *Allodium*. As *Feudum* or *Feodum* was so named as *Fee-bode* or *Feh-bode*, as one would say *Fee-ship*, or that to which a Mercenary Fee or Payment of service did belong; so was *Allodium* called from *All-bode*, as one would say *Totality*, *All-ship* (*bade bode* had hept, and the like as before we have observed, signifying what in Latin do *status qualitas* or *conditio*) which now are expressed by the word *ship*, as *Worship*, *Ladyship*, *Lordship*, &c. Yet *Man-hood*, *Woman-hood*, *Maiden-*

* Fucunt etiam in Consequa liberi homines, qui liberi tenementa sua per libera consuetudines lib. 1. c. 8.

Speim. Glossar. in voc. Servus.

P. 909. Sicut Guthlacus habuit & habet duas hides terre & quatuor carucatas, in Dominio est una & duo servi & sex villani.

Maiden-head and others continue) because it was possessed totally and wholly, being Sect. 12. hereditary, perpetual and patrimonial, free without all condition, and in the Power of the Possessor to dispose of it wholly how he pleased, without dependence or asking leave of any. This was of a quiet contrary nature to a *Feodum* or *Fee*, which when first instituted was but personal, not (as afterward) perpetual, patrimonial or hereditary, or holden as our ancient *English* Lawyers phrase it, *ad remanentiam*, but as a Clergyman holds his Benefice only for life, the Tenant being but a mere Stipendiary, a Termer, at best, as one expresses it, but a *Freeholder* for life, an *usufructuarius*, or not so much, for some held only *ad voluntatem Domini* or *precarium*, not unlike our *Tenants at Will*. In process of time indeed as we have already thewn degenerating, and receding from its first Institution it became perpetual and hereditary, yet holden still as formerly with a condition of service on the Tenants part, and by way of Salary, Pension or Stipend from the Lord, wherewith to gratify and recompence his Man for his service, to which he was obliged under peril of forfeiture. The Fee was holden but in service, and though the *Dominium utile* was in the Tenant, yet the *directum* or the propriety remained in the Lord, together with a Power of restraining his Tenant from alienation, and consequently such Land was but partially, conditionally granted out, not totally and absolutely held by the Possessor, as was *Allodium*, the Possessor of which had *Dominium*, both *directum* and *utile*, held it *pleno jure, integrè, ex toto et ex solido*, as they say, quit of all services, independently without acknowledgment of any superior Lord, not unlike the Prince of *Haynault*, who held as Sir *Henry Spelman* observes *de Deo & Sole*, or as other absolute Princes *Dei gratia*, or to speak in a word answerable to the Etymology, in *Totality*. Hence the terms of *Prædia immunia, terra propria, fundus proprii juris, patrimonium* and the like, and in Charters of Foundations given to such Possessions.

64. Answerable to this was that by our *Saxon* Ancestours called *Bocland*, which Interpreters into Latin translate by the very word *Allodium* * as also *terra* † *hereditaria, terra* ‡ *libera, et terra* § *testamentalis*. It took its Name from the *Bo* of the *Land* book or entering in a Codicil or little Book, named a Charter after the Conquest, which in case the Land was made over to a Lay Person, was in way of feisin delivered to the Party, and if to a Monastery was ordinarily laid and left upon the Altar. Thence was such an Instrument known in those times by the Name of *Landboe*, and in Latin *Testigraphum*, and sometimes *Codicillus*. The Creation of *Bocland* (in Latin termed *ieram hereditario jure conscribere et liberam proclamare*) was a Prerogative Royal, and not in the Power of a Subject, yet done it seems not without the consent of the great Council of the Realm. Hence Mr. *Sommer* tells us, that passages often occur in Grants made by Subjects of Lands in perpetuity to the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, and other places of such and such a King, that he made them hereditary, and proclaimed them absolutely free. And as it is proper for him that makes to establish, hence King *Ethelred*'s hit bocung, or Confirmation of their whole Possessions, to that Cathedral is by one kept on ecc of the Subscribers called *Cyninges bocung*. Nay this Land was very seldom alienated yppe by the Possessor without (what the Law of *Mortmain* afterward required) a concurrence, at least a subsequent Confirmation from the King, whereof Examples he tells are obvious in the List of that Churches Lands and Benefactors published in the Antiquities of *Canterbury*, as also of the Concurrence of the Nobles of such *Bocland* grants. Particularly in the year of our Lord DCCCXXXVIII. King *Egbert* and *Ethelwulf* his Son granted to *Christchurch* in *Canterbury*, *Mallings* in *Suffex*, which Manor King *Baldred* had formerly given to that Church, but because it was not done by consent of the Nobles of the Kingdom, that gift was not valid. As *Bocland* originally flowed from the Crown, so upon all Forfeitures particularly that of the Estate of the Possessor for deserting the Wars, there being no mean Lord betwixt the King and him, by the Laws of *Ethelred* and *Canute*, to the Crown it reverted.

65. *Bocland* was properly tenable by *Thanes*, as *Folcland* by *Ceorles*, and thereupon in King *Canute*'s Laws *Thegn* and *Bocland* in the Original *Saxon*, meet as Relatives, as in the Latin Translation do *Thegen* and *Allodium*. Not but that it was sometimes held by *Ceorles*, who were not absolutely incapable of holding it, but when it so happened it was placed as improperly, and as much out of decorum, as since and at this day, *Knights Fees* proper to *Knights*, and the Nobler sort of the People are in the Hands of *Scogers, Sochmen* or *Ceorles*, whose proper tenure was that of *Gafolland*. So proper was this *Bocland* to the *Thanes*, that those who in the Latin Charters of *St. Austin*'s are called *Allodarii* in the very same Char-

Vide Sommerum in Tract. de Gavelkind.

* Textus Ref. † Li. Almeri c. 47. q. 2. in Brom. m. c. 2. in Brom. m. c. 32. ‡ Li. Canuti.

Cynungef bocunge.

Quid vix. manerium prius eidem Ecclesie dedit Baldredus Rex sed quia non fuit consensus Magnatum Regni, domini id non possunt valere. Et id. eo. c. 36. p. 1. Text. Ref. c. 36. Sommerum ubi supra. Hinc illud folum legi bu-can deo pe on gafollans pte.

By whom tenable.

Sect. 12.

Thence who.

The difference between Folcland and Boelcland.

Boelcland alienable.

Why called Tainland.

ters exhibited in *English* (like as in those of *Christ-church*) they are styled *Thengnes*. Though their name came at first from Miniftrif, yet being the King's Miniftrif, the word afterwards came always to be taken in an honourable fenfe, denoting in general a Gentleman, one nobly or generously defended, a Man of worship, of honour, whether he was the King's *Thane*, properly fo called, or a *Thane* of inferior degree; for fill was he accounted Noble. But to come to *Boelcland*, it was termed *terra hereditaria*, to diftinguifh it from *Folcland*, otherwife called *Gafalland*, wherein the Tenant being but as a Leffee, Ufufactory or *Tennor*, and having no propriety, upon his death bed, or other expiration of the term, it reverted to the Lord, and defended not upon the Heir as *Boelcland* did, at leaft might doe, being becaufe the poffeffion in propriety, hereditary, if not alienated by him in his life time, as it might be in regard it was *terra libera*, as well as *hereditaria*, which *Folcland* never was. It was called *terra testamentaria*, in regard of the publick Testimony of the Shire, required and ufed in paffing of it otherwife than by Will. Probable it is that the conveyance thereof was recorded and inrolled, and entred in the Shire book, in the publick Shiremote after Proclamation there made, for any to come in that could lay challenge to it. It was alfo called *Testamentalis* becaufe devifeable, but yet here a queftion is moved whether it was indeed in the Power of the owner to difpofe of it at pleafure.

66. *St. Henry Spelman* was of opinion that it could neither be given away nor fold, but was to be left to the Heir except the Writings or Conveyances otherwife permitted it; and that thence it had the Name of *Terra hereditaria*. He grounds himfelf upon a Law of King *Alfred* concerning *Boelcland* which runs thus: *He that bath Boelcland, and left him by his Ancestours, we ordain that he give it not from his Kindred, if there be any writing or witnefs that it was forbidden him to convey it to ftrangers by thofe that gave it to him, and that it was done in prefence (or witnefs) of the King or Bifhop, his Kindred being prefent.* Now againft *St. Henry Spelman* his Conclusion, Mr. *Sumner* juftly excepts that this Law clearly makes for the contrary, forasmuch as it allows unto the Poffeffour a Power of Alienation, faving where his Hands were tied from it by an exprefs Provision, and prohibition to the contrary made by thofe from whom the Land came to him, a Cause of the fame nature with that exception which as we fay, *firmat regulam in memora non exceptis*. That *Boelcland* was alienable he proves by a paffage, he cites out of a Charter of Archbifhop *Wilfred*, who died about the year DCCCXXX. which fufficiently fhews, that the Poffeffours might grant it away in their life time as pleafed them, either by Act or Grant, or by Will. So it was before the Conqueft. But afterward that Cuftome of devifing it by Will ceafed, as did withall the defcent of Land generally, by equal divifion amongst all the Sons. For as the *English* Laws and Customs in general, from that time fuffered a daily Eclipse and Declination by degrees, fo this in particular (faving where they were more tenacious of it than elfewhere; or in fuch places as *London*, which by fpecial privilege were fuffered to retain it) languifhed, and was at length fupplanted by that other kind of Defcent, which now regularly takes place throughout moft of the Kingdom. Infomuch, as where Partible Defcent cannot, to uphold it felf, juftly plead Antiquity and ancient Cuftome, it quite fails and falls to the ground. But yet we muft know, that notwithstanding the Introduction of new *Tenures* by the Conquerour, yet did not the *English* prefently forgoe their *Boelcland* (that kind of Tenure Mr. *Sumner* tells you he means) but retained it both name and thing, as he proves in feveral Inflances. And evident enough this is from *Doomfday Book*, where though happily not the name of it (as neither of *Folcland*, *Saxon* terms both) yet the thing is very obvious, and often occurring under the name and notion fometime of *Tainland*, becaufe as we faid properly tenable by *Thanes*, otherwife and oftner of *Allodium*. And as *Boelcland*, fo *Folcland* furvived the *English* *Saxon* Government, continuing after the Conqueft, and remaining unto this day, though not in the very name, yet in the thing and fubftance. For as aforetime the Saxons had their *Ceorles*, *Gebures*, *Folcmen*, and the like, as the Normans, afterward had their *Villani*, *Bordmanni*, *Cottarii*, and others; fo what the former held was called *Folcland*, *Gafalland*, &c. and was oppofed to *Boelcland*; what the later Villainage, and in fome fenfe *Seage*, oppofed to *Chivalry*, *Knightservice*, &c. and in all likelihood intended by *Ruficana fervitus*, occurring in a Charter of one *Walchelinus Maminif*, of which Mr. *Sumner* and Mr. *Selden* may be confulted.

Hinc Tenge-
na gub. Ge-
nevefium Col-
legium.
Egenbopen
Generofus
Egenprope
Thane dig-
nitas.

Boecland-
te. Semon
teje boecland-
habe-
te. Thum
teje boecland-
habe-
te. Thum
teje boecland-
habe-
te. Thum

Inde clomare
ad Tainland.
Tenere in Al-
lodium.

Hij. of Tales.
C. 11.

67. Thofe

Their Jurisdiction and Privileges.

As Sac.

Sac.

Toll.

Team.

Team what.

Infangthef.

67. Thofe that held *Boelcland*, had feveral Jurifdictions and Privileges, over and amongst thofe that held Lands of them. Their Franchifes or Extents of their Jurifdictions and Privileges, or the Territories, Precinds, or Circuits, where they were exercifed, they called *Soc*, *Socne*, *Soken* and the like. Besides *Doomfday Book*, *Ingulphus* mentions the *Soca* de *Donnedike*, *Soca* de *Belisford*, *Soca* de *Tad*, and *Soca* de *Acmefturby*. And in *Nottinghamshire*, as appeareth by a Statute of *Henry* the Eighth, *Lordship* and *Soke*, were in his time indifferently ufed, as indeed fill in the Northern Parts, *Soke* fignifies a *Franchife*, of fuch and fuch a Place, as the *Soke* of *Ofwelbeck*, mentioned in the now cited Statute. The Tenants that held Lands in this Franchife, might be called *Soc manni*, and their Service *Socagium*, in Latin, *agium*, as a great *English* Lawyer faith, being a legal termination, fignifying Service or Duty, as in *Homagium*, *Efcuagium*, or the like, but this Term of *Socage*, after the Conqueft became more abufive, and as fuch we fhall leave it, as neither belonging to us in thefe *Saxon* matters. But he that was poffeffed of thefe Privileges and Franchifes, usually was faid to have *Sac*, *Soc*, *Tol*, and *Team*, *Infangthef* and *Outfangthef*. *Sac*, as *St. Edward's* Laws defcribe it, was this. * *In cafe any one was accufed of any thing, and he denied it, the forfeiture for proof or denial fhould be his.* It fuppofed therefore the Cognifance and Jurifdiction which the Lord had in his Court in Controversies and Suits, arifing amongst his Vaffals, fo as to hold Pleas, and impofe, levy and collect Fines and Amerciaments thence arifing. The Power of holding the Pleas, and having all his Vaffals follow his Court; it feems they expreffed by *Soc* for the Laws, thus obfcurely defcribe it. *Soca* is, in cafe any one feek for any thing in his Land, the juftice is his whether it be found or not. In this fenfe therefore it muft fignifie what the Lawyers call *Setta*, in Latin *Sequela*, *Seftatio* or *Confectio*, and what in French is called *Suite* de Li Court, although in general, as we faid, the word fignifies a *Franchife* or Immunity. Of *Tol* or *Tol*, the Laws fpeak more plainly, telling us that *Tol* (which we call *Tholoniun*) is that a *Man* hath liberty of felling and buying in his own Land. It was the privilege of holding a Market, there being no other word to exprefs the faid Privilege, till that of *Merced* was brought in by the Normans, which feems yet originally from the word *Merced*, to fignifie great *Fairs* and *Markets*, rather than thefe weekly meetings of the adjacent Countrey People, which are meant by the word *Tol*, which in a fecondary fenfe came to fignifie tribute paid to the Lord of the Market, for the liberty in ufe of felling within his Jurifdiction, and in after times, it was as *Fleta* teftifies, brought a *Soc*. to fignifie freedom from fuch cuftome of payment. Concerning *Team*, the Laws are again very obfcure.

68. But it agreed that it fignifies two things. The firft is *Advocatio* or *Avouery*, or *Garranty*, of which the Lord had Jurifdiction, viz. concerning thofe that as the Lawyers phrafe it, are *vocati ad warrantum*. Again, it fignifies an Offspring or Generation, and here particularly it's applied to the Ifsue or Offspring of a Lord's Villains, and is defined to be a Royalty, which whoever enjoys, hath his propriety in his Slaves or Villains within his own Franchife or Fee, and power of difpofing of them as of his other things, moveable or immoveable, at his pleafure. *Infangthef*, was another Royal Privilege, and by *St. Edward's* Laws, is faid to be a Man's Juftice over a Thief, viz. of his own Man, if he was taken upon his own ground, as *Outfangthef* (though thefe Laws fpeak nothing of it) was Jurifdiction over a Thief that did not belong to the Lord, but being a stranger, was taken within his Jurifdiction. To what *St. Edward's* Laws fay of *Infangthef*, they add, they which have not thefe cuftoms, may doe right before the King's Juftice in Hundreds, Wapentacks, or in Shires. But as it appears by *Bracton*, in the Norman times, this Jurifdiction over Thieves only belonged to the King, growing out of ufe amongst Barons, who formerly had had this Royalty, rather than taken away by any Law, which yet happened to the Hundreds and Shires, which feem to have been deprived of this Privilege by the Great Charter. Concerning fuch Perfons as enjoyed thefe Royalties of *Sac*, *Soc*, *Tol*, *Team* and *Infangthef*, we muft add what the often mentioned Laws farther hint to us. Archbifhops, Bifhops, Earls, Barons, and all that have *Sac*, *Soc*, *Tol*, *Team* and *Infangthef*, may have their own *Soldiers*, (Free Tenants *St. Henry Spelman* reads it) and their own Servants, viz. their *Sewers*, *Butlers*, *Chamberlains*, *Bakers*, and *Cooks* under their *Friborg*; as alfo thefe their *Squires*, (*Armigeri*) or others that ferve them under their *Friborg*, in cafe they proved faulty, and *Ewe* and *Crye* were made after them, by the Neighbours, they fhould fee right done in their own Court. Thofe I fay that have *Sac*, *Soc*, *Tol*, *Team*, and *Infangthef*. By *Friborg* is meant, what

Sect. 12.

32 H. 8.

Quod Socage-
ne, i. e. Im-
munitate vel
privilegio de-
rivatum, non
autem a Soc-
arato, unde
Sumnerum fu-
it probatum in
fupra dicto
Tratatu de
Gavelkind.
*Nachstet quod
si quislibet ali-
quam nominati-
onem de ali-
quo culumina-
tus fuerit
in iudicio, et
forficetur
probatus vel
negatus
(si e contra)
Derivatur a
Saxon tac-
ca, ad hoc
dicimus, for-
ficetur, unde
vide Spelm.
a Soc.
Sola.

Vide Skennum
de Verb. fignif.
Spelman.
Officiarius, unde
Sumneri Glof-
far. & Lexi-
con Saxonicum.
Item in voce
& Conellum.
Team autem
derivatur a
cyman
propagare, per-
tinetur, unde
magistratum a
Teaming.
Idem in i. i. i. i.
sangan
capere, prehendere,
(unde
dignus hodie
Singeri quod
Sung. Fung.)
& Geor. fur.

Friborg what.

69. Here it is feasonable for the better discovery of our *Saxon* Government, to take notice that generally in every Town there was a *Friborg* or College, Company, A *Saxonic* or Society of ten of the Principal Men, who were each of them *Fideijulors* speech i. e. for the King, and answerable one for another, invented, as it's said, by that glorious King *Alfred*. From the Number (as in *Latin*, *Decuria*, *Decania*, *Decima*, *Decaena*, *Fideijulfo*, *Decemviratus*, and the like) it was called *teeoöung* and *tee-an-julfor*, was, *tee* the number of *ten men*. The chief of them who presided over the rest, was also called *teeoöungman*, *teeñheeros*: *Bonherethealpen*, and *preobopheerheeros*, as in *Latin*, *Decurio*, *Capitalis Decemvir*, *Vas Senior*, *Capitalis Plegius*, *Capitalis Friborgus*, & *Justitiarius Friburgi*. Their Office, Employment, and the effects thereof, are set forth at large by the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, in this manner. *Farthermore, there is another the greatest and most principal security, through Prætoræ et*

ner. Furthermore, there is another the greatest and most principal security, through which all are firmly established in their several Conditions, viz. that every one establish himself under the security of this Frankpledge or Suretyship, which the English call *freoborgor*, yet the *Torkshire Men*, and they alone call it, *men manna cala*, which is as much in Latin, as the number of ten men. This Security came to pass in this manner, viz. that all Inhabitants of every Town whatsoever, in the Kingdom, should be under this decennial Suretyship. Inasmuch, as if one of the ten proved faulty, the nine were to have one forthcoming for Justice: if he fled, the Law allowed one and thirty days; if he was found out in the mean time, he was to be led before the King's Justice, and was compelled at his own charge to make reparation for what he had done, and if his Crime was such, Justice was done upon his Body. But in case he could not be found within the compass of one and thirty days, there being in every *Friborg* a Principal whom they called *freoborgesheofoe*, this Principal was to take two of the best of his *Friborg*, and out of the three nearest *Friborgs*, from each a Principal, with two others of the best of every *Friborg*, if he could procure them, and so be being the twelfth, ought to purge himself and his *Friborg*, if he be culp, from the offence and flight of the aforesaid Malefactor; if he could not doe it, he and his *Friborg* were to make Satisfaction out of the Goods of the Malefactor, if it could be had, or if not, out of their own Estates, so much as they were legally condemned in. And what they could not doe with the assistance of the three neighbouring *Friborgs*, they themselves were to swear that they would not be in fault for the time to come, and if they could recover the Malefactor, they would bring him before the Justice, or declare to the Justice where he was.

70. The occasion of making over these *Friborgs* certain Justitiaries they afterwards declare, forasmuch as, it seems, the other confutation did not sufficiently accomplish its design. But whereas it so happened, that certain foolish and naughty *Perfous*, too frequently and freely committed Injusticies against their Neighbours, wife *Men* began to consult about it, and over every ten *Friborgs* constituted Justitiaries, which (in Latin) we may call *Decani*, but in English, were named *menepcor*, or *nimis confite* (in Latin) we may call *Centenarii*, or *Centenaries*; for that they were Judges of the head of ten. These handled Causes amongst the Villages and Neighbourhoods, and according to the offences, punished and made agreements, viz. concerning Pastures, Meadows, Corn-fields, and concerning differences amongst Neighbours, and other innumerable contentions which infect humane frailty, and incessantly make War against it. But whereas any greater Causes happened, they were referred to their Superior Justitiaries, whom the above-named wife *Men* appointed over them, viz. over the ten *Decani*, whom therefore we may call *Centenarii* or *Centenaries*; for that they were Judges over an hundred *Friborgs*. Thus we have taken a view of the Polity of our English Saxons, as to the manner and form of the Government. The next that we do, must be to consider of their Laws, in the discovery of which, much will be farther made out as to the Customs respecting the Government; the faults to which the Nation was incident, the sorts of their punishments, with many other incident matters.

The *Englishsions* and *Gutes* coming out of the *Cheerfulness* of Germany, must doubtless have brought some such Customs with them as were then in use with those Northern Nations, but what they were, as our Learned Glossarist before us, we cannot but very much doubt, there being very little light concerning these ancient *Manners*. We read indeed of the Laws of the *Angli* in Germany, but with the *Angli* are joyned the *Werinii* and *Thuringii*, and these Laws were confirmed by *Charles* the Great. We also read of the Law of the *Saxons* of Germany, which some ascribe to *Fierald* the *Dame*, who yet flourished, but about the year of our

liber &
jussor, vas.

Præterea est
quedam sum-
ma & maxi-
ma securitas,
&c. c. 20. de
Friborgis.

ly Cum autem
ty contingeret
ise quod quidam
es, stulti: & im-
or, probi gratis &
nd etè erga vici-
nos suos, & c.
c. 32.

*Lex Angli-
orum, Weri-
norum & Thu-
ringorum.*

Lord, DCCCLXXXIV. *Lindenbrogius*, indeed will have those of *Herald* much later than those which he himself hath published, together with those of the *Frisons*; forasmuch as the Copies both in the ancientles of the Parchments, and Hand he imagines to have exceeded the times of *Charles*. But by our *Spelman* he is advised to take heed what he says, for some things in them relate to the Church, some things to the safety of the King of the *Franks*, and it's well enough known, that till the Reign of *Charles*, the *Saxons* were not converted to the Christian Faith; nor had submitted to the Yoke of the *Franks*. Yet that the *Saxons* had ancient Laws or Customs, not found amongst those that are published, we may easily admit: but these we may also object, were after they came into *Thuringia*, after the dispersing of this People into those several Quarters from the *Chersonesus*. But our *Saxons* came as we formerly inculated from the ancient *Saxons*, our *Angli* from that place we formerly described, and could not descend from those Colonies, which after their coming into *Britain*, were sent into many places Southward in the Continent. But as they were of the same Original with those other Colonies, no wonder if some affinity may be found amongst their Laws and Customs.

Their Lan-
 guage and Cu-
 stomes the
 same.

Laws and Customs.

72. For, when as all these *Gothick* or *Scandian* Nations, viz. the *Goths*, peculiarly fo called, the *Saxons*, *Lombards*, *Vandals*, *Franks*, *Danes*, *Normans* and others, had carried their victorious Arms throughout the Western Parts of the *Roman* Empire, and had begun as it were a *Gothick* *Teutonic*, or a *Scandian* *World*, no wonder that agreeing in Original, Language and Customs, imposing their Laws upon the conquered Nations, and retaining many of their own ancient Terms and Rites, (however in some places their Language, for the main, might afterward be swallowed up by the multitude of Speakers of that of the place) it should come to pass, that betwixt us and the *Germans*, *French*, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Sicilians*, and betwixt all those themselves, being all of us defended from these fore-named People, fo great agreement there should be, as well in the Canon of ancient Laws, as the Names of Magistrates, Officers and Ministers, not to speak of an infinite number of vulgar words. To those Northern Customs we must ascribe then the very first Original of our *Saxon* Laws, not to any that are now extant in *Hent*. Customs I call them, for they were scarcely written in those Ages, when *Hengist* and *Horlas* came into *Britain*. The Runic Letters I confess might be more ancient, but they were rather employed upon Mythological matters, and things relating to their superstition. The first beginning of all humane Laws, was imperfect and rude, and our Neighbours lately mentioned, as to their municipal Laws, have no more reason to brag than we. * *Let them boast that will*, faith our Learned *Spelman*, of the Antiquity of their Municipal Laws, yet the Original of them, how inconsiderable soever, and barbarous, is not to be fetched from elsewhere, as shall appear from what follows. For what Conquering People will wink under the Laws of the Conquered, especially when the one is cast out, and the other possesseth its Seat?

lacus; sit & barbara, aliunde nusquam videtur expectenda, ut è sequentibus elucebit, quis enim victor populus sub victi
legibus, &c. præsertim cum ejecto isto sedem ille incoluerit? Spelm. in voc. Lex.

Which pre-
vail'd with the
Conquerours.

73. These last words are well and cautiously added by Sir *Henry*, for as we have elsewhere observed both of Laws and Languages, when these Northern People (or indeed any other People any other place) conquered those parts of the Roman Empire, if they imbodyed with the conquered People, and were exceeded by them in Numbers, the Language and Fashions of the Conquered would prevail, as we see in the case of the *Franks* conquering *Gall*, and the *Normans* conquering *England*; but in the case the *Victors* overpowered the subdued People in Numbers, or drove them out of their Possessions, then both Language and Laws of the victorious People must needs prevail as in our present case, when the *English Saxons* drove up the *Britains* into the Western Mountainous places, destroyed them, or forced them to quit the Island. But here now it comes fitly to our remembrance, that some there are who would have several Laws and Customs to have been by the *English Saxons* received from the *Britains*, many of whom, as they contend, continued among them, incorporated with them, and were never driven out. They influence in several Charters made to the Monastery of *Glastenbury*, wherein is mention made of the *British* Inhabitants as well as *English*, and they urge, that had not *British* Husbandmen and inferior sort of People been suffered to continue and Till the Ground, Bread would presently have failed the Invader himself, and

P

and

Secl. 12. and he should have wanted strength to Conquer, because he had not whereon to live. That every where, and absolutely the *Britains* were driven out no man will affirm; but yet for all this objected, that very few of them continued in the conquered places, we must be persuaded by several Arguments. One is the general change of the Names of Places, very few Countrey Towns retaining *Welsh* or *British* Names, and those great Towns that did, having some addition made unto them. Then the Language evidently makes out the thing in question; for in despite of all Laws, Prescriptions, and Orders, (as we see after the Conquest by Duke *William*) the Vulgar will be Master of Speech, and the greatest multitude of Speakers overpower the rest, each one being addicted to his own Native Language, and however some particular Persons may have an affection after the Foreign, using his own Dialect as most easie to him. Neither are there so many *Welsh* words crept into the *English* as can argue any greater Conjunction and Union than with other neighbouring Nations, with which the *English* hath had Traffick and Commerce.

74. But as for that Objection of *Tillage*, it's easily answered from what we have already written in its place of the perpetual swarming of these *English Saxon* Nations into *Britain*, which overpowered the poor Inhabitants by their Numbers, and by their Crowds forced them to quit both Seats and Arms and either pass the Seas or seek for shelter in the Mountainous and hardly accessible places. Therefore do we read that those places, whence some of them came, were left desolate, and void of People, Old and Young, Noble and Ignoble, Man, Woman and Child; as well he that handled the Mattock, as he that managed the Sword, hating to be partaker of that Booty and Fertile Land, of which they had heard so much Commendation, and of its worth had assurance from this, that none that once came over were willing to return to their former Seats. Some Fashions and Customs, while they held Correspondence in times of Truce, or afterward when the War was finished, they might receive from the *Britains*, as the *Britains* also from them, there being a kind of Commutation and Re-action in those Cases, but that any great matters is no way probable. Many Nations agree in several Customs, not so much out of Communication and from their learning one from another, as that those things are either agreeable to humane Prudence in general, of which all People participate, and consequently it dictates to them all the same things, (the Laws of Nations flowing from this Principle) or that as in Words, in Fashions, and all other things relating to Mankind there is no Infinity, but Necessities, Uses and Conveniences, being the same; several Peoples several men must sometimes light by accident upon the self same things. If any considerable Laws can be shewn to have been derived from the *Britains*, they were rather thence borrowed by such *Saxon* Princes as finding a great defect at home, were glad to seek elsewhere and provide from abroad Supplies for Domestic Wants, for answering those new Exigencies which continuance of time and settlement in a peaceable condition daily produced. So King *Alfred* is said to have translated and made *English* the Laws of *Milmattius* the ancient *British* King, of which anon.

Unwritten Customs the first original of the English Saxon Laws.

75. The first Original therefore of the *English Saxon* Laws were such unwritten Customs as they brought along with them from beyond the Seas, which were increased by the Dictates of natural Prudence according to convenience, and the Exigency of Affairs, and by Observation and Communication in process of time came to be more full, certain and solemn, in reference to Customs, or to be by Legislators framed into positive and written Precepts. The first of these, viz. Customs were according to the People from which they proceeded various, and not fully the same throughout the Land, though by resemblance they shewed themselves near akin, and answerable, positive Laws they had joynted to them, either first made or received by their respective Legislators. The *Jutes* in *Kent* had their peculiar Laws, but being reduced under the Government of the West *Saxon* Kings, they also submitted to the Laws of the West *Saxons*. The *Angli* or *English* properly so called, used the Law called *Mercian*, and the Laws of St. *Edward* tell us, that *Ewerwickshire*, or *Torkshire*, (or as in the Margent is noted *Warwickshire*) *Nicolsire* as the *Normans* called it (which shews these Laws to have been worded after the Conquest) or *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Leicestershire* and *Northamptonshire*, as far as *Watlingstreet* and eight Miles beyond were under this Law. Afterwards when the *Danes* came to settle and domineer in *England*, they imposed their Customs or Laws upon the Provinces of East *England* and *Northumberland*. So came it to pass, that in the Land were in force three several Laws, viz. that of

the West *Saxons* called *Westseaxnala*, that of the *English* or *Mercians* called *Myrcnala*, and the other of the *Danes* called *Denelaga*. This of the *Danes* is by the forementioned Laws called *Lex Norvorum & Danorum*, viz. The Laws of the *Norwegians* and *Danes*, and to have been the received Law of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Gratabridgehire*, or *Cambridgehire*, as also of *Deira*, with the Western and Northern Isles, as those of *Man*, *Cathene*, the *Orades* and others, and such as inhabited *Gurth*, that is the Fenny places. As for the *Norwegians*, though generally those Northern People that invaded the Land go under the Name of *Danes*; yet as we have formerly hinted, the People of *Norway*, otherwise called *Normans*, are to be understood as Partners in the Expeditions; for as under the Names of *Norwegians* and *Normans*, the *Danes* are also to be understood, so under that of *Danes* are also comprized the *Norwegians* and *Normans*. The *Danes* as they settled in *England* by degrees induced their Customs, which seem to have been enforced after that *Guthron* from King *Alfred* received the Provinces of East *England* and *Northumberland*; and afterward became the most owned Laws of the Land when King *Canute* had brought the Sceptre into the hands of that People, where it continued from the days of *Ethelred* to *Edward the Confessor*, during which time the Law of the *English* is said to have been mute. *Edward* when he came to the Crown would not endure that one and the same Kingdom should be govern'd with three sorts of Laws, surveyed them all, collected and digested out of them that which from the thing was called *Lex Communis* or the Common Law, and from him the Law of St. *Edward the Confessor*.

Out of which the Common Law was compiled by *Edward the Confessor*.

Ethelbert the first Law-maker.

76. So much of the Laws in general, as they respected the whole government of the Land. To come to particular Legislators, the first that we know of, who made any written Laws, was *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, he who first received Christianity of all the Nation. Concerning him *Bede* writes, that among other good things he did for the Nation, He ordained for it Decrees of Judgments, according to the Examples of the Romans, with the Council of *Wise Men*. Which being written in the Language of the *English*, are hitherto kept and observed by it. In which he first placed how he ought to make amends that should steal any thing from the Church or Bishop, or the other Orders, resolving to protect those whom with their Doctrine he had received. That he ordained was Decrees of Judgments (*Decreta* * *Judiciorum*) which may be explained by what follows, concerning Sacrilegious Persons, that they should be punished or make amends (the Parliaments in *France* in their Arrests of Condemnation of Criminals to death, use still the Term of making honourable amends, answerable to the Latin *Emendare* here used by *Bede*) and this was according to the * Examples of the Romans. * *Excep* These Decrees of Judgments then were Judicial Laws inflicting Punishments upon *Romans* by-Offenders, and were taken from the *Roman Books*. It was about the year of our *rena*. Lord DLXI that *Ethelbert* (according to Sir *Henry Savill's* *Fasts*) began his Reign in the thirty fifth year of *Justinian*, and he reigned about six and fifty years, in which time *Bede* tells not in what year he ordained and published these Decrees of Judgments. But publish them in what year he would, *Justinian's* Law, or his New Model, was not then known to the European Nations, nor many years after. What therefore he took from the *Roman Laws* must have been out of *Theodosius's Code* (which determines of matters as well Ecclesiastical as Civil) out of the Fragments of *Gaius*, *Paulus* or *Ulpian*, or a small part of the Pandects which then was known to the Europeans. So *Alarick* the King of the *Visigoths* in *Gall* had near an hundred years before caused the Code of *Theodosius* to be abbreviated by *Anianus* his Chancellor, and published for the benefit of his People.

77. What these Decrees of Judgments were which *Ethelbert* published, we do not certainly know. Yet are there certain Laws in a Manuscript Book of *Roche*, called *Textus Roffensis*, an ancient Monument indeed, but such as in this matter we cannot fully trust. For neither do these Laws of his seem to be taken from the *Roman Books*; nor doth their Language seem to be near so ancient as King *Ethelbert*, nor doth *Bromton* the Abbat of *Jornal* mention them, though careful to deliver such Laws of those *Saxon* Kings as he then found, and thought authentick. And therefore shall we exhibit only such as are found in him and Mr. *Lambard's* Edition. The next Legistator to *Ethelbert*, at least whom he can receive as such, was *Ine* or *Ira* the King of the West *Saxons*, who began his Reign well nigh an

Secl. 12. West seaxna la ga Denelaga.

Lih. 2. c. 5. Qui inter cetera bona quae genti suae consulendo confabulatus, etiam decreta illi Judiciorum iuxta exempla Romanorum, cum consilio sapientium constituit. Quae scriptae Anglorum sermone latinius habuerunt & observantur ab eo. In quibus primis positus, quales sit emendare debet qui aliquid rerum vel Ecclesiae vel Episcopii vel religiosorum ordinum furto auferret, volens scilicet ipsam rem eis qui & quorum doctrinam susceperat, praestare.

* Rex *Alfredus* vertit ipsosce phetia bona Geometricae.

bordering part of it upon Wales, some *Welchmen* lived amongst the *English*. I thar according to *Lambard's* translation of the word, the King was wont to have a *Welchman* to look to his Horfes, for the Phrase is, not the King's Horfe-Groom, or his Horfes Mafter, but the King's Horfe *Welchman*, yet we may call him the Gentleman or Maffer of his Horfe, becaufe of his other employment that follows. We read in the *Saxon Annals* of *Wulfrik King Alfred's Horfethegne or Minifer*, who was alfo Governour of Wales. Yet Mr. *Summer* by no means will allow of *Lambard's*

the elder Man of Scharow elderly juilings; in that of the King's Thane or Minister ce.
sixty juilings; if in the Town of the chief Man of the Hundred, having Land, five
and thirty juilings; and the purgation of the crime is to be answerable. The forty C. 47. Be
seventh takes order, that If any one be accused of Theft, or of receiving a stolen thing real tyh-
he, than.

C. 41. Be bonger onræce.

C. 44.
C. 45. Ga-
fol-hpizel.

е С. 46. Ве
ф бурхбурь-

C. 47. Be
g rtał tŷh-
r, tlan.

C. 55. Be pæræh þe tȳhtlan.

C. 60. Be
negapol.
C. 61. Be
hype Geoc.

Sect. 12.

"der sufficient, he was in that kind to pay the whole hire, if not sufficient, then half in Fodder, and half otherwise. The next commands "The first fruits of C. 62. Be
"Corn, due to the Church to be paid out of that House, where a Man lives at C. 62. Be
"Christmas. Of this we must speak in Church matters. The sixty third gives C. 63. Be
"order, "That if an accused Person be required to give pledge, and is not able to C. 63. Be
"doe it before the Trial, in case another Man offers to doe it for him, on condi- C. 63. Be
"tion that he give himself up into his Power, till such time as he can give him satis- C. 63. Be
"faction for what he now depostes; and now a second time Caution is deman- C. 63. Be
"ded of the accused Party, and he who assisted him before now refuseth to help C. 64. Be
"him the second time; if he be cast, let him loofe what he laid down for him C. 64. Be
"when the suit began. The next concerning him called *Gefithcundman* ordains, C. 64. Be
"That if he change his Habitation, it may be lawful to him to take along with C. 64. Be
"him his Officer or Bailly, his Smith, and his Child *Foster* or his Nurse. Here C. 64. Be
"the word *Smith*, *Lambard* translates, *Fabrum Ferrarium*, viz. *Backsmith*; but *Smith* C. 64. Be
"in *Saxon*, answers fully to *Faber* in *Latin*, not only *Faber Ferrarius*, but *Faber*
Lignarius, or any of the other sort, the reason why it is become the most general
firname now in *England*.

84. By this sixty fifth Law King *Ina* enacts, *That whosoever possesseth twenty C. 65. Be*
Hides of Land and removes his Habitation, shall leave twelve Hides sown with C. 65. Be
Corn. Herbat occupies ten shall leave six, and he that possesseth three shall leave C. 65. Be
one and an half. This we may suppose done in respect of the want of *Corn*, this C. 65. Be
Idle and all in ancient times abounding with wood, which long after the time C. 65. Be
of Ina, procured Laws for cutting it down, though now we be in the other ex- C. 65. Be
treme. But that which follows he provides for him, That hath hired and ploughed C. 66.
a Yardland, that if the Landlord exact other services from him besides the Rent, he C. 66.
shall not need to pay them nor abstain from tilling the ground, except he assign him C. 66.
also an House to dwell in. Against *Gefithcundman* the next ordains, *That in case* C. 67. Be
he be banished, he shall not have the liberty to return to his House. The sixty Eighth C. 67. Be
Commands, *That a Sheep be not shorn till Midsummer, otherwise the Fleecce is to* C. 67. Be
be redeemed with two pence. The sixty ninth is concerning Valuations of Mens C. 67. Be
Heads, that, *If a Man in his Life-time was valued at two Hundred shillings, thir-* C. 67. Be
ty of them should be deducted to make his Lord recompence for his death. If one C. 67. Be
was valued at six hundred, in such case *Eighty should be deducted; if at twelve* C. 67. Be
Hundred, then were to be deducted One hundred and twenty. The seventieth con- C. 67. Be
cerning maintenance exacts, that, *From ten Hides of Land be allowed ten Fatts* C. 69. Be
or Barrels of Honey; three Hundred leaves; twelve Runlets of Welsh Ale; thirty C. 69. Be
of the smaller Ale; two grown Oxen, or ten Wethers, ten Geese, twenty Hens, C. 70. Be
ten Cheefes, one Peit of Butter, five Salmones, twenty Pound weight of Fodder, and C. 70. Be
an Hundred Eeles. That which follows wills, that, *If one be required to pay* C. 70. Be
the value of his Head, and being now to swear, confesses what before he denied, Offe- C. 70. Be
re he pay nothing by way of Mult, till he have first satisfied for the value of his Head. C. 70. Be
The seventy second requires, that, *If a Thief who had formerly paid the value of his* C. 70. Be
Head be taken, and make his escape the same day, the whole mult be not again re- C. 70. Be
quired, he being taken about Night: but in case the Theft was committed the Night C. 70. Be
before, such as formerly apprehended him, must pay as the King or his Officer shall C. 70. Be
ordain.

punt paja potper. 7 huns teontor ala, vide quam parum distant ista verum nomina ab bodieris.
C. 71. Be pepsyhtan. C. 72. Be pepsylo 7 eofer potpereng.

85. The seventy third ordains, "That if a *Welsh* Slave kill an *English* Man, his C. 73. Be
"Master shall give him up into the Hands of the Lord, and the Kindred of him C. 73. Be
"that was slain, or else redeem him with sixty shillings. If he will not part with C. 73. Be
"his Money, that then he set at liberty his Slave, and the Kindred of the slain re- C. 73. Be
"cover the value of their Kinsman, if the other have any Kindred to bear him C. 73. Be
"out. If not, let him expect mischief from his Adversaries. A Freeman need C. 73. Be
"not pay with a Slave (except to buy off Capital Enmities or deadly Feuds) C. 73. Be
"neither a Slave with a Freeman. The next ordains concerning stolen Goods, C. 73. Be
"If they be found with another Man, and the Seller will neither own the Goods C. 73. Be
"nor that he sold them, and yet confesses that he sold the Party some other things, C. 73. Be
"in such case it must lye upon the Buyer to prove, that he sold him these very C. 73. Be
"Goods and none other. The seventy fifth and the last is concerning him that C. 73. Be
"kills ones Godfather or Godson, That, he pay as much to the Kindred of the C. 73. Be
"slain,

"slain, as ought to be paid to the Lord for the loss of his Servant. And the Pay-
"ment mu't be more or less according to the value of him that was slain, and
"that which was to be made to the Lord for his loss. But in case it was the
"King's Godson that was slain, satisfaction must be made to him aswell as the
"Kindred. In case a Kinsman slew him, abatement must be made of what is to
"be paid to his Godfather, as if it had been to his Lord. If the slain was the
"Son of a Bishop, abatement must be made of the half.

86. These are the Laws of King *Ina*, which we have transcribed, because they
are the first of the *English* Nation, now extant: of such as follow we shall make
mention with relation unto them. The next Legistatour after *Ina*, was *Offa* King
of the *Mercians*, whom we may very well take for Author of the *Mercian*
Law, and not *Martia* the Widow of *Guenhelin* King of *Britain*, though some
fancie her to have enacted it while she held the Regency of the Kingdom in the
Minority of her Son, about three Hundred and fifty Years before the Birth of
our Saviour. That *Offa* the King of the *Mercians*, made Laws is evident from
the Preface of King *Alfred* to such as he enacted, though now there be no Body
of them extant. For the next Legistatour after *Offa* was *Alfred* himself, to whom
St. *Henry Spelman* gives the Epithetes of *Pius*, *Inclitus*, *Felix*, and, amongst per-
petual and most bitter troubles, of *Victor* and *Triumphator*; *Alfred* never sufficiently
to be commended King also of the *West Saxons*, but to whom all both *English* and
Saxons voluntarily submitted themselves, to whom also *Guthrum* the *Danish* King
swore obedience, and held the Provinces of the East *English* and *Northumbrians*
as his Vassal. He himself tells us in the Conclusion of his Religious preface, "That
whatsoever he found worthy of Observation, either in the time of *Ina* his Kins-
man, or of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, or of *Ethelbert* the first Christened King, he
gathered them all together, and omitted the rest, in which work he used the
advice, and had the consent of the wisest Men about him. Having revised the
Laws of these Princes, he transcribed such of them as he liked into his own, and
by consent of those Wisemen he used Collection, commanded them to be observed
by all *English* Men, under which Name the *Saxons* and *Jutes* were then included.

87. The first of his Laws commands, an Oath and a pledge to be strictly re-
garded. "If any by necessity was compelled to swear or depostite a pledge, where-
by he is bound either to lay snares for his own Lord or unjustly to assist any
Person, he is advised to recede, rather than to stand to his obligation. But in case
he engaged to perform any thing which might justly be done, and doth not doe
"it, his Arms and all his Fortunes are to be put into the Hands of his Friends,
"and he is to be put into the King's Prison for forty days, till he undergoe that
punishment, which the Bishop according to his Deserts shall lay upon him: If he
have not wherewith to sustain himself in the mean while, his Kindred are to
provide him Victuals, if they be not in condition, the King's Officer must doe it.
"If by force he be constrained to give up his Arms, he must forfeit both his
Arms and all his Estate, and if in making resistance he dye, nothing is to be paid
as the valuation of his Head. In case he fly before his time be out and be taken, he
is to be returned back again to prison for other forty days. If he escape he is to
have no benefit of the Laws, and to be excommunicated in all Churches. If
any ingaged for him he must pay his forfeit, and undergo such penance as the
Priest shall set him. The second bears the Title of the immunity of the Church,
and we shall speak of it in the Ecclesiastical concerns. The third is con-
cerning the breach of Suretyship. "If the Suretyship was in behalf of the King, the breach
satisfaction must be made according to the *Mercian* Penies. The Violati-
"farther punished by a mult of five pounds of *Mercian* Penies. The Violati-
"on of Suretyship, or the Peace, made to an Archbishop, is punished by a fine of
"three pounds, to Bishops or Senators (*Balderns*) by one of two. The fourth
Law, "upon one that either by himself alone or by his Servants, and *Affas*
"nates, lays treacherously in wait against the life or safety of the King, inflicts the
"loss of life and fortunes. If he will purge himself he may doe it with respect to
"the Valuation of the King's Head. The same is to be observed in all Degrees of
"Men, whether *Noblemen or Countrey men. Whosoever conspires against his
"Lord, let him be punished with loss of life and fortunes, or else pay the Valua-
"tion of his Lord's Head.

eos ordo vel gradus quamvis Ceopl non nunquam pro marito usurpetur, hinc Ceoplan pro nuptum dari.

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88. The seventh Law "To the sixth of *Ina*, which gives the King Power C. 7. Be *en*
"of life and death over him that fights in the Court, gives the same Power over *te mon*
"him, that shall but draw his Weapon in the same place. Farther provides that *on cym-*
"If the Offender flye and be taken, he pay the value of his Head, and according *ger healle*
"to his offence farther be punished by the payment of a Mulct, or the Value of *sepeohre 7*
"his Head. The ninth ordains, "That if one kill a Woman with Child he pay *C. 9. Be*
"the full Value of her Head, besides half the value of the Head of one of her *don te*
"Husband's Children. If the value of the Head come not to thirty shillings it is *mon of fea*
"to be made up, and a farther Mulct of an Hundred and twenty shillings to be *beann eac-*
"imposed. And whereas formerly such were more grievously punished as stole *neud pif 7*
"Gold, Stallions or Bees, and other more heavy Mulcts were imposed upon other
"Offenders, by this Law the same respect shall be had to all; onely he that steals
"a Man shall pay an hundred and twenty shillings. The tenth requires, that "He *C. 10. Be*
"that lies with the Wife of a Man whose cenor or value of his Head, is twelve pence *ponlege*
"Hundred shillings, pay the Summ of one Hundred and twenty shillings to him for *rum 7*
"the offence. If the Man's value be six hundred, that the offender pay to him an *hundred*
"hundred shillings. He that lies with the Wife of a Court or Countreyman shall pay *fourty*
"forty shillings; for payment of which, if need be, all a Man's Cattel are to be *fold,*
"fold, but no Mankind. The next wills, "That if any one wantonly handles *C. 11.*
"the Breasts of a Countreyman's Wife, he pay down to the Woman five shillings: *if he cast*
"if he cast her down upon the ground, but lies not with her, ten shillings; if he *enjoys her,*
"enjoys her, sixty shillings. If another had committed Adultery with her before, *one half of this*
"one half of this Mulct is to be paid. If he be sued for it, either according to the *rate of sixty*
"rate of sixty Hides, he must purge himself or pay down half of the Fine. If *violence be*
"violence be offered to a Woman of greater Birth, the Mulct is to be increased *according to the*
"according to the valuation of her Head.

89. The twelfth Law, concerning *Burning of Wood*, alters the forty third of *Ina*, C. 12. Be
"concerning this Subject, "Imposing upon him that shall get fire to the Trees of *puce bep-*
"another man, or sell them without his leave, for every greater Tree a Mulct of five *netze 7*
"shillings, for every smaller five pence, besides a fine of thirty shillings. That which *C. 13. Be*
"follows willerth, "That if in felling a Tree a Man accidentally be slain, the Kin- *don te*
"dred of the slain shall have the Tree, if within thirty days they fetch it off the *kin-mon of fea*
"ground; otherwise it is to remain with the owner of the Wood. By the four- *ty*
"teenth, "The Father of a dumb or deaf Man, is to repair the Damages caused *sumbra*
"by him. By the fifteenth, "Fighting in the presence of an Archbishop, or *manna*
"or Senator with one of an hundred. By the next, "such as steal a Mare or a *bazum 7*
"Cow, and drive away Foal or Calf from them are to pay the Value of the *C. 15. Be*
"Mare or Cow, and farther a Mulct of forty shillings. The seventeenth requires, *sepeoh-*
"That if a Man borrow any Cattel which chance to dye in his Hands, if thereto *don te*
"required he make oath, that he is not guilty of any fraud as to the death of *mon myne*
"the Beast. The Nineteenth ordains, "That if one Man lend to another any *of cu fon-*
"Weapon to kill a third Person, both of them if they please may pay the Valua- *tion of his*
"tion of his Head. If they refuse to doe it together, that he that lent the Wea- *C. 17. Be*
"pon, himself lay down the third part, and then he may make faith, that he *don te*
"meant no harm when he lent out the Weapon. The latter part of the Law, *of his hir*
"Commands restitution to be made of such Swords or other Weapons as have *unmagum*
"been put into the Hands of Artificers, onely for mending or making into other *of hys*
"sorts of Instruments. The two and twentieth Orders, "That if a Man sue *don te*
"another before the King's Officer in *Folcmote*, and afterwards let fall his *heope rap-*
"Action, he make it appear if he can where the Right lies, or otherwise be fined *ne enap*
"the value of the thing. The next in order is concerning the "Biting of a Dog *to man-*
"imposing a mulct of six shillings upon his Master if he still keep him, for the *first*
"first offence, if he bite again of twelve shillings, and if the third time of thirty; *for ever*
"and now though the Dog be killed, yet is the fine to be paid. If he live and *antecur.*
"afterwards doe more mischief and his Master still keep him, he must either pay *C. 23. Be*
"the value of the Head, or make other Compensation according to the mischief *huncer ph-*
"done. That which follows is concerning Cattel, "if an Ox rent or wound a *te.*
"man he is to be seized, except the owner of him redeem him. The twenty *C. 24. Be*
"fifth, "Punisheth him that ravisheth the Maid-servant of a Countreyman, with *nyrena*
"the payment of six shillings to the man, and a mulct of sixty shillings besides; *myrsa sum,*
"a Man-Slave that lies with a She-Slave with the loss of his Member; and him *C. 25. Be*
"that ravishes a Virgin of tender Age, as him that lies with one of riper *nythamed.*
"years.

90. The twenty sixth Law inflicts Punishments upon those, "Who kill men *Sect. 12.*
"by Troops or Companies. If the slain innocent Party, or he that had received a *C. 26. Be*
"mortal wound, was valued at two Hundred shillings, he that slew him must pay *manlyht*
"the value of his Head and a Mulct; and every one that was in the Troop or *mo hlofe.*
"Company, must also pay thirty shillings. In case he was worth six Hundred
"shillings, every one in the Company must pay sixty shillings, and he that killed
"him pay the value of his Head, and the Mulct besides. If he was valued at
"twelve Hundred shillings, they must pay an hundred and twenty a-piece, and
"the slayer both the value and the mulct. In case every Man deny, that he gave
"the mortal wound, all are to be impeached together, and amongst them must
"pay both the Value and the Mulct. Now concerning these Troops or Compa-
"nies which our *Saxon* Ancestours called *Floshum*, how many Men made up one
"of them, the Reader may remember he was told by the fourteenth Law of King
"*Ina*: The twenty seventh orders, "That if a Man in a Quarrel killed another, *C. 27.*
"and had no Kindred by the Father's side, such Kindred as he hath by the Mo- *Be marg-*
"thers side, shall pay the third part of the value of the Head, another third those of *rum mon*
"his Gild or Society, and for the third he is to suffer banishment. In case he have *no*
"Kindred neither on his Mothers side, those of his Gild must pay one half and he be *gegylean.*
"banished for the other. If he that was slain had no Kindred, one half of the value *A Saxon*
"his Head is to be paid to the King, and the other half to those of his Gild or Society. *apococa olla*
"Those of his Gild in *Saxon* called *Gegylan*, were so named from *Gylde* signifying to *and jellen*
"pay, as much as one would pay *Fellow Paymasters*. And they were so called for two *bullire.*
"Causes, first because they contributed Money according to the Custom, together
"with their Fellows that had killed a Man, viz. The valuation of the Head of the slain
"as they also received money for a slain Brother of their *Gylde*. Another was because
"they contributed toward publick Feasts, which at certain times they observed. Hence
"afterward in the Laws of King *Henry the First*, they are called *Crocca Cowelle*, as
"those whole *Pot boils* together. In *Germany* the *Bores* call their publick Feasts by the
"Name of *Gilde*, to which all contribute. A Society or Company in *Saxon* is called
"*Geboerdscepe* and *Gylde*, in the low Countries *Gildchap*, and hence comes our
"more modern Name of *Gilde*, used to express free Societies of Religious men, as
"also of Tradesmen and Artificers, which now we call *Companies*, and moreover of
"*Gildhall*, the place of their Meetings and judicial Assemblies.

91. The twenty eighth Law of *Alfred* was made against the *Spreaders of false*
"*News*, and commands that "such being convicted, be not slightly punished, but *Bepole lea-*
"their * Tongues cut out except they redeem them by payment of the whole *runsum ge-*
"value of their Heads. The thirtieth orders that "Merchants when they land, *pyphum.*
"bring such as come ashore with them before the King's Officer in *Folcmote*, and *bonnelum*
"declare their number, and then keep them with them that they may be ready *mon accopy*
"to answer any thing that shall be demanded of them in *Folcmote*. And if our *sa tungan*
"of necessity they bring many with them from Sea, into the Haven thereof, *C. 30.*
"they are also to certifie the King's Officer in that Assembly. Considering the *Be Cym-*
"dangerous times wherein King *Alfred* lived, when was such flocking of strangers *man cyppum.*
"into *England*, this Law seems very prudently made. The one and thirtieth in- *C. 31.*
"flicts "upon him that shall put into bonds a Countreyman who no such thing *larger man-*
"deserves, a mulct of ten shillings, upon him that beats such an one, twenty *ner bunte-*
"shillings; if he hang him up aloft, thirty shillings. If he clip his hair like a *lan.*
"fool, ten shillings; if he shave his head like a Priest and bind him not, thirty *C. 32.*
"shillings: In case he cut his beard, twenty shillings; and if he bind him and *Be rperer*
"cut his hair like a Priest, fifty shillings. That which follows "requires of *symleac-*
"him who carries on his back a spear so negligently that another by chance falls *te.*
"upon it, the value of his head without a mulct: but in case he bore the head
"of the spear in his hand and another falls upon it, the Law imposes a mulct
"upon him. If he be accused to have done it on purpose, it's lawful for him
"to clear himself according to the nature of the mulct; if the point of the spear
"was three fingers higher than that part behind his back; if the point and all
"the rest of the spear was of the same height it blames him not. The next di- *C. 33.*
"rects that if "a servant pass from one place to another, he must doe it with the *Be bologe-*
"knowledge of the Alderman or Governour of that County where he former- *taele.*
"ly served. Otherwise, he that receives him into his Family must forfeit an
"hundred and twenty shillings to the King, whereof one half to be paid in the
"Countrey whence the servant came, and the other in that where he is now re-
"ceived. And in case before his removal he committed any fault, he that last
"received him must make amends, and fine to the King an hundred and twenty
"shillings besides.

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92. The thirty fourth Law "Impofes upon him that fhall ftrike or fight in *C. 34.* *Be gepeoth* before the King's Alderman, both the value of his own head and fuch *be: pojan* "a fine beides as fhall be thought fit, beides an hundred and twenty fhillings to *caldojimen.* "be paid to the Alderman, upon him that by his weapons fhall make any diftur-
 "bance in *Folkmoete*, a mulct of an hundred and twenty fhillings to the Alder-
 "man. If he be not prefent, but the thing be done before his Substitute or the
 "King's Prieft, an amerciament of thirty fhillings. Here by the *King's Prieft* is
 "meant the *Bifhop*, as we may very well conjecture, who, as we formerly faid, in
 "thofe times prefided alfo in *Folkmoetes*, and there difpatched bufinefs relating to the
 "Church. The thirty fifth ordains that "He that fights at the Homeftall of a *C. 35.*
 "Countryman, pay the faid Countryman fix fhillings; if he drew his Sword, *Be Cynbir-*
 "but ftruck not, half as much. If the offence be committed in the Homeftall *cer monner*
 "of a man valued at fix hundred fhillings, three times as much is to be paid as *flexce ge-*
 "laid upon him that fights in that of a Countryman; if it be done at the *Feolthe.*
 "Houfe of a Man valued at twelve hundred fhillings, the double of that which is
 "to be paid for fighting in the Yard of one valued at five hundred. The thirty *C. 36.*
 "fixth Law of *Burhlice* or breach of the Peace in a Town "confirms that part of *Be buph-*
 "King *Ine's* forty fifth Law of this Subject; for what concerns the breach of bynce.
 "the Peace in the King's Town or City, impofing upon the offender the fame *cynger*
 "mulct of an hundred and twenty fhillings. But if it be done in the Archbi- *buphbyce.*
 "shops Town, a mulct of ninety fhillings; in that of a Bifhop or Alderman *Apecebyce-*
 "fixty fhillings. In the Town of a Man valued at twelve hundred fhillings, a *ofer buph-*
 "fine of thirty fhillings; half as much if done in the Village of one worth but *bynce.*
 "half as much. Him that breaks the Hedge of a Countryman, it fines five *Ceopler eo-*
 "fhillings; and double the fum, if it be done during an expedition in War, or *tonbynce.*
 "in time of Lent. Him that in time of Lent draws the Holy Courtain before
 "the People without leave, it fines an hundred and twenty fhillings.

93. The thirty feventh, is that Law concerning *Bocland*, which we have already
 "occasionally mentioned. By virtue hereof "He that holds fuch Lands left him by *C. 37.*
 "his Anceftours, hath no power to alienate it from his Heirs to others, in cafe *Be Boc-*
 "it can be proved by writing or testimony before the King or Bifhop, his Kin- *lanbe.*
 "dred being prefent, that he who firft granted it, forbade him all alienation,
 "and laid on him this condition. Upon occafion of this Law, Mr. *Selden* tells
 "our common Lawyers, that here they may behold *Fee-tail*, much more ancient
 "than the thirteenth year of *Edward* the Firft. The thirty eighth concerning
 "quarrels or deadly feuds "Forbids any Man to attacke his Enemy, if he find
 "him in his Houfe, except he firft demand of him what is right. If he can Be- *C. 38.*
 "fiege the Houfe, he may doe it for feven days, during which time, if he give up *Be gepeoth-*
 "himfelf and his Arms into his hands, he may keep him thirty days, but then *ce alius*
 "offer him fafe and found to his Kindred and Friends. In cafe he fyfle to a Church, *Feaje.*
 "the honour of the Church muft be preferved: If he cannot Befiege him, he
 "may defire the affiftence of the Alderman, which if he cannot obtain, he muft
 "go to the King. If any one by chance light upon his adverfary, knowing
 "not that he keeps himfelf at home, and the other will deliver up his Arms to
 "him, he fhall keep him fafe thirty days, and then offer him to his Friends.
 "But in cafe he will not deliver up his Arms, then may he infantly force him.
 "In cafe he be willing to deliver up himfelf and his Arms to his Enemy,
 "and any other Man fets upon him, let fuch a Man pay the value of his head,
 "or give fatisfaction for his wounds if any be given him, according
 "to the fact, beides, let him be fined, and loofe all that may fall to him by rea-
 "fon of Kindred. A Servant may lawfully fight for his Mafter if any one fet
 "upon him, and a Mafter for his Servant. In like manner, if any one unjuftly
 "fall upon ones near Kinfman, he may fight for him againft all men, except his
 "Lord, which is not to be fuffered. It may be lawful alfo for any to fet upon
 "him whom he finds locked up under the fame covering with his Wife, or with
 "his own Daughter, his Sifter or his Mother, lawfully Married to his Father.

94. The laft of thefe Laws of King *Alfred*, is concerning wounds and mains, *C. 40.*
 "which though fomething long, we fhall add to the former. "If any Man wound *Bejundum.*
 "another in the head, fo as the bone on both fides be pierced, let him pay to
 "the wounded thirty fhillings: If the outward bone onely be pierced, fifteen
 "fhillings. If the Man be wounded to the quantity of an Inch under the hair,
 "let the mulct be one fhilling; but if the wound was beides the hair, two fhil-
 "lings. If an Ear be cut off, thirty fhillings; in cafe the hearing be loft by the
 "wound, fixty fhillings. He that digs out the Eyes of another, let him pay fixty
 "fix

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"fix fhillings fix pence, and the third part of a penny; but in cafe the Eye be
 "fill in the head, yet fo wounded that the fight is loft, let the third part of the
 "mulct be abated. Let him that cuts off a Nofe pay fixty fhillings. Him that
 "ftrikes out the firft Teeth, eight fhillings to the fufferer; if thofe called the
 "Wang-teeth (*Dentes Canini*) be ftrucken out, four fhillings; if the Grinders,
 "fixteen fhillings. He that wounds another on the Cheek, let him pay fifteen
 "fhillings; that cleaves his Chin-bone, twelve fhillings; that pierces the Throat, *Be hwyte*
 "twelve fhillings. He that cuts out the Tongue as much as he that pulls out the *pongeop.*
 "Eye. He that wounds in the Shoulder to the breaking of the Member, thirty
 "fhillings; that breaks an Arme above the Elbow, fifteen fhillings; that breaks
 "both the bones of the Arme, thirty fhillings. Let him that cuts off a Thumb,
 "forfeit to the Party thirty fhillings: that cuts off the nail of a Thumb, five
 "fhillings: he that cuts off the firft Finger let him pay fifteen fhillings: the nail
 "of this Finger, four fhillings; if the middle or longeft Finger, twelve fhil-
 "lings; if the nail of it, two fhillings; if it be the Ring-finger, feventeen fhil-
 "lings; if the nail, four fhillings; if the little Finger, nine fhillings; if its nail
 "only one fhilling.

95. "If one receive a wound in the Belly, let him receive from the offender
 "thirty fhillings; and if the weapon pierced through the Belly, twenty fhillings
 "for each Orifice. If a Man be run through the Thigh, he that did it fhall pay
 "him thirty fhillings, and if the bone be hurt, other thirty fhillings. He that
 "pierces a Man through the Leg, let him pay the wounded Party twelve fhil-
 "lings; but if the bone be broke, thirty fhillings. If one Man cut off the great
 "Toe of another he fhall pay him twenty fhillings; if the next to that, fifteen
 "fhillings; if the third, nine fhillings; if the fourth, fix fhillings; and if the
 "leaf, five fhillings. If a Man be fo wounded in the Genitals, that the faculty
 "of procreation be thereby taken away, the offender fhall pay him eighty fhil-
 "lings. He that cuts off an Arme fhall incur the mulct of eighty fhillings. Let
 "the punishment for every wound, beides the Hair and the Sleeve, and beneath
 "the Knee, be doubled. He that breaks a Mans Loins fhall pay him fixty fhil-
 "lings; if he prick them with a weapon, fifteen fhillings, if he pierce them
 "through, thirty fhillings. If a Man receive a wound on his fhoulder he fhall
 "receive eighty fhillings: If the outward part of his Hand be bruifed or wound-
 "ded, yet fo as it may be cured, twenty fhilling; but if he loofe half of his
 "Hand, fixty fhillings. If a Rib be broken, though the Skin be whole, the of-
 "fender fhall pay ten fhillings, but if the Skin be broke and fome bones be forced
 "out, fifteen fhillings. If an Eye be pulled out, an Hand or a Foot cut off; let
 "there be the fame penalty, viz. fixty fix fhillings, fix pence and the third part
 "of a penny. If the Leg be cut off above the Knee, the mulct fhall be eighty
 "fhillings; if the Shoulder-blade be cut off, twenty fhillings; if it be bruifed fo
 "that bones come out, fifteen fhillings; if the greater Sinews be cut, yet fo as
 "they may be healed, twelve fhillings; but if the Party fall lame and his lame-
 "nefs cannot be cured, thirty fhillings; if the fmaller Sinews be cut, fix fhil-
 "lings. If a Man receive a wound on his Neck, fo that all his life he goes in-
 "firm and deformed, let the offender by way of Compensation pay him an
 "hundred fhillings, except in the opinion of wife Men more ought to be given
 "to him. Thefe be the Laws of King *Alfred*, made by himfelf and his wife
 "Men; for the Government of all his Subjects. In the League betwixt him and
 "*Guthrun* the Dane, there were others made by the content of both Nations;
 "whereof fuch as refpect the Civil ftate we have already mentioned in the History
 "of *Alfred's* Life. The reft which refpect matters Ecclefiaftical, muft to fuch
 "matters be referred.

96. The next Legislatour in order of our *English* Saxon Kings, was *Edward* the
 "Elder, the Son and Succellour of glorious King *Alfred*. In the Preface to his
 "Laws, he ftrictly charges and commands all his Officers,
 "that as much as in them lies, they doe Juftice according "as it
 "ftands in the Judicial Book, and without all fear boldly
 "difpence the Common Law, and that they fet and appoint
 "certain days for Determination of the feveral Caufes de-
 "pending before them. The firft Law is concerning Traf-
 "fic, and in way of confirmation of the fourth Article of
 "the League made betwixt his Father and the *Danifh* King
 "*Guthrun* ordains that If a Man buy any things, he have one
 "that will vouch, warrantize, and make good the fale. That no

Be come 71 pence.

"I have on. Scilicet boni bec ryan-
 "do. De iſto libro Judiciali frequen-
 "ter in his legibus mentio nec tamen conſtat
 "quis fuerit. Ex illorum legibus Decreta
 "Judiciorum Compilavit. Alſtedius etiam
 "prodit Alſtedium Judicialium decreta Sax-
 "onum mandataſque leges.

C. 1. Be Ceapunge.

Sect. 12. Man without the Town buy any thing, but (a) have the Portreeve for witness, or other Men worthy of Credit, otherwise he shall (b) undergoe the penalty of Contumacy against the King, and the vouching or warrantizing shall also proceed from one to another till it be ended; we farther ordain that whosoever calleth to warrantize a Party of whom he bought the thing, in question, either produce his Testimony that he did rightly call him, or by interposition of his Oath satisfy the Demandant. In the same manner we determine concerning that was ones own; for if he contend that it was not received from elsewhere, but was his own, and so used it, let him either produce his Witnesses, or with some other persons (if he can) not chosen on purpose, let him swear that the thing is not the Demandant's. If he cannot doe it, let six Men be summoned out of the Neighbourhood, and one Man swear for every Cow, or any thing of such a value, or more if the thing be of a greater price. We farther Decree, that if any Pawn another Man's Goods, he take his Oath that he did it not deceitfully, but without all fraud and evil design: then let him with whom the Goods shall be found be at his choice, whether he will plead that they are his own, or go to Vouching. This calling to Vouching or Warrantizing, our English Saxons expressed by the word *Team*, which properly signifies *Propagare, Soboles*, or *Offspring*, but secondarily, and by way of translation, to make known, call forth or produce another. In reference to the matter in hand: it was the Custom of the Ancients, that if one had sold to another any stolen Goods, and this Man had alienated them to a third, and the third to a fourth, &c. yet might the true owner seize them wherever he found them. Then was he with whom they were found obliged to produce him that sold them to him, to own and make good the Sale, which in Latin they term *Advocare*. Then was he that was thus called out or produced (*Advocatus Causæ*) bound to produce his Chapman also of whom he bought the Goods, and this Chapman another, till at length they came to the Thief himself. From this continuation and progress from one to another, it had the Name of *Team*, as in the Old Norman Law French, *Poucher al Garantie*; so hence in Barbarous Latin come *Garandia, Garantia, Garantum, Garantizare* and *Garantizare*, otherwise written *Warrantia, Warrantum*, and *Warrantizare*, the Root of all which, seems to be the Saxon word *Waran*, which signifies to defend. For the French instead of the Saxon *W*, always use *G*, and all these words have their proper signification amongst the Lawyers of England, France and Germany, which no one Roman or Latin word can express. As for the Portreeve mentioned in this Law, it signifies the Chief Governour of a City or Town, he of London and many other Cities in ancient times being known by this Title.

97. The second of King Edward's Laws ordains, that Whosoever denies another Man his Right, either in Bocland or Folcland, demanding it before the King's Justice, whereas he hath no Right in either of these sorts of Land, shall pay to the King for the first offence thirty shillings, as much for the second; and if he offend the third time, that he pay an hundred and twenty shillings for his Contumacy against the King. The third determines of One that hath sworn himself, or born false witness, that no credit be given to him for the time to come, and that he be put to Ordeal. The fourth declares, that King Edward lying at Exeter, and confuting with his Wifemen, studiously enquired by what means he might best provide for Peace and Tranquillity, for he perceived that these things were not so much regarded as they ought to be, and as he had ordained. He intreated therefore and required all that would be corrected and amended, and would with him enjoy common society, and would prosecute with love and hatred the same things as he did both by Sea and Land; that they would look to this one thing, viz. that they did injury to no Man. He that doeth contrary let him (as was formerly ordained) pay thirty shillings to the King; if he offend the second time, as much; and if the third, an hundred and twenty shillings. The fifth commands, that That Reeve or Judge that doeth not Justice according to the Testimony of such as are summoned, pay an hundred and twenty shillings for his contumacy against the King. The sixth wills, That if a servant be accused of Theft, be that recommended him to his Master, or other of his Friends (if any he have) be sureties

(a) Ac hæbbe þæ hæfendes geþenyrre. (b) Ðærre he cenn-ge oðerþynnyrre cenn-ge team ðeah forþ, &c.

team.
Team propagare team soboles & hinc team tam pro sequela quam vocant natiuorum vel mancipiorum propagine de qua prius quam pro advocacione auctoribus laudatione vel productione. Hinc etiam parum Team dicimus, a reemung Woman.

Advocatio alio finit offitius paronatus vel presentandi, iustitibus vulgo ad vocem.

Vide Lombard. Glossar. in voc. Advocare, Spelman. in voc. Garantia & Somneri in v. Advocare.

C. 2.
Be ðone
Be oþrum
nabæc
þynny.

C. 3.
Be many-
þopenum.
C. 4.
Be þynþe.

C. 5. Be geþeþan þe mæt nūc ne amange.

C. 6. Be ðyrþe betegenum.

ties for him, that he discharge himself of what is deposited against him. If he have none to interpose on his behalf, those that are concerned may seize his Goods. If he have neither Goods nor Friends, let him be taken into Custody. The seventh absolutely requires, that Those always be had in readiness that will not go to their own Homes, and that for no reward they be protected.

98. The eighth Law enjoins that "No man knowingly and voluntarily, have peace with or harbour one that is condemned for a Crime: he that acts contrary and thereby breaks his Oath and the faith given by him, and all the People, let him undergoe the Mulest prescribed in the Judiciary Book. That if he refuse to pay, he is to be deprived of the King's and all other Mens friendship, and farther forfeit all his Estate. And if any afterwards relieve him, let him also incur the penalty expressed in the said Judiciary Book. Farther, faith he, whosoever shall relieve a fugitive either in this our coast, or in the Eastern or Northern parts of the Kingdom, let him be punished as in the Articles of Peace is ordained. That which follows provides that, if one deprived of liberty for stealing, steal again and all his kindred forsake him, so that none will engage for him, he be set to servile works as opportunity shall be, and his kindred loose the Valuation Be of his Head. The tenth Law "forbids any Man to receive another Man's Service without his leave, and he hath fully satisfied his Master: he that doeth otherwise must be punished as Contumacious against the King. The eleventh and last commands that "about every fourth Week every Reeve, or Judge, hold the Gemote or Asssembly, Administer Justice to every Man, and determine all causes at the appointed days. If he do otherwise he is to be punished as was before said. These are the Laws made by King Edward the Elder himself. After them follows the league made betwixt him and Guthrum the Dane consisting of such matters as had been formerly agreed of betwixt the said Guthrum and King Alfred which we have already mentioned, at such times as the English and Danes made Peace and embraced one another. These Articles were often afterward repeated by wifemen, and to the common utility of the Realm, as the Preface words it, increased and amplified. But sofar as they respect Religion we must as before we hinted refer them to another place.

99. The next Legislator after King Edward the Elder was King Athelstan his Son. After a Religious Preface, the first Law he enacts is against Thieves, requiring that "If a Thief be taken in the fact, no Man spare him if he be above twelve years old, and have stole any thing above the value of eight pence: if any one do contrarily he shall pay the value of the Thief's Head, or make amends for the fault, and yet for all that the Thief shall not be spared, who if he contumaciously make resistance, or fly for it, for the time to come shall obtain no favour: a Thief cast into Prison, shall there stay forty days, and then after the payment of an hundred and twenty shillings, be discharged. But the kindred must give security for his good behaviour, after which if he steal again, they must either pay the value of his Head, or bring him back to Prison; and in case any one resist them he shall pay to the King, or to any other it concerns the value of his own Head, and if any stand by him, he shall pay to the King an hundred and twenty shillings. The second is against such as have no Masters, or ordaining, that "of those that are not of any Man's family, and consequently none can have right against them, the kindred shall give caution for their just demeaning of themselves and in Folcmote put them into some ones service: which if they will not or cannot do, let such Masterless men be esteemed as fugitives, and be beaten as Thieves, as they are light upon. If any one afterward relieve them let him pay the value of his Head, or according to that value, discharge himself of the guilt. But the third commands that "if a Master denies to do another man right and defends a naughty and knavish Servant, so that of him complaint is made to the King, he pay the value of the thing in demand, and farther to the King forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings. But in case any make complaint to the King, before he demand his right as is prescribed, he shall incur the like Mulest as the other should have done for denying Justice. If the Master be convicted to have been privy to the Theft of his Servant, he shall loose his Servant and pay the value of his own Head for the first offence, for the second shall loose all he hath. The same punishment shall the King's Treasurers and Reeves undergo if guilty of the same offence. The fourth ordains concerning such as conspire against their Masters, that if thereof legally accused, and if the fact cannot be denied, the offender being convicted by threefold Ordeal, it shall be Capital.

Sect. 12.

C. 7.
Be ðon ðe hecan agen nyl-
lon.

C. 8.
Be ðon ðe hecan agen nyl-
lon.

C. 9.
Be ðon ðe hecan agen nyl-
lon.

C. 10.
Be ðon ðe hecan agen nyl-
lon.

C. 11.
Be ðon ðe hecan agen nyl-
lon.

C. 1. Sax.
Be ðon ðe hecan agen nyl-
lon.

C. 2. Sax.
Be ðon ðe hecan agen nyl-
lon.

C. 3. Sax.
Be ðon ðe hecan agen nyl-
lon.

C. 4. Sax.
Be ðon ðe hecan agen nyl-
lon.

Sect. 12.

100. The sixth Law of King *Æthelstan* is against "Witchcrafts, Inchantments and such like deeds as procure Death, that if any one by those that use them be made away and the thing cannot be denied, such practitioners shall be put to death, if they endeavour to purgethemselves and be cast by the threefold Ordeal, let them lie in Prison, an hundred and twenty days, which ended let their kindred redeem them by the payment of an hundred and twenty shillings to the King, and farther pay to the kindred of the slain, the full valuation of the parties Head. And then must the criminals procure Sureties for their good deportment for the time to come. The same punishment shall be inflicted on Incendiaries and such as rescue Thieves. Nay let such as endeavour to rescue them, though no Man be wounded in the attempt, pay an hundred and twenty shillings to the King. As for Inchantments mentioned in this Law, the Saxon word is *Liblaccam* which signifies the Art of Conjurat[i]on or Witchcraft, yet not all in General, but that sort of it properly called *Fascinat[i]on*, or Inchantment used with certain *Ligatures, Fascie* or *Bands*. The Romans called this sort *Obligamentum Magicum, Phylacteria* and *Ligaturæ*. Hence *Neitere* came to be a Magical word, as in that verse of *Virgil, Neite tribus nodis ternos Amarylli colores*. This he wrote, as *Turnebus* observes, from the Ancient Customs of Inchantments wherein were reckoned knots, bands and necessities. In those matters also the word *Ligare* came to be used. And as *Isidore* writes, to these things belong *Ligatures* of exorcisable Medicines which the Art of Physick condemns, whether in precat[i]ons, Characters or in any other things to be hung and bound about one, in all which is the Art of Devils sprung from a certain pestiferous society, or compact of evil Men and Angels. Upon which account they are all to be thunned by Christians to be rejected and condemned, with all execration possible.

101. The seventh of King *Æthelstan's* Laws ordains concerning *simple Ordeal* that "If one accused several times of Theft be cast by it, and have no body to be surety for him, he be sent to Prison, and thence freed by his kindred, as was before said. The eighth appoints that "If any man having no House nor Land of his own, goes to serve in another Shire, and returning to the place whence he came to see his Friends, doeth any mischief, he that received him shall give caution that he shall be ready to make satisfaction, or else doe it himself to the party aggrieved. The ninth provides that If any one challenge Cattel as his own in another Man's hands, five Men out of their Neighbourhood shall be called, whereof one shall swear that he rightly challenges them. But if another Man contend they are his, twenty Men shall be taken out of his Neighbourhood, whereof two shall swear with him, that he bred them. This may be done without the Common Oath of all; but otherwise if the value of the thing exceed twenty pence. The tenth forbids any Commutation of Goods but in the presence of the Reeve, the Priest of the Town, or the Lord of the Soil, or some other credible Person, under the penalty of thirty shillings, and the forfeiture of the thing changed to the Lord of the Soil. And if any of these bear false witness, let him be infamous, or no credit be given to him ever after, and let him forfeit besides thirty shillings. The eleventh prescribes the manner of accusing a Thief that's killed. First let there be three in number (if they will take it upon them) two Kinsmen on the Father's side, and one on the Mother's, which shall swear, that they knew no reason why their Kinsman should have been slain upon the account of Theft. Then let there be twelve impanelled, which by their Oaths shall lay Theft to his charge, and then if the Kindred of the slain Party do not appear, those who first endeavoured to clear him of the crime shall each of them forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings. The twelfth confirms the first part of the Law of King *Edward the Elder*, Decreeing that no Man buy any thing out of Town which exceeds the value of twenty pence, but within the Town, in presence of the Portreeve, or some other creditable Person, or else in presence of the King's Reeve or Justice in *Folcmote*.

102. The thirteenth decrees, that "All Towns or Castles be repaired within fourteen days after the time of Procession or Perambulation, and that all Bargains be managed within the Town. The fourteenth appoints, that throughout the King's Dominions one and the same Money be current which shall not be Coined out of Town. If any Minter or Coiner imbase the Coin, let him loose his hand, which being cut off shall be

C. 6. Sax.
Be nices
caprum?
Jornal. C. c.
11. & 12.

A Saxon.
lyblac vo-
ce composita
a lya obligamentum &
lac musus, q.
manusligam-
entum & vim ha-
bens.
Vide Somnerum in Glos.
sur. c. Liblaccam.

C. 7. Sax.
Be aneal-
sum Opas-
For. c. 13.
C. 8. Sax.
Be lams la-
arum man-
num. Jor-
nal. c. 14.
C. 9. Sax.
Be sonne
& eype be
Jornal. c. 15.

C. 10. Sax.
Be yppa
gehyrpe.
C. 11. Sax.
Be son
rygsum.
Be base ev
ce bace ev
num. Jor-
nal. c. 16.
C. 12. Sax.
Be mon ne ce-
ard the Elder.
tan jopte.
Jornal. c. 17.

C. 13. Sax.
Be bugpa gebe-
tunge. Jor-
nal. c. 18.

C. 14. Sax.
Be mynetepum.
Jornal. c. 19.

C. 15. Sax.
Be ryclopyphum.
Jornal. c. 20.

C. 16. Sax.
Jornal. c. 21.

C. 17. Sax.
Jornal. c. 22.

C. 18. Sax.
Jornal. c. 23.

C. 19. Sax.
Jornal. c. 24.

C. 20. Sax.
Jornal. c. 25.

C. 21. Sax.
Jornal. c. 26.

C. 22. Sax.
Jornal. c. 27.

C. 23. Sax.
Jornal. c. 28.

"affixed to the Workhouse. If any be accused of adulterating Money, and will purge himself, let him by the Ordeal of hot Iron cleanse his hands of such wickedness, but if by the Ordeal he be cast, let him be punished as now was said. At *Canterbury* let there be seven Ministers of Coyners, whereof four for the King, two for the Bishop, and one for the Abbat. At *Rocheſter* let there be three, whereof two for the King, and the third for the Bishop. At *London* eight. At *Wincheſter* six. At *Lewes* two. At *Exceſter* two. At *Shaftsbury* as many. And in every other Town one. The next Law requires, that no Target be made of Sheep Skins under penalty of thirty shillings. That which follows commands, that for every Plough a Man keep two well-furnished Horsemen. The seventh ordains, that he that receives reward from a Thief, and thereby hinders another Man's Right, be amerced the full value of his Head. The eighteenth, forbids Horses to be transported, except such as be sent upon free Gift. The nineteenth ordains, that if a Servant be Cast by the Ordeal, the just and simple value of the thing be paid, that the Slave be thrice beaten; or if the full value of the thing be reiterated, this punishment is to be abated.

103. King *Æthelstan* by his twentieth Law enacts, that "If any one absent himself from *Folcmote* thrice, he be punished as contumacious against the King, so be that the Holding of the Assembly was declared a Seven-night before. If such case if he refuse to do right, and pays not his mulct to the King, the ancientest Men of the Country are to go and seize upon all he hath, and take security for his appearance. If any one refuse to go with his Neighbours for Execution of this Law, he is also to be punished as contumacious against the King, when the Assembly is opened let it be proclaimed, that all enjoy Peace whom the King will have to enjoy it, and that every one abstain from Theft upon pain of losing his Life and his Estate. And if afterward any one be guilty of Theft, let the ancientest men of the Country ride thither, and seize on all he hath, one half to the King, and another to their own use, and take security for his appearance, in case no security can be had, let his Person be seized; if he stubbornly make resistance, and fyve not, he may be killed. If any one concern himself for him, and kill a third Party, let the King and all that love him set themselves against such an one, and if any relieve him if he make his escape, let him be fined the value of his own Head, except he make it out that he knew not that he was a Fugitive, and then according to the value of the Fugitive's Head. The twenty first gives order, that if "any one would get off his punishment of Ordeal, if he be able to procure Pardons of the Party that received the Injury, but by no means that he escape the penalty inflicted by the Law. The twenty second confirmation of former Laws requires, that "No man receive another Man's man (as this Law words it) manner into his Family without leave first obtained of his Master. He that doeth otherwise shall restore the Man, and pay the mulct of Contumacy against the King. And no man is to put away his men that are accused of any Crime, till c. 28. & 29. they have first made satisfaction. By this it appears how ancient in this Nation, the Custom is of calling a Servant by the word used for the whole species, a thing proper man in use as well with the Romans, and others more ancient, as with modern People.

104. The twenty fourth concerning Traffick in Confirmation of former Laws c. 24. Sax. ordains, that "If a man buy any thing with witnesses, which another man chal- lenges for his own, the Seller make it good, and secure the bargain, whether he be bond or free. But on the Lord's day let no market be held, under penalty of forfeiture of the wares, and a mulct of thirty shillings besides. The next Law as a terror to such as shall forswear themselves commands, "That such being convicted shall not only not bear Testimony for the time to come, as People to whom no faith is to be given, but be forbidden also Christian burial, except the Bishop of the Diocese will certify, that he had done all things, that were enjoined him. Of this the Priest of the Place is within thirty days to give notice to the Bishop, or else to be punished as the ordinary shall think fit. last of these Laws gives directions, that in case any of the King's Officers refuse

Rendun supplicii formam, iis qui adulterium pertraxerunt nuntium, addito insuper, ut eorum abscederentur pudentes, ryclopyphum. Jornal. c. 20.

*C. 15. Be ryclopyphum. Jor-
nal. c. 20.*

C. 16. Sax. Jor. 21.

*C. 17. Sax. Be þam þær þeo-
ræ mib ræceate nimb. Jor. 22.*

C. 18. Sax. Be þoprum. Jor. 23.

*C. 19. Sax. Be þeopman þe ful
þurpe æt optale. Jor. c. 24.*

*C. 20. Sax.
Be þon þe
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 21. Sax.
Be þem þe
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 22. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 23. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 24. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 25. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 26. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 27. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 28. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 29. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 30. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 31. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 32. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 33. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 34. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 35. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

*C. 36. Sax.
Be þon
þeomþop-
rice. Jor. c.
25. & 26.*

Sect. 12.

to put these his Ordinances into Execution, or be remiss in his Administration, he be punished as Contumacious against the King, who will put in another that will be more careful of his Duty. The receiving of the Milt he commits to the Bishop of the Diocese. If any one contemn these his Laws and Commands, for the first offence he shall incur a penalty of five pounds, for the second the value of his own Head; and if he offend the third time forfeit all the Estate he hath, together with the Amity of the King and all his People. After this it follows, that these matters were settled and determined in the great Assembly at Great-leage, at which was present Archbishop Wulfhelm, together with all the Noble and Wiemen, that *Aethelstan* called together.

105. After these Laws follow others of this same King in the Saxon Edition to which *Aethelstan* preface in this manner. "I *Aethelstan* King, make known to all that I have diligently inquired the Cause why our Peace hath not been so well kept as I desired, and was formerly enacted at Great-leage, and from the most knowing Persons in my Kingdom I received this Answer, that it happened by reason of too much patience, and suffering Crimes to go unpunished. Moreover lately keeping *Christmas* at *Exeter*, and there attended by my Wiemen, I found them all most ready to venture themselves, their Wives and Children, to procure those Violators of the Peace, to procure these Violators of the Peace, to be so driven out of the Kingdom, that they might never return again into it; which if any of them should do, he should be punished as a Thief taken in the Fact. And in case any one cherish or hold correspondence with any of them or their Servants, they should forfeit both Life and Estate. For hence we believe it comes to pass, and for no other reason that Oaths are so often violated, suretyship is so commonly broken, and Pledges signify so little as they do. Then follows a Law injoyning, that if any one entertained in his House another Man's Servant, which he has removed from his Family for his misdemeanour, and as one he cannot govern, such an one pay the full value of the Servant's Head to his Master, and besides that a Milt of an hundred and twenty shillings to the King. But in case the Master of any Servant unjustly afflict and abuse him, let him purge himself if he can of what is laid to his charge in Folcmote, and then put himself into any other Family he please. For we graciously grant, that if such an one prove himself just and honest, he may serve whom he please. And if any Reeve or Judge pass this over, or unwillingly transacts it so as his fault be evidently proved, let him be punished as contumacious against the King, and if for a reward he hath perverted Justice, let him both be punished as contumacious against the King, and be farther noted with Infamy as was said before; let a Thane so offending be punished in the like manner; and let the Reeve or Judge chuse out Men faithful, and of Integrity the best he can light on within his Precincts, and make them Witnesses and Overseers of all Controversies. And according to the value of the thing of Controversie let the Oaths of honest men, without any picking or chusing of them be interposed. The second Law requires, that if one pursue any Cattel by their Footsteps, and find them in another Man's ground, the owner of the ground shall, if he can, trace their Footsteps to another Man's ground, if not the Footsteps of the Cattel in his Ground shall, when the owner comes to make out his right, be taken as much in evidence as a first Oath.

106. The next thing that follows relating to the Civil State, is the valuation of mens Heads, which we have often heard mentioned by the Laws, but never yet to what particularly it amounted. First then saith the Text. The valuation of the King's Head according to the Common Law of the English, is thirty thousand Thrymses, whereof fifteen thousand are properly the value of his Head, the rest being due for the Kingdom: the last fifteen belong to the Nation, the first to the Kindred. An Archbishop's or Earl's Weregild (as the Saxons called it) or valuation is fifteen thousand Thrymses. A Bishop's and Ealdorman's Eight thousand. A General's of an Army or an High Marshall's four thousand Thrymses. The valuation of a Spiritual Thane or Priest, as also of a Temporal Thane two thousand Thrymses. That of a Countreyman (Ceorl) by the Danish Law is two Hundred sixty seven Thrymses. If a Wellman grow so rich as to maintain a Family, have Land and pay yearly Rent to the King, he shall be valued at two Hundred and twenty shillings: if he possess half an Hide of Land, at Eighty shillings. If he have no Land, yet if he be a Freeman, the value of his Head shall be seventy shillings. If a Ceorl or Countreyman be so wealthy as to possess five Hides of Land, in case he be killed the price or value of his Life shall be two thousand Thrymses. But if he come to have a Corset, an Helmet and a gilt Sword, though he have no Land let him pass for a Sithbunden.

And

Clalle for
per gese-
ces on jam
miclan jyr-
nop æc
Greate-
leage, &c.

C. 1.
Be ðon of
Be ðon of
man unce-
rehyt.

C. 2.
Be ðon of
Be ðon of
type be-
rehyt.

Be þe þeum 7

The valuation
Of Mens Heads.
Of the King's
Of an Arch-
shop or Earl.
A Bishop or
Alderman.
Of a General.
Of a Spiritual
Thane or Priest.
Of a Countrey-
man or Ceorl.
Of a wealthy
Wellman.
A wealthy
Ceorl or Coun-
treymen.

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And if his Children or Grandchildren grew so rich as to possess five Hides of Land let all their Posterity be reckoned as so many Sithbunden, and be valued at two thousand Thrymses. The Mercians value a Countreyman at two Hundred shillings, a Thane at twelve Hundred. They are wont to equal the single value of a King's Head with six thousand of Thanes, that is thirty thousand Scats; for so much is the value of the King's Head, and as much more must be paid as a recompence for his death. The value of his Head belongs to his Kindred, and the Compensation of his death to the People. He that is valued at twelve Hundred shillings, his Oath shall be of the same esteem as those of six Countreymen, for were such an one slain, six Countreymen would satisfy over and above for the value, therefore let the value of him and all them be the same. By the English Law the Oaths of a Priest and a Thane are of the like esteem, and in respect of the seven Church Offices, to which by God's Gift he is risen, let his Place and Rank be equal with that of a Thane.

107. By these valuations of Heads from the highest to the lowest Rank, we may perceive, that in those ancient times punishments consisted rather in Mulcts than in Blood, contrary to our present Custom, whereby small offences in comparison (especially if reiterated) are become capital which whence it hath proceeded, whether from this Consideration that Crimes in latter Ages do more abound, or from other reasons is not evident. The Wisdom of Legislators is most seen in this, to ordain such Punishments, as by example and terror may best prevent those Crimes against which their Laws are enacted, no other end or design can be called properly theirs; this is that which vindicates their Punishments from the Imputation of Fury and Tyranny. And if less than Capital will do it, as Men and Christians, they ought to be sparing of blood, and as Politicians where the Country hath not too many Inhabitants. Therefore slavery, rowing in Gallies and digging in Mines, most Nations anciently preferred before Capital Executions, as those which would more terrify than death it self, especially high spirited Fellows, such as have spent their Fortunes, and whom shame of begging provokes to rob upon the High-ways. This was so much practised in the middle Ages, that the Law of the Bori tells us, that No offence is so great, but Life may be granted for the Fear of God. Amongst others the ancient Germans, and other Northern People who afterward gave Laws to Europe, punished the greater sort of Crimes and Homicide amongst the rest with Fines or Mulcts. For the Germans, Tacitus witnesseth, who writes that Homicide was expiated by a certain Number of Cattel, whereby all the House received satisfaction. For the Cimbri and Danes De bello Rib- even till the time of Christian the third, Crantzius produceth evidence. Our Saxon Ancestours as well as others, as we have seen by some of their Laws, deprived Persons of Liberty, and Mulcts generally they used, not commonly inflicting death upon Offenders, but where the value of the Head could not be paid, for the Murderer was bound to pay the value not of his own Head but of him he had slain, and according to the Crime sometimes a double, treble, nay nine or eighteen values. Their Mulcts or Fines were either greater or lesser. The Greater took away all or much of their substance, being the same with that which we call the valuation of the Head by them called Were, which word originally signifieth a Man, and this valuation or payment secondarily, and by way of Translation. The lesser sort of Mulcts they called Wite, which differed from Were both in this that it was less, as also in that it was uncertain, sometime more and sometime less, whereas the other was settled and constant, at least for some time. The first answers to the word Redemption, or as it is now used in English, Ranfome, and the last to Fine, and Amercement properly.

108. But by this Valuation of the Head or Were, men were distinguished into certain Classes or Ranks. Of these there were three, viz. The Lowest, the Middle and the Highest. The lowest consisted of such as were valued at two hundred Shillings, thence in Saxon called Twyhyndnemon, in Latin Vir Ducentenus. The middle were of such, whereof each was valued at six hundred shillings, called Sixhyndnemon and Vir Sexcentenus. The highest comprised those that were valued at twelve hundred shillings apiece, thence termed Twelfhyndnemon and Duodecenes. In like manner their Wives were termed Ceorlissa or Twyhynda, (for Ceorl and Twyhynda were the same) as also Syxhynda and Twelfhynda. Hence comes it to pass, that from these Classes, going by Hundreds, the word Hyndene is in-

Men distin-
guished by
Were.

Two sorts of
them.

* castighi se non hanno per fine il dar
Esompio loro furor, e non castighi. Man-
gini nell Furor, &c. p. 91.

Nulla se culpa tam gravis, ut vita non
concedatur propter simeam Dei. Tit. 1.
Cap. 7. §. 3.

Lik de murl-
his Germani-
rum. De bello Rib-
mar.

Werewulf,
Lycanthropus.

typhynsis-
mon.
ruxhynne-
mon.
tyrelhynt-
nemon.
Dyname
Societas
Lambardo.

R r 2

reprected

Scct. 12. terpreted a Society of Men. According to the degrees of the valuation of Mens Heads, they were to purge themselves of Crimes by such and so many Compurgations. Herein he that was richer was thought more worthy of Credit, and his Oath was the sooner taken, and therefore we read that the Oath of a Thane was equivalent to the Oaths of six Countrey-men or *Ceorles*. As a Man's Value or his Wealth was more or less, so he might be a Purgator for, or purge lesser or greater Crimes, and therefore do we hear so often of *Purgation according to the rate of twelve Hides of Land or more or fewer*. For there it's observable, from the late mentioned Laws, that if a man was slain, his Kindred sometime received the value of his Head, which payment was called *Mægote*. In like manner were they bound on the other side to pay the value of the Head of one slain by their Kinsman, in case he became not responsible, and that to the Kindred of the slain party, which in the Saxon Tongue they termed *Cynegild* and *Cynelote*, the same in signification as *Mægote*, now mentioned.

109. Thus was the Offender variously punished both in himself and Kindred for the same Offence, which punishment was sometimes so heavy, that not able to undergo it, though Pecuniary, his life was taken for satisfaction. Part of the *Were* or valuation the Kindred received, so called as we have now said; another part was paid to the Lord for the loss of his Vassal, which they called *Manbote*; and a third *Mulct* was paid to the King for the breach of his Peace, called *Fridwile* and *Fridgild*. This latter was in use with the ancient Franks, who termed it *Fredus* and *Fredum*, as appears both from Gregory * *Turonensis*, and the *Salic* † Laws. As to the *Cynegild* or *Mægote*, it appears also from Tacitus, that the whole Family received satisfaction for a Kinsman slain. And the Custom might seem to be taken from Moses his Law, who saith, *That in case a price of blood be required of him that had killed a Man, he should give whatsoever was laid upon him*. But thus much concerning the valuation of Heads, called *Weres*, the payment whereof they termed *Weregild*, to which we shall only add, that these valuations by King *Ethelstan* were very moderate, and that was the reason why many *Weregilds* were by after Laws put upon Offenders, sometimes two, sometimes three, and sometimes nine. Therefore in the Charter of Liberties to the City of London did Henry the first grant as a Privilege, that a Citizen should be but taxed or judged at one *Were* or an hundred Shillings, at which value he set a Londoner.

And that in his days, *Weres* also were moderate, appears from this, in that he ordained that whofo broke or set at naught a Law, for the first Offence should pay his *Were*; for the second Offence double his *Were*, and in case he the third time offended, should forfeit all he had. This is certain, that in the times of the English Norman Princes *Weres* and *Weregilds* were in fashion. They grew obsolete by degrees, but when utterly laid aside it is not certain. And the word *Fredum* (which was never in use with our Writers) grew also obsolete abroad after the Age of the Emperour Frederick the Second.

110. We have the History of the Valuation of Heads or *Weres*, but still shall we be in the dark if we know not the price, and that cannot be, except we something understand the value of these *Thrymses*, by which they are rated in *Ethelstan's* Laws. That the word *Thrymsa* comes from the Saxon word *Threo*, the same with our present *Three* is agreed, but in what respect it answered to Three is a little controverted. One was of opinion that it contained the third part of a German *Selden*. shilling, answering to their *Tremissis*. Another thought it to contain three Pennies; but most probable it is, that it contained Three Shillings English Saxon, without any relation to German or Foreign Money, although the Mercians seem to have differed from the other English in its value. As for the other sorts of Money; five Pennies in those days made a Shilling, and thirty Pennies made a *Mancus* (in Latin *Mancusa*) as *Alfred* tells us in his Saxon Grammar. Of those Pence two hundred and forty made a Pound, which consisted of forty eight of their Shillings; and then as Mr. Lambard observed from some Silver Pence of King *Ethelred*, which he saw, two hundred and forty Pence equalled a pound in weight, that which seven hundred and twenty of ours now will not do, although two hundred and twenty of our Pence also make

Which was called *Weregild*.

The value of a Londoner.

The value of a Thrymsa.

And other Saxon Money.

Man famulus Servus Vassallus.

Fride pax. Germ. Frid.

* De Mirac. St. Martini. lib. 4. c. 26.

† Tit. 55. §. 2. Recipisque satisfactionem universi domini.

Exod. 21. 30.

LL. Henr. I. c. 13. Qui legem apostata Were sue sit reus prima vice; Si secundo fecerit, reddat bis Weram suam; qui tertio presumpserit, perdat quicquid habet.

Labra on leben 17 Pundon englric. 17 pennung kemagaða æne ralinge 1 XXX penega æne mancy 7 on extremo fine Gram.

a Pound in value. The Word to express the most Money in those days was the *Scate* or *Scate*, which according to Mr. Lambard contained a vast sum, to the value of five thousand Pounds of Silver. Some are of opinion that it signified also a small piece of money to the value of an Half-penny. Besides this Half-penny (if an Half-penny they had) they had also the *Feorthing*, *Feorthing*, or *Farthing* containing the fourth part of a Penny as we may suppose. In short, we are told, that these several sorts and sums of Money were in use amongst our English Saxon Antecessors, viz. *Feorthing*, *Peneg*, *Ofe*, *Scat*, *Scilling*, *Thrymsa*, and *Pund*. Concerning *Ofe* I have hitherto read nothing, but suppose *Ofe* is meant, which was worth sixteen pence. Fifteen Ores also in a Book seen by Sir H. Spelman, was put for a Pound, and from a Manuscript Register of the Abbey of Burton in Leicestershire, he observed that the word *Ora* signified the same as *Uncia*. From that time the value of it was reckoned for sixteen pence, and sometimes for twenty pence, whence proceeded the difference of having *Ora* for twenty pence so often in Doomsday Book.

111. To proceed with our Laws, all that we find of King *Ethelstan* in the Saxon Edition of Mr. Lambard we have already related, there are others, though not in the Saxon Language, to be seen in the Chronicon of John Bromton the Abbat of Jorhal, of which also we must make mention, such especially as we judge most convenient to be known. The first Catalogue we meet with consists of nine several Laws, whereof the first shews how the Court of the Hundred ought to be kept, declaring, that to the number of four Abbots meet, and that Right be done to all men in that Court. The second appoints how a Thief is to be prosecuted from the Hundred to the Tithing. The third imposes upon him that shall reject the Sentence or Judgment of the Hundred, so that it passeth against him the second time, for the first offence the fine of thirty Pence to the Hundred, for the second offence fifty Pence, whereof one half to the Hundred and the other half to the Lord. For the third offence the loss of all he hath, and be Banished, except the King otherwise dispense with him. The fourth confirms what had been said concerning stray Cattel, that no man should keep them without the knowledge and Testimony of an Hundred or Tithing man, otherwise no benefit of Vouching should be allowed him. The fifth requires, That when one Hundred makes Hue and Cry, or pursues Cattel into another Hundred, this Hundred doe the like or forfeit thirty Shillings to the King. The sixth requires, That if any one decline the Law or make any escape, he that was the Procurer shall pay the value of the thing in question. The seventh again commands, That right and publick Justice be done in the Hundred, and in every other publick Meeting, and that a day be prefixed for every business, which whosoever transgresses, except hindered by the Command or Order of ones Lord, or by visible Infirmitie shall forfeit thirty Shillings, and yet be obliged to doe what he ought to have done at another appointed time. The eighth is very hard to be explained, and the Kernel not worth the labour of cracking the Nut. And the last is concerning Ordeal, of which in another place.

blanhornum & de quibus sic Sommerus in Glossar. Locus mirè enigmaticeus & meliori Oedipo relinquendus.

112. After this follow certain Judgments, as they are termed, which Wisemen are said to have ordained at Exeter by the Council of King *Ethelstan*, which were afterward confirmed both at *Feverham* a Town in Kent, and at *Thundresfeld*. Herein first are reinforced all the Laws formerly made at Greatley, except what concerned the Market of the City and the Lord's day. The rest contain severe Animadversions upon Thieves and such as receive them, viz. "Confinement into some place of the Kingdom which the King shall chuse. Nay, if one that stole after the Assembly held at *Thundresfeld* steal again, let he or she be what they will, they are condemned to death, together with such as harbour, or spare them if they meet them. And as to the manner of their death here are certain odd Circumstances. If he was a Free Woman that stole, she should be cast down from an high Cliff or Hill, or else drowned. If a Slave, he should be stoned by twenty of like condition; and in case any one's blow thrice failed he should be many times be beaten. And when the Thief was dead, every one of these Slaves or Servants should pay three Pence to his Lord. If the Thief was a She-

Secat nummum in genere significat ut Belgis Scat Schot, in Borealiibus etiam Anglie partibus Shot aduoc usurpatur pro potius phia Cervevisse, pro. Etiam Shot-pot.

penegling, peneg, ofe, scatta, scilling, þrymsa, pund.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

* Pecoris tici-nam & canis Opa.

Sect. 12. "slave eighty Women of the like condition should each of them bring three Faggots or pieces of wood, and therewith burn her, and pay moreover so many Pence as the He-slaves were to do, or else be beaten. Another of these Laws forbids the receiving of another man's Servant, whom he cannot rule under pain of the forfeiture of an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King, and the return and reparation of the Servant to be made besides. Another ordains, That a Lord shall not deny Hlafordocna, or his Protection, Defence, or the like, to a Freeman, who (being a Vassal) does him right in all respects. The last decrees, That such Judge or Officer as breaks, or hath not sufficient regard to these Ordinances forfeit an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King, be he Thane or any other kind of man.

113. These Judgments or Ordinances bear not the Name of the King himself, but of the Wisemen of Exeter, who deviled them there by the King's Advice or Consent, whose allowance gave them the Power and force of Laws, and those were the Wisemen whom he mentions in the Preface of other Laws to have been with him at that City in Christmas Holydays. These were also confirmed at Faversham and at a place called Thundresfeld. From these and other Passages it is evident, that in the days of this King Athelstan, the Wisemen, or knowing Persons of particular Countries, Provinces and Cities, by the King's consent and allowance were wont to assemble and lay their Heads together, for the framing of such Ordinances as should be most convenient for the government of their particular Countries, and security of their Estates, and for the receiving what was enacted at the General Assembly of the Estates for the whole Kingdom; as in matters Ecclesiastical the Decrees of General Councils were wont to be received, or (as the Word was) confirmed in particular Synods, although of sufficient authority in themselves. And where in the particular Shires or Provinces such knowing men might be wanting, or for other reasons the King sometimes sent down certain from himself to consult with the Bodies of the Shires and Cities as well Noble, as Ignoble, and to convey to them such Ordinances or Laws as were thought most fitting for them. A notable acknowledgement hereof we have of the County of Kent in an Address made to the King, wherein with much Humility and thankfulness they make mention of certain Laws he had sent them; and testify their acceptance of them. This because of the Rarity of the thing, and for that it makes very much for the knowledge of the Mode of Address of that Age, and illustrates the Polity or manner of the English Saxon Government, as well as conforms to the farther knowledge of their Laws, we shall as well as we can translate from the difficult Latin of the Abbat Brompton.

114. Most dear, your Bishops of Kent with all Kentshire, Thanes, Counts, and Countreymen, give thanks to you their most beloved Lord, for that you were pleased to give us orders concerning our Peace, and inquire and consult concerning our Advantage in a matter of such consequence to us both Rich and Poor. And this we have seen upon with all the diligence we could, by the advice of those Wisemen, whom you sent to us. And, most Dear Lord, the first is concerning our Tithes, to the which we are very desirous and ready to conform our selves, giving you most humble thanks for your Admonition. The second is concerning our Peace, which all your People desires may be observed as your Wisemen propounded at Greatley, and as now is appointed in the Council held at Feterham. The third is, that all are very thankfull for the grace you were pleased to bestow on guilty Persons, in that all Forfeitures are pardoned, for such Thefts as were committed before the Assembly held at Feterham, on condition that they commit no offence hereafter, and confess all their Robberies and falsify your Majesty. The fourth, that none receive another Man's Servant without his leave, to whom he formerly * belonged, neither within nor without the Limits. As also that a Lord deny not a Freeman his Hlafordocna, that is, his Defence or Protection, in case he have been faithful to him. The fifth thing is, that he that aids contrary to this is worthy of those punishments which are prescribed in the Instrument of Peace drawn up at Greatley. The sixth, that if so be a man be so Rich, and of such Alliance that he cannot be chastized, and will not cease to commit his former Outrages, that you will cause him to be taken away and removed into some other quarter of your Kingdom, as it is said in the Western Parts, let him be what he will Alderman (or Count) or Countreyman. The seventh, that every one hold all his men in his own Warranty against all Theft. If any there be that hath so many

Karissime, Episcopi tui de Kent, & omnes Kentensium, Thani, Comitibus & Villanis tibi domino dilectissimo suo gratias agunt quod nobis de pace nostra precipis, &c.

* Cui prius solus nec intra Marcan nec extra. Folgere est tradere se aliqui in Clientelam, servare, sequi, scilicet, ut olim solebant illi qui Angli dicebantur Retineant. Saxones polceant unde nossum loquuntur to follow, &c. (ut sepe) in u. vel se mutare. Hinc etiam Folgorius, pro Clientele scilicet, a Retineant. Marca proprie signum est territorii limitis & Saxon. Weapoc bodie Marke.

men that be cannot keep them all, let him appoint an Overseer in every of his Villages, whom he can trust, and who will trust his men. And in case this Overseer dare not trust some of his men, let these men find out twelve Persons of their Kindred who will be security for them. And in case the Lord or Overseer, or any other infringe this Ordinance, or depart from hence, let him be thought worthy of what was agreed on at Greatley, except any other kind of Justice better please the King. The eighth is, that what you said concerning the working of Shields contenteth all. Our Lord we beseech you of your mercifulness, that if we have in this matter either exceeded or been defective, you will order it to be amended, as you your self shall think convenient. And we are devoutly prepared for all things which you shall please to command us; and which any way lie in our power to perform.

115. Next after this follow some other Articles, which are said to have been devised by the Bishops and Officers belonging to the Court of London, by them published, and confirmed by the Oaths of the Ealdormen (or Counts, he terms them Comites) and Countreymen, or the ordinary sort of men in their Frigidell, Association; or Public Meeting, with the addition of those Laws or Judgments which were first ordained at Greatley, and afterward confirmed at Exeter and Thundresfeld. All these Articles now agreed on tend to the prevention of Theft by the punishment of Thieves and such as harbour or protect them. Theft is now confirmed to be Capital, and not only Affiliations are allowed and encouraged but also the raising of publick stocks for defraying the Charges of prosecution, and the Incouragement of such as should shew themselves industrious in that behalf. We cannot but here suggest to the Reader what Remark he ought to make of these times, how the Crime of stealing, which generally indeed is taken notice most of in all the Saxon Laws, and most caretaken for the prevention of it, grew more common than ever in the days of Athelstan; the English having, as Ingulphus observes, in the days of Alfred imitated the Example of the Danes, and because they thought the blame would still be laid upon the Danes given themselves to Robbing; For by the strength and sharpness of the Remedy we may judge of the violence of the Disease. But formerly a Wife or Were, a Fine or value of the Head would serve for the Punishment, now nothing but death it self, to be inflicted both on the Malefactors themselves, and those that abetted, received, or suffered them. And whereas Gilds, Affiliations, or Societies were in use among Free People, whereby the Company in general was responsible for each number in particular; the like for prevention of Theft must be erected even amongst Servants and Slaves of both Sexes, they being both condemned to execute one another by the cruel Deaths of stoning and burning, and also to pay Money, as it were a Fine to the endangered Party, as if bound to be Sureties for one another. We see what a necessity of shewing an Example and Prevention can make lawful as to punishments; and may hence take an account of the severity of our modern Customs in particular Towns, and of the Publick Laws against Theft and Robbing. If we in England be more severe against Thieves than in other Countries, and make smaller Offences Capital, it is because our Legislators saw the great proneness of the Natives to this Crime, and in their Judgments this way of punishment seemed more terrible than any other, (and perhaps more than later Ages have found it) and consequently the best way for prevention. Yet cannot I see why, of those two ill qualities which are ascribed to Islanders, from the condition of their Habitation, inclination to Theft should be as proper and Conatural as Incontinency.

Edmund the next Legislator.

116. The next Legislator after Athelstan was King Edmund his Brother and immediate Successor both in the Kingdom and in the practice of making Laws. We are told that in the solemn Feast of Easter (but not in what year) he held a great Council at London, as well of Ecclesiastics as Seculars, where was present Oda and Wulfstan the Archbishops with many other Bishops to consult for the good of their own Souls, and of those that were under their care and Government. At this Council were enacted several Laws, which being fix in number are of Ecclesiastical Concernment, and amongst such matters must be remembered. These are found both in the Saxon Copy published by Lambard, and in the Latin of Brompton; but in Brompton's Book follow seven others of Civil Concernment, said to have been made by the King, his Bishops, and Wisemen at Culinot, which are not extant in the Saxon Edition. The first of these requires an Oath of Fidelity to King Edmund to be taken by all, in like manner as a Man ought to be faithful to his Lord without all controversy or sedition both in publick and in private, in loving what he shall love, and rejecting what he shall reject, and before the Oath be given, that no man conceal this matter no more in his Brother or Neighbour

Exemplo namque Danorum, quod colore criminis quidam indigenarum latrociniis ac rapinis invidere ceperant.

Seçt. 12. Neighbour than in a Stranger. The second concerning apprehension of Thieves, enjoys, That if it be known for certain where a Thief is, the Twelfthind and Twifhindi unite together and take him either alive or dead. In case any one take up Mortal Feud against any one of them for so doing, he is to be esteemed as the Enemy of the King and all his Friends. And if any refuse to assist in the apprehension, he shall forfeit to the King an hundred and twenty Shillings, and to the Hundred, thirty Shillings. The third, as several before, forbids the receiving of another man's Servant that hath injured any man till he have done the injured party right, on pain of making amends himself. The fourth enjoins, That if several Thieves do steal, the Eldest of them be taken and killed or hanged, and each of the rest beaten thrice, Racked, and for an Example have his Little Finger cut off. The fifth forbids the buying or receiving of strange Cattel, without the Testimony of the Chief Officer, Priest, the Ordeale or the Portreeve. The sixth enjoins the prosecution or search of Cattel from place to place. He with whom they are found shall restore the Beast and pay to the King an hundred and twenty Shillings, which fine he shall also incur that resists and refuseth to doe right. The seventh and last requires, That every person make his Servants and all that live in his Peace and his Lands to be trusted. That all such as have ill Names and be loaded with Accusations have security given for them. And whatsoever Officer, Thane, Alderman, or Countreyman be that refuseth to doe accordingly shall forfeit an hundred and twenty Shillings, and farther, be thought worthy of such punishments as have been before mentioned.

17. After these follow seven other Laws of King Edmund, which are found both in the Copies of Bromton and of Lambard. Before them we find a Preface wherein the King signifies to all his Subjects, both old and young, that he had most studiously inquired in a solemn Assembly both of Ecclesiasticks and Laicks, by what means Christian Faith might best be propagated. And that it seemed most convenient to them all that he should cherish and procure love and mutual friendship through all his Dominions. For they were much troubled at the unjust Contentions that were among them, and therefore he and they did ordain. First, That if hereafter one man kill another, that he alone take up Deadly Feud or Enmity with the Kindred of the slain, unless within twelve Months, by the assistance of his own Kindred, he pay the Weregild or value of the slain man's Head, of what condition forever he was. In case his Kinsfolks forsake him, and will pay nothing for him, he alone shall bear the Quarrel, and they shall not be taken for Enemies. But they in the mean time shall not relieve him, nor have peace with him, which if they do or have, they shall forfeit all they have to the King, and be that first forsook his Kinsman shall be taken as an Enemy by the Kindred of the slain, and bear deadly Feud against them. And if any shall revenge himself upon or prosecute any other of the Kindred beside the Killer himself, he shall forfeit all he hath, and be taken as an Enemy both by the King and all that love him. The second denounces, That if a man sit to a Church or the King's * Town, and there any one set upon him or doe him any harm he shall be punished in the same manner. By the third the King expressly forbids that any Fyhtwrite or Manbote, that is, any fine for Fighting or Killing be remitted. By the fourth he openly signifies, that his House shall afford no shelter to him that hath shed blood, except he have first made satisfaction to God and the Kindred of the slain, and have done whatsoever was enjoyed him by the Bishop in whose Diocese the Fact was committed. By the fifth he gives hearty thanks to God and them all who had assisted him in making this Law of Peace for the restraining of Thieves, and be trusts that they will be the more ready for the time to come to assist him by how much more necessary they see the Law is to be observed. The sixth enjoins, That he that breaks the Peace, and sets upon a man in his own House, forfeit all he hath, and his life be at the King's disposal.

18. The Seventh and last of these Laws is concerning Enmities or deadly Feuds, declaring that it's the duty of Wisemen to suppress them, and prescribing the way after this manner. First, as the Law is, every where a Mediator is to be sent before to the Kindred of the slain man, who is to signify to them that he that killed be punished, him will make satisfaction, then into the Hands of this Mediator the Manlayer is to be delivered, that he may quietly appear and give Caution for the payment of the value of the dead man's Head; which as soon as he hath done, the King's Peace is to be made

C. 1. Saxon. Be manlyth; ve. Apud Jernal.

C. 2. Sax. Be ðon 7e mon oþerþe on Cypcean gesece. Oþþe on Cynngeþ buþþ 7. Apud Jernal.

C. 3. Sax. Be þýhtre 7 man; bote. Jernal. C. 111.

C. 4. Saxon. Be bloogeoe. C. IV. Apud Jernal.

C. 5. Saxon. Ðancunge 7am 7e þý 7ýrþe þýrtap. C. V. Apud Jernal.

C. 6. Saxon. Be mundþýce 7 hamþroe. C. VI. Apud Jernal.

C. 7. Saxon. C. VII. apud Jernal.

made between them. One and twenty days ended let him pay Halsage, (as the Abbat Bromton hath it) or as the Saxon Text Healsfange, that is (as Mr. Lambard rightly interprets it, that which was paid in way of Commutation for the punishment of tying by the Neck to the King or Lord. Within one and twenty days after (or Nights as the Text hath it) let him pay Manbot or Money for the Servants death due to the Lord, as we have formerly explain'd it; and within one and twenty more the Weregild or value of the slain Parties Head, as Bromton hath it, or, rather as the Saxon Text, the first portion of the Payment. As for these Capital Enmities or Deadly Feuds the Reader must understand they were ordinary among the Germans and Barbarous Northern Nations, who ordinarily maintained private Quarrels by their whole Kindred, thereby rendering their Feuds as it were Patrimonial and Hereditary. So Tacitus writes concerning the Germans, that they were constrained to take up the Quarrels and Friendships of their Fathers and Kinsmen. There was necessity of it, Murders and Homicides not being censured by the Sentence of the Judge, but, as one exprieth, by the hands and fury of the Kindred of the slain, who in punishing used their own Methods and Measures as they listed. The Custom as the Northern People used in their own Countries when transplanted into more Southern Soils they would not leave off no more than several others, no not when their Principles should have been bettered by Christianity. But whatever Princes or Laws could do, those Enmities they still maintained, so that Legislators by degrees could scarcely get ground upon them, not daring to forbid the whole business, but regulating it as we see King Edmund doth by these two Laws, in the one prescribing the manner of carrying on these Deadly Quarrels, in the other the method of compounding them. Amongst the Salique Laws also, those of the Lombards, Franks, and other Obsolete Constitutions, as well as in the Capitula of Charles and Ludovic, are there many Laws concerning this Subject. The Capitulary of Charles the Great calls this Enmity Faida, in German it's Fhede and Feido, which seem to be derived from no other than the Saxon fah, now in English Foe, otherwise an Enemy. Our Saxon Ancestours termed it reþh from the same Original, and hence we may well derive the present word Feud, and give these the Name of Deadly Feuds. Mr. Lambard was of opinion that to these Deadly Feuds succeeded that Action in Law granted to the next kin to these Deadly Feuds succeeded that Action in Law granted to the next kin to the Party slain, called Appeal de mort. But the cruel Customs of the Feuds themselves continued till the Norman times and longer, as appears by that * Law of King Edward the Confessor, revised and confirmed both by William the Conqueror, and by Henry the second, as Hoveden tells us.

natis more Francorum) fiat emendatio, vel guerra eorum portetur. Unde Anglici proverbium habetur. By the yreape of rite oððe bap. i. e. Emc lanceam à latere aut fer.

The manner and Rites of Marriage.

19. Besides these Laws before mentioned, there is a certain Constitution ascribed to this same King Edmund, by Bromton, concerning the manner and Rites of Marriage. The same was found by Sir Henry Spelman, in a Book belonging to Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, joynted to the Laws of King Alfred, but in the Margent is noted, by some observor, that the same constitution was found amongst the Laws of King Edmund, as Bromton the Abbat of Jervaulhath it. The Tenour of it is thus. 1. If a purpose to marry a Virgin or a Woman (a Widow Bromton hath it) she and her friends consenting, the Bridegroom both by the Law of God and Man ought to give caution for the fulfilling of what Covenants made before, as also that his purpose is, and his desire to have her as a Wife, according to the law of God, and no otherwise, and for this his friends must also ingage. 2. The second thing must be to take care of their maintenance, and it must be known who shall maintain them, and for this, both the Bridegroom and his friends must in-

Sax. reþer þ þrumpglo þrumpglo autem significat principium, originem; glo ut amica.

Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu patris, seu propinquos, quam amicitias necesse est. Vide Lambardi Glossar. in voc. Capitales inimicitias. Spelman. in voc. Faids.

A Sax. fah & hæbe, junioribus hode & hood, Germ. heyd, heir, hat, quod in vocum terminatione ut supra monimus conditionem vel qualitatem denotat.

* C. 12. Pa-rentibus co-cis (i.e. cog-

Spelman. Concil. p. 425. þu mannes þessan fceal. 7 hylice poneþapre þapaghton to beon 7 Jernal. in leg. Edmundi & Whelocin Editione nova legum Lambardi Saxonie. p. 66. Sacramentum autem versum interpretat sumus secundum quod monuit Somnerus, in lib. de Gavelkind. c. 3. Constitutum enim hanc a Spelmanno Editionem erratis variis iniquitatem observavit. gage.

3. *Thenafter that, let the * Bridegroom declare what he will give his Bride, besides that which she formerly made choice of with his good liking in case she overlive him.* 4. *In case they so agree, it's fit she have the one half of all his Estate, and if they have a Child betwixt them, the whole Estate till such time as she marry again.* 5. *What the Bridegroom hath promised, let him confirm by giving caution, let him carefully observe it, and his friends engage on his behalf.* 6. *If they be now agreed on all things, let the Kindred of the Bride contrail her to him as a Wife, and engage for her honesty, and then let caution be given for celebration of the Marriage.* 7. *If afterwards her Husband carry her out of the Territory of the Thane or Baron where she was bred, into the District of another Thane, let caution be given to her friends that she shall receive injury from no Man. And in case she her self do any ill thing, let her friends be ready to make satisfaction to her Husband, if she have not wherewith to doe it.* 8. *At the bestowing of her in Marriage a Priest must be present, who of right, with the Blessing of God, shall promote their Conjunction to the attainment of all Felicity.* 9. *Lastly, There must be good heed and assurance had, that there be no Impediment of Conanguinity betwixt them, lest afterward they be justly separated, who were unjustly joyned together.*

The form of
Endowing.

120. To the fourth Article of this Constitution, Sr. Henry Spelman, in the Margent sets this Note: *The ancient form of Endowing*, as hinting that it was the Custom amongst the English Saxons; for the Wife that overlied her Husband, to have half his Estate, and in case she had a Child by him, the whole till such time as she Marry another Husband. Accordingly he interprets the Saxon words, *⁊f hit ȝra Quod siquidem eveniat; If it so come to pass*, viz. that she overlive him. But Mr. Somner who hath discovered other faults in this Edition of Sr. Henry, Interprets the words, *si sic conveniat*, viz. *If they so agree*; the King thinks it just that she have the half if the outlive her Husband, &c. This Endowing, being that which they call *Dotarium* or *Donarium*, according to this best Interpretation of the words, was not then necessary, or by compulsion, but so as was thought fit, if it was so agreed before the Marriage: but whereas Mr. Somner in his Glossary, thinks it the same with the maintenance mentioned in the Second Article, by our Saxon Ancestours (as in that Article) termed *Fosterlean*, his own Interpretation of the other words seems to confute him. For that maintenance or *Fosterlean* hath relation to their joynt condition during Marriage, or as now we say, whilst under *coverture*, the *viſus* as they interpret it, after which follows, *who shall maintain them?* The one the other uncertain, and according as he himself will have it, to agreement. Besides this Endowing this *Dotatium* or *Donarium*, there was that which our Saxon Ancestours called *Morgengife*, the *Lombards Morgangap*, the *Burgundians, Alamans*, and others *Morgengaba*, and some *Morgingab*, so called (for all these amount to one) because it was a gift bestowed by the Bridegroom on the Bride, that morning they were to be Married. Yet doth Gregory Turonensis distinguish it à Dote from the ordinary Endowing. It seems to have been some special thing given to the Bride, as an especial mark of the Bridegroom's favour. Some think it to correspond or have some affinity with the English Custom of Endowing or Enticement at the Church Door, as they term it. Whereby Ad alium Eci the Bridegroom, when in the morning he is about to enter the Church to be Married, makes a present, as it were, to his Bride of some piece of Land.

121. But these Gifts and Endowings are quite contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Romans, with whom, *Dos*, properly signifieth that Portion which the Husband receiveth with his Wife. They were not wont to give their Wives any thing back, and therefore have no proper word whereby to exprefs such a Gift (Donations betwixt Man and Wife being carefully in their Laws forbidden) which we in English call *Dower*, answering properly to *Dotarium* or *Donarium*, (a) and the like. Tacitus admires the thing it self, amongst the Germans expressing it thus. *The (b) Wife brings no Portion (Dotem) to the Husband, but the Husband (Dower) to the Wife.* Yet the Greeks most

* Bnæguma a bryde sponſa a guma agymon curare, unde forte synonym Nuptie. Bridegroom nunc dicitur corrupte pro Bridegume, quasi sibi sponſum esse sponſa famulus vel servus dicitur Rapturam. The Bride's Groom, the populus sibi imposit.

How much was assigned for Dower.

Præſta dotatius formula.

A Saxon, *⁊f ȝra e. viſus, ci baria unde bodinum noſtrum* is Foster nutritive, & lean exhibere.

being necessary, but it, to agreement.

In leg. Canoni. c. 71.

⁊f ȝra matutinum donum, sic etiam Germanice Morgin signifi- cant mane & Gab. donatio.

* Lik. 9. c. 10. Hist. Tam in dote quam in Morgengaba.

(a) Vocatur etiam Dotarium Dodarium Dotatium.

(b) Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus affert.

anciently

anciently as they had (c) words to exprefs both Portion and Dower, were wont thus also to provide for their Wives.

Homer feigns Vulcan, to have endowed Venus, and to have demanded back the Dower after that she was taken in Adultery with Mars; and in like manner, Claudian feigns the same thing to have been done by Pluto to Proserpina. For the Galls, Cæsar testifies that the Husband was wont to return the value of what he received in Portion with his Wife. Strabo writes of the Cantabrians in Spain, that they also Endowed their Wives, and left their Daughters their Heirs, which thing he dislikes, as giving Women power over Men. To be sure the Teutonick and Northern Nations, practised this course, as is evident from Gregory of Tours, concerning the Franks in Gall, and concerning the Goths, Hist. l. 9. c. 20. Saxons and Lombards, their several Laws. In some places half the Lands, and Vid Spelman. In other places it was some a third part went in Dower, and in others Money. In other places it was left to the discretion of the Man to give what he pleased. The English and Scots have in later Ages, after the Fashion of the Sicilians, allotted the third Part; though Kent and some Boroughs, one half part, as also some Towns in France. But this Custom hath farther to plead for it, that it had the Hebrews also for its practicers, as appears from that place which saith, a Man shall Endow a Woman, Exod. 22. 16. and take her for his Wife. And Schem being begging to Marry Dina, bids them ask what Dower they would, and he would grant it.

122. So much is fit to be pleaded for our Custom, and in favour of the other Sex against the Romans, who yet were so just, as when they put away their Wives, bid them take what they brought along with them; which words were used expressly, to signify a Divorce. Our English Saxon Ancestours were both careful for the main Chance, not to have nothing with their Wives, because meat cannot be bought in the Market without Money, and yet were both so just and kind as to provide for their Wives by way of Dowry when they Married, that they might be able to Live when they were Dead, and were content to be bound up for performance, and not to be left to their own directions what they would do after Marriage, or at their Deaths. By King Edmund's Constitutions we have seen their care on one side, and that they were not heedless on the other appears by an ancient Saxon Monument, or a Tripartite Writing, concerning a Marriage made in the Days of King Canute, which here for Illustration of this Subject we shall Exemplify as we have it published by Mr. Somner. Here appeareth in this Writing the Agreement that Godwin made with Byrhtic when he Wed his Daughter. That is, first he gives her one pound weight of Gold on condition that she stand to the Agreement, and he give her these Lands at Strete, with all that thereto appertained, and in Burware Marsh one hundred and fifty Acres; withal, thirty Oxen, twenty Cows, ten Horses, and ten Theowmen or Bondmen. This was agreed at Kingdon before King Canute, in the presence of Living the Archbishop, as also in the Courts at Christ Church, of Ælmere the Abbat, the Covents at St. Augustin's; of Æthelwin the Sheriff, Sired the Elder, Godwin, Wulsey's Son; Eadmer at Burham; Godwine, Wulstan's Son; and Charles, the King's Servant. And when this Maid was fetched to Brighting, then went off all these for Sureties, Algar, the Son of Sired; Frerth, Priest of Folcton; Leofwine, Priest of Dover; Wulsey a Priest; Eadred the Son of Eadelm; Leofwine, the Son of Warelm; Cenwold Ruff; Leofwine, Godwin's Son at Horton; Leofwine the Red; Godwine the Son of Eadgite, and Leofsun his Brother. And which of them longest liveth shall have all the Possessions, aswell that Land which I give them, as every thing. This thing is known to all * Doughty, or Valiant Men in Kent; and in Suffex both Thanes and Churlis, or Countrymen. And this Writing is Tripartite, one is at Christ Church, a second at St. Augustin's, and the third bath Byrhtic himself. See here the manner of Marriage, and settling matters thereto belonging in those ancient Times. And take notice by this Jultrument, as also all along by the Laws how cautious they were in all respects; scarcely transacting any thing but by the Intervention of Suretyship.

123. To return, The next Legislator after Edmund, was King Edgar his Son; who began his Reign in the year of our Lord DCCCCLX. and ended it in the year DCCCCLXXXV. He amongst many Laws and Canons of Ecclesiastical Concernment, published also some which respected the Civil State of his Kingdom; or, as he terms it, to the People, to be observed by them, whereof this is

(c) Dotem q̄sibi ȝ ar̄cia, vocant ant dotem vero et ita dicamus, ar̄cipi- rary, s̄vros ȝ swiſcaw.

Lik. 6. de bel- lo Gallico. Geograph. l. 3.

Gen. 34. 12.

Gen. 34. 12.

Sax. sibi res before jud- feren.

⁊f ȝra p̄trelas on þȝran gep̄tore þa popepape, &c. In Append. ad Tractat. de Gavelkind Scriptura 17. p. 196.

* Þȝra þunga ȝ ȝec̄nape ald dohtȝis man on Kent; &c.

Scct. 12 the first, whereby He enjoys, that "Every Man, Poor or Rich, enjoy the benefit of the Law, and have Justice done him. And for Punishments, he would have them so moderated, that thereby, being accommodated to Divine Clemency, they may be the more tolerable unto Men. The second forbids Appeals to the King in Suits, except Justice cannot otherwise be obtained. If a Man be oppressed, he may betake himself to the King for relief. And in case a pecuniary Mulct be inflicted for a fault, it must not exceed the value of the Man's Head. The third imposes a Mulct upon a Judge that passes an unjust Sentence against any Man, of an hundred and twenty shillings to the King, except such Judge will take his Oath that he did it not out of any malice, but only it happened by error and unskilfulness: in such case let him be removed from his place, except he can obtain favour of the King to keep it: and let the Bishop of the Diocese convey the Mulct that is imposed upon him to the King's Treasury. The fourth ordains, that Whosoever maliciously defames another Man, whereby he receives any damage either in his Body or Estate, in case the defamed Person can wipe off those Reports, and prove them false, the Defamer's Tongue shall either be cut out, or he shall redeem it with the value of his Head. The fifth is that which we have formerly cited, which Commands every one to be present at the Gemote or Assembly of the Hundred; ordains that the Burghemote or Aftemote of the Towns or Cities be held thrice a year; and the Shiregemote or Meeting of the County twice; whereat are to be present the Bishop and the Ealdorman, the one to teach the People God's Law, and the other Man's. The sixth requires, that Every Man find sureties for his just behaviour. In case any one commit a crime and fly for it, let the Sureties undergoe what should have been laid upon him. If so be he stole any thing and be taken within a twelvemonth, let him be brought to Justice, and then let them receive back what they had forfeited on his behalf. The seventh orders, When any one being of evil report and again accused of some crime, absents himself from the Gemotes or Publick Meeting, some of the Court to go where he dwells, and take Sureties for his appearance, if they may be had, if they cannot get them, let them take him alive or dead, and seize on all his Estate, whereof the complaining Party having had such share as may satisfy him, let the one half of the remainder go to the Lord of the Soil, and the other half to the Hundred. And if any of that Court, being either a Kin to him, or a Stranger to his Blood, refuse to go to put this in execution, let him forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings to the King. Farther, let not such as are taken in the manner of stealing or betraying their Masters obtain pardon of their Lives. The eighth and last ordains, that One and the same Money be current throughout the King's Dominions, which no Man must refuse. That the Measure of Winchester be the Standard. And that a Way, or Weigh of Wool be sold for half a Pound value of Money, and no more.

124. The next Legislatour after Edgar was King Ethelred, his Younger Son, who began his Reign in the year of our Lord DCCCCLXXIX. and ended it in the year MXVI. Brompton the Abbat of Jorval presents us four several Bodies of Laws of this King, made at several times, and in divers places, whereof there is only two extant among the Saxon Laws, published by Lambard. The Laws comprized in the first Body are six, and said to have been made at Woodstock in Mercia, according to the Laws of the English, in a Council of Wisemen, held there by King Ethelred for the Promotion of Peace. The first of these, as the sixth of King Edgar, requires, that "Every Free-man have his trusty Sureties, who shall be bound for him, that he shall be ready to do every Man right in case he be questioned. If one be often accused and made infamous let him undergoe the scrutiny of threefold Ordeal. But in case such an one's Lord contend, and affirm that he hath neither broken his Oath, nor been cast by the judgement of Ordeal after the Council held at Bromdune, let his Lord call to him out of that Hundred one or two Thanes, who together with him shall confirm by Oath that this Servant neither ever forswore himself, nor paid never any thing upon the account of Theft, except he have some Officer, who (according to his Right) may do it without Swearing. In case they made Oath let the Accused Party chuse whether he will undergoe the trial of single Ordeal, or make an Oath in three several Hundreds, which shall answer to one pound and thirty pence in equal proportion. But in case they refuse to swear, let the Accused undergoe the trial of threefold Ordeal:

C. 1. Sax.
Peopul
cuno ge
penitentie.
c. 7. apud
Jorval.
C. 2. Sax.
Be don
de mon
cynge se
to the King, except such Judge will take his Oath that he did it not out of any malice, but only it happened by error and unskilfulness: in such case let him be removed from his place, except he can obtain favour of the King to keep it: and let the Bishop of the Diocese convey the Mulct that is imposed upon him to the King's Treasury. The fourth ordains, that Whosoever maliciously defames another Man, whereby he receives any damage either in his Body or Estate, in case the defamed Person can wipe off those Reports, and prove them false, the Defamer's Tongue shall either be cut out, or he shall redeem it with the value of his Head. The fifth is that which we have formerly cited, which Commands every one to be present at the Gemote or Assembly of the Hundred; ordains that the Burghemote or Aftemote of the Towns or Cities be held thrice a year; and the Shiregemote or Meeting of the County twice; whereat are to be present the Bishop and the Ealdorman, the one to teach the People God's Law, and the other Man's. The sixth requires, that Every Man find sureties for his just behaviour. In case any one commit a crime and fly for it, let the Sureties undergoe what should have been laid upon him. If so be he stole any thing and be taken within a twelvemonth, let him be brought to Justice, and then let them receive back what they had forfeited on his behalf. The seventh orders, When any one being of evil report and again accused of some crime, absents himself from the Gemotes or Publick Meeting, some of the Court to go where he dwells, and take Sureties for his appearance, if they may be had, if they cannot get them, let them take him alive or dead, and seize on all his Estate, whereof the complaining Party having had such share as may satisfy him, let the one half of the remainder go to the Lord of the Soil, and the other half to the Hundred. And if any of that Court, being either a Kin to him, or a Stranger to his Blood, refuse to go to put this in execution, let him forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings to the King. Farther, let not such as are taken in the manner of stealing or betraying their Masters obtain pardon of their Lives. The eighth and last ordains, that One and the same Money be current throughout the King's Dominions, which no Man must refuse. That the Measure of Winchester be the Standard. And that a Way, or Weigh of Wool be sold for half a Pound value of Money, and no more.

C. 8. Sax.
Be myne-
metum j ge-
metum. c.
13. apud
Jorval.

"Ordeal: and if so be that he appears a Condemned Man, let him restore twofold to the Complainant, and pay the value of his Head to the Lord, and find Sureties for his good behaviour for the time to come. If he offend the second time, let it cost him his Life. In case he refuse to be Tried by the Ordeal, and fly for it, his Sureties shall pay the just value of the thing to the Injured Party, and to his Lord the value of his Head, if he have so carried himself as to be worthy of it. But if it be objected against his Lord, that after the Fact, committed by his advice and assilence, his Servant fled away, he shall take to him five Thanes, and thereof purge himself; which if he do, he hath shewn himself to be worthy of the Were, if he do not the King shall have the Were or value of the Head, and the Thief shall be made incapable of any benefit of the Law. The Lord shall answer for his whole Family, and be Surety for the appearance of every person in it. And if any of his Servants being accused, run away, his Master shall pay his Man's Were to the King. And if the Master be Accused as the Advizer to the escape, he shall purge himself by the assilence of five Thanes. If he do it not, he shall pay to the King his Were; and his Man shall be an Outlaw.

125. The second "Appropriates the mulct which is laid upon any Man that possesseth Backland, for any fault by him committed, to the King; and forbids any compensation to be made for any Accusation, but in presence of the King's Reeve or Officer. The third ordains, that A Bond-man being cast by the Ordeal, be marked with an hot Iron for the first offence; and being cast the second time in the same manner, by all means to be put to Death; which Law bears some resemblance to our present Law or Custom, where Clergy is allowed for the first crime committed. The fourth "Forbids all Buying and Chaffering without Suretyship and Witnels. If it happen otherwise, the Lord of the Soil is to have the thing in his custody till mon ne such time as it appear to whom of Right it belongs. By the fifth, the King's Reeve or Officer is obliged to require Sureties for the good behaviour of such as are of ill fame amongst all Men, which if such an one do not give he is to be put to Death, and Buried in a profane place with Malefactors. And if any make resistance in his behalf, he is to undergoe the same punishment. The sixth, after Brompton, but which hath neither Title nor Number in the Saxon, concludes it thus. "And whosoever neglects or doth allumpole not promote what we have ordained, according to the Sentence and Judgment of us all, shall forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings to the King.

126. The next Body of Laws made by King Ethelred, as Brompton ranks them, are said to have been made at Venetynge, or Wantage, now Wantage in Berkshire, the Birth place of the glorious King Alfred. They are thirty in number, and were made by King Ethelred and his Wisemen for the encrease of Peace and Felicity. The first of them is concerning the Keeping of the King's Peace as it was in the days of his Predecessours, and for the punishment of the Breach of it, as that in a Gemote of five Boroughs, with the forfeiture of five pounds, in one Borough by seven hundred (shillings are meant) in a Wapentack by one hundred; and in an Ale-bouse if a man be killed, with six half Marks; if he be not killed, with twelve Ores. Hence (but especially from the Laws of Ina) we may observe how ancient the Liquour of Ale, and Houses designed to the sale and drinking of it have been in England; how ancient also Quarrelling and breaking of the Peace in such places. But much more ancient have all these been than the continuance of the English Saxons in this Country; they were too much in fashion with these Northern Nations in those Days of Tacitus, as appears from what he writes of the Germans; so that what Mr. Camden writes in his Annals, of Drunkennels being first brought into this Country by the Souldiers that served in the Low Countries under the Earl of Leicester, and that then Laws were first made against this Vice, is to be understood with an exception of this Antiquity; for when the English Saxons came first into the Island, they brought Drunkennels along with them out of the Chersonesus of Germany. For of the ancient Germans Tacitus reports, that "To pass a day and night in Drinking was no disgrace at all. Being Drunk they would quarrel, and often wound and kill one another. Yet most commonly (saith he) they consult in their Feasts and Banquets concerning Reconciling of Enemies, making Affinities, chusing Magistrates, even of Peace and War: as if at no other time the mind was fitter either to entertain plain thoughts or hear upon great

Ale and Ale-houses among the English Saxons.

fit puto
proce on
Oypocna
lano aspen
Angla lage.
C. 1. Sax.
Be boy-
gum. c. 14.
apud Jorval.

C. 2. Sax.
c. 2. apud
Jorval.

C. 3. Sax.
Be Scop-
men Sepull
Pypphe. c. 3.
apud Jorval.

C. 4. Sax.
Be don
de mon ne
c. 5. apud
Jorval.

C. 5. Sax.
Be don
men de e-
men de e-

17. c. 4. a-
apud Jorval.
6.

Seçt. 12. great Conceptions. *Quintilian* also assures us, that in ancient times, such as had Fought in the Field against one another, would be Friendly at an Entertainment at the Table. In *Germany* this Custom, we are told, still continues; and here in *England* at our *Ales* and *Wakes*, Controversies and Quarrels were wont to be heard and compounded. As to Drinking and Drinking Houses, the present Age can shew and say as much or more than any other, both as to quarrels, and as to the doing of business, for no business now is to be done, but in a Drinking House. But in our Greater Towns and Cities, the Scene of these too often tragical Meetings is removed from *Germany* and *England*, to *France* and *Spain*; or if it be still in *Germany*, it's removed close to the *Rhine*. The Grape hath got the advantage of the Barley: and *Bacchus* (if ever) may now seem a Deity, nay above all the rest, having (by *Vulcan's* means) in the Capital City lately turned his Houses into sumptuous Palaces, the most sumptuous there to be seen; and in the adjoining Parts justified several Gentlemen out of their Habitations.

127. The second Law requires credit to be given concerning either quick or dead, according to legal Testimony which it will have all Persons, free to make as well as to swear. The third consists of such Terms as certainly cannot be explained. The fourth commands that The publick Meetings be observed in every Hundred or Wapentake, and that twelve Thanes (saith *Bromton*) or twelve men of free Condition (as *Lambard* reads it) being elderly men, together with their Præpositus or Overseer, swear over Gospels or Sacred things, that they will neither condemn an innocent Person, nor acquit a guilty. From this Law as well as other Circumstances it appears, that the way of trial by twelve men, that we now call a Jury was in use with the English Saxons before the Conquest, and not introduced by *William the Conquerour*, as *Polydore Virgil* an Italian, and not much skilled in the Antiquities of this Island hath delivered in writing. To confirm what we have said, the third Chapter of the League, betwixt *King Alfred* and *Guthrum* the Dane, very much maketh, which orders that If the King, Thane or Minister be accused of Homicide he shall purge himself if he dare by twelve other Thanes or Ministers. And in case he be in degree inferior to the King's Thane he shall take Eleven of his Equals, and one of the King's Thanes or Ministers, and so purge himself from all suspicion. The like is here ordered to be observed in all suits, exceeding four Manseves or Marks. And in case one be afraid so to clear himself, he shall pay the treble value of the thing in question. Besides these throughout the Saxon Laws as the Reader may observe, there is frequent mention of clearing, and purging by so many Men called together, sometimes of * twelve, sometimes of † seven, and the more common and ordinary had this course been even in those times, but for the Ordeal so much in repute, which also got more strength and reputation toward the Days of *Ethelred*, and the Conclusion of the English Saxon Monarchy. Amongst the ancient Charters of Kings published by *Inghilphus*, are also Footsteps of this Custom though but in its youth as it were, or growing up to appear. As in that of *Witthels*, where punishment is to be inflicted upon a Fugitive from P. 155. the Monastery of *Croyland*, his Flight is to be found by six men that must be sworn, so in the Charter of Confirmation granted by *Edrede*, such as injured the Monks, or infringed the Liberties thereby confirmed to the Monastery, are to make satisfaction for all Damages sustained, which are to be taxed by the Oaths P. 874 of four or five sufficient creditable Men, by whom the Truth of the matter may be the better made out, before his Judges or those of his Heirs and Successors. Therefore neither did *Edward the Confessor* first bring up this Custom of Juries, or deciding Controversies civil or criminal by twelve or other Number of Persons, though he might introduce the Custom into *Normandy*, where he long sojourn'd as one of that Country hath written. But the Custom of trying Criminals even by twelve Men, was frequent amongst the *Franks*, *Burgundians*, *Boii*, and where the Custom of Fees took place, as appears sufficiently from the ancient Laws of these Nations.

128. The Laws of *King Ethelred* made at *Wantage*, have many of them relation to the Trial by Ordeal, and contain many obscure terms, *Bromton* or whoever he was that made them *Latin*, being a very unprofitable Translatur. Others of them are referable to other former Laws, and therefore we shall onely pick out from amongst them, such as are most worthy to be taken notice of. The Eleventh makes The adulterating of Coin a Capital Crime. The twelfth Forbids any Cattel to be bought but with two Witnesses, requiring that the Skin and Head be kept three Nights, as also that of a sheep; and in case any one sell the

C. 2.
C. 3.
C. 4.

* Vide Ethelred. L. 12.
† Ibidem.
L. 9.

Vide Spelman. in Glossar.

II.
12.

Skin before three Nights be over, he is to forfeit twenty Ores. The twentieth Declares how far the King's Peace shall extend from his Gate every way, that is three Miles and three Quarters, and three Acres in breadth, nine Feet and nine Barley Corns. The two and twentieth directs that Aldredesgate and Cirgeleagete (so they are called) have their Keepers or Porters. The twenty third declares, that If a small Vessel came to Bilyngesgate, a half Penny was wont to be given for toll; if a greater bearing sails, a Penny. If a Keel or Hulk, being a long and large capacious sort of Vessel, four Pence are to be given. Out of a ship laden with wood one Piece for Toll. Thrice a Week toll of bread is to be paid, viz. on the Lord's Day, Tuesday and Thursday. If a Boat arrive with Fish, it is to pay an half penny, if it be a bigger Boat a penny. Those of Rouen in Normandy, that came with Wine or Grampois, those of Flanders and Ponthieu, and others from Normandy and France, were wont to open their wares and free them from Toll. Such as came from Liege and other Places, travelling by Land opened their wares and paid Toll. The Emperor's men coming with their ships were accounted worthy of good Laws, as we also to buy in their ships. And it was not lawful for them to forehalt the Market from the Burglars of London. They were to pay Toll, and at Christmas two gray Cloths, and one brown coloured with ten Pounds of Pepper, and five pair of Gloves with two Vessels of Vinegar, and as many at Easter. From Panniers that came with Hens, one Hen for Toll. Those that trade in Butter and Cheese fourteen days before Christmas, must pay a penny for Toll, and another penny seven days after that Festival. The twenty sixth imposes the same Punishment upon such as wittingly receive, as they that make bad money. The twenty eighth puts it into the King's Power whether to fine, or put to death such Merchants as import counterfeit bad money, and impose upon Portreeves that shall be accessory, the same Punishment as lies upon those that Coin false money, except the King think fit to pardon them. The last, That there may be fewer Minters than formerly, ordains that there be three in every great Port Town, and in every other Port one with their underworkmen. And the Governours of these Ports are required, as they will avoid the charge of Contumacy against the King, to see to the weight, and that the pieces be so stamped, that fifteen Ores may make a Pound.

The League
betwixt Ethelred
and the
Danish Army.

129. After these Laws in *Bromton* follows the League, which was made betwixt *King Ethelred* and the Army of *Anlaf*, *Justin*, and *Guthmund* the Son of *Stegete*. The first Article hereof, Establisheth a Peace betwixt the King and his People, and this Army which the King supplied with money, according to the Form of C. 1. Sax. the Agreement, made by *Sigeric* the Archbishop, and *Ethelward* and *Alfric Alder-Jornal* man, when they obtained first of the King leave to buy the peace of those Countries, which they governed. If therefore hereafter any violence be offered to England by Sea, this Army, saith the King, is to assist us, and we will prepare all necessities for its subsistence, as long as it shall continue faithful. And if so be that any Foreign Nation make Friendship with them that do the said violence, both we and the Army shall account of them as Enemies. The Second Article, Gives freedom to come into Port though belonging to the Enemy, whether driven thither by Tempest or otherwise. The third, To all their Friends and Allies confirms Peace and Security both at Sea and Land, though they be met in an Enemies Country. In case such a Friend convey his Goods into an Enemies House, he shall lose the Goods, but go free himself. But if he either flye or make resistance, or himself and be slain, no satisfaction is to be made for him. The fourth requires that If a man be robbed in a ship the Master thereof is to make satisfaction, or by four others taken to him make faith that he came lawfully to the Goods that are challenged. The next Article imposeth a Mult of twenty five pounds upon a free Englishman, that kills a Dane of free Condition, except the Murderer yield up himself: the same forfeiture a Dane incurs if he slay an Englishman. If an Englishman kill a Dane of servile condition he shall pay one pound, and the like a Dane if he kill an Englishman. If so be that eight Persons be slain, the League shall be accounted violated, but if under this Number, Compensation shall be made according to the value of the particular Persons.

130. If this happen in a Town the Townsmen are to take the Murderers alive or dead, at least their next Kinsman is to surrender them Man for Man, which if they refuse to do,

C. 2. Sax. Be ceapcypum;
C. 2. apud Fornal.
C. 3. Sax. Be ðær cýniger
fræðmannum? C. 3. apud Fornal.

Goods, but go free do not make known

C. 4. Saxon. Be ðon ðemon
type beapafes rý? C. 4. apud Fornal.

C. 5. Saxon. Be monlege? C. 5. 6. apud Fornal.

C. 6. Sax. Be fræðþec binnar
býp? C. 8. apud Fornal.

the

Seçt. 12.
20.
22.
23.

16.
28.

Unum monetarium in Stanford in per
petuum libertatem concedimus inquit Rex
Edgarus fili. Manasterio Croyland. In
golph. p. 884.

Sect. 12. the Ealdorman must doe it, if he doe it not the King; if the King refuse, that Countrey must be accounted out of the League. The Seventh Article, indemnifies both sides, for all Murthers and Plunderings before this League. The one side is not to receive the Servant, Robbers or Enemies of the other. That which follows Condemns a Countreyman, that shall plunder or kill, if it be affirmed by a Seaman and a Land man. If he kill their Cattel, he shall be taken both by the King's Party, and the Army for an Outlaw without admision of any Excuse. clares that the English purchased peace of the Army with two and twenty thousand pounds of Gold and Silver. The ninth directs that If a Man find his Goods in another Man's Hands, he with whom they are found tell where he had them, and give security to produce his Voucher. In this case if he be to send for a Man out of another Shire, he shall have convenient time to doe it. If upon offer he take the thing upon him, the other shall be acquitted with whom the Goods were found. This Voucher must then produce his, and if he live in another Shire, have a Weeks time given him to produce him; if he live beyond two Counties, a Fortnight, if beyond three, three Weeks, or a Week to be allowed for every County. But all of them must come to the place where the Goods were found. The tenth and last concerning vouching, tells us that in times past it was the Custome with whom a thing was found, that he should thrice produce Vouchers, and then they should go to the place where the Voucher lived. Now to Wisemen it seems more reasonable, that in the place where the thing is found, the Vouchery proceed till it come to a Period, lest that those who are not so able to bear it in seeking for their own be tired out with the length of the way, and time, whereas it's most just, that the trouble should be imposed upon the unjust Possessor. But he that finds his Goods is to beware, that he with whom he hath found them find sufficient security, to produce those that will save him harmless, and lest he make any unjust challenge, lest in devouring to trouble others be himself embroyed in intricate Affairs. If there be any have challenged one that's now dead, and hath no Heirs to purge him, let him if he can, prove by Witnesses that he did so challenge him, and thereupon be being discharged of the Guilt, let the blame lye upon the dead Party, except he have Friends that will legally purge him as if he had been alive. In such case he is to be taken as clear, and he is to be accounted guilty of the Theft with whom the Goods were found, forasmuch as Denial is of more weight than affirmation. Lastly, if any one in this matter of vouching, refuse to proceed any farther, but contends that the Goods were his own, he may be at his choice if he can ascertain his propriety by credible witnesses. For, if it do not otherwise appear, Propriety is presumed to be rather in the Possessor than in the Pretender.

131. The next Body of Laws which follows in Bromton, and was made at a place called Habe, are all of Ecclesiastical concernment purely except it be the fifth, which prohibits any man to be sold out of his Countrey. But there is published by Sir Henry Spelman the Acts of another Council held by this same King Ethelred at a Place called Aetham, amongst which are some that relate to the Civil State. The sixth prohibits also the sale of a Man out of his own Countrey, especially into the service of a Pagan. The seventh will have no man put to death for a small fault, but inculcates mercy. The nineteenth forbids a Widow to marry within a twelve month at least. The two and twentieth takes care for preserving the Peace, and keeping the Coin corrupt, that one and the same go throughout the Land. The like for just weights and measures, the reparation of Cities, Towns, Castles and Bridges, and warlike expeditions, both by Sea and Land. The twenty third takes care that presently after Easter, the Annual expedition by Sea be hastened, and ordains that if any Man doe any hurt to a ship designed for the service of the State, he both make satisfaction for the Damage, and be punished as a Breaker of the King's Peace. And if he utterly spoil the Vessel so as he be made unserviceable, he shall make full amends for the Damage, and farther, be taken as guilty of High Treason. The twenty fourth Deprives a Man of all his Fortunes, who deserts the Expedition whereat the King prizes himself is present. The next Deprives him that hath killed a Man, or sworn himself, of all his fortunes; also if he offer to come into the King's presence before he hath made satisfaction, except the King will dispense with him. The twenty sixth Deprives him both of Life and Fortunes that Conspires against the Life of the King. If he deny it, he must purge himself by the most solemn Oath,

C. 7. Saxon. C. 8. apud Fern.

C. 8. Saxon. Be lanter mannyr
tyhte 7 C. 9. apud Fornal.

And afterward it de-

C. 9. Sax. Be don 7e mon gepes
7e him loyos per 7 C. 10. apud
Fornal.C. 10. Saxon. Be 7e anum7
C. 11. apud Fornal.

or by treble Ordeal according to the Law of the English, or after the Danish Law, as it appoints. That which follows ordains, that if any openly set himself to oppose the Laws of Christ or the King, he be punished either by paying the value of his Head, or otherwise according to the quality of the offence; and if he procure his own death by making resistance, he must lye unrevenged. These are the Laws of King Ethelred, which respect the civil State, made as we have distinguished them at several times and places, but what these times were we are uncertain, though we be sure the Laws were made during his Reign.

132. There are others which we cannot certainly affirm to have been made in his time, though the General conjecture be that they were, and these are comprized in an Agreement or Act, which the Wisemen of England and the Councillours of Wales, made concerning the Inhabitants of the Mountains of that Countrey. The first Article of this *Senatusconsultum*, as they call it, prescribes the pursuit after Cattel, by the Footsteps from one place to another. The second wills that Within nine or ten days, the one Countreyman do write to the other whether it be in purging themselves, or in any other matter which is in Controversie. But in all Accusations between English and Welsh men, they shall clear themselves only by Ordeal, except the Accuser permit it. And each of them if they cannot otherwise have their right, may lawfully take away pledges one from him that did the fact, he that gave the offence shall redeem it, or so much of his Goods as it amounts to be seized. That he who refuses to doe Justice, may be compelled to doe it. Here twelve men, six English, and as many Welsh, shall administer Justice to those of both Nations: who in case they do not doe right shall forfeit all they have, except they excuse themselves by their Ignorance of the Law. Here behold another pattern of a Jury, and of that which we call *Medietas Linguae*, viz. when a stranger is to be tried, six English, and as many of the Parties own Countrey, at least, strangers are impelled to judge as to matter of fact, and according to their evidence give in their Verdict. The fourth Article wills, That when an English or Welsh man is accused of Theft and call in the Trial, he shall only pay the forfeit due for the Theft, and no other mulct or any thing besides. The fifth, Exacts but half of the Value of the Head, in case a Welsh man kill an English man, or an English man a Welsh man, of what Family soever the slain Party was.

133. The sixth Article, Forbids the Welsh to come into England, or the English to enter Wales, except received at the other Bank by the Borderers, who shall take care for their safe Conduct and Return. And in case any Borderer be accused of false dealing herein, and cannot by witness disprove it, let him be tried. In the same manner, if any one procure that any stranger doe any damage to a Man of the Place, and be suspected to have been privy to the Fact, with respect had to the Damage he shall be suspected to have been privy to the Fact, with respect had to the Damage he shall purge himself by the Oaths of Select men. First the Accuser shall make his Accusation by Oath; and then if the accused Party be cast in his Trial, he shall pay double Damages to the Plaintiff, and a Mulct to the Lord. The seventh Article sets the value of an Horse, that mis-carries at thirty Shillings, and if it be pretended that there was no fault in the Person accused, the Purgation shall be according to that rate, and so for the rest the value of a Mare, and a yearling Colt at twenty Shillings: A wild Asses Colt at twelve Shillings: An Ox at thirty Pence, a Cow at twenty four Pence, a Swine at eight Pence, a Sheep one Shilling, a Goat at two Pence. Any other thing unseen must be valued by Oath, and recompence made accordingly. The Eighth directs that If one find his Goods with another man, and he challenges to avowry one that lives beyond the water, then that the Controversie may come to an end, shall be given sufficient Caution. And he that finds the Goods shall by the Oaths of six men make it good, that he justly lays challenge to the thing that was stolen, but he that goes to avowry must swear alone, that he doth rightly doe it. And in case they both the River contend, that the thing questioned is of his own proper goods, he must make it evident by the Judgment of Ordeal. The ninth declares that *Wentfæte* (by which some understand *Southwales*, but others more probably *Mommouthshire* being anciently called *Gwent*, *Went*, *Wensfet* and *Wentland*, so named from its chief City which of old, had the Name of *Venta Silurum*) Some-times was subject to the Dunfetes or Mountainers, but seems rather to belong to the West Saxons. And thither they must send Tribute and Hostages of Peace. As also that if it meet, that the Mountainers send Hostages if the King think it fitting.

C. 1. Be epose gertolener 7p
per 7C. 2. Be phter peopce beyre
on 7ealum 7 Englum 7

C. 3. Be basum 7

C. 4. Be 7one 7e
lastrope 7C. 5. Be manlih
7eC. 6. Be 7on 7e
Englryce on
7yrlcland
7ayeC. 7. Be alcer
mtener 7e
opre 7yrl
hlorajC. 8. Be ope 7
end, 7e
rep 7e
beange
numC. 9. Be 7enre
7um 7
7un
7etum

Sect. 12.

134. These were the Laws made by the *English Saxon Kings*, before the *Danes* established their Monarchy throughout the Land, which *Laws King Cnut* after his return from *Rome*, commanded strictly to be observed, especially those made by the late King *Ethelred*. And being now at leisure from War, and applying himself to the good usage of what he had ill got, he made Laws of his own, respecting both the Ecclesiastical and Civil State, reinforcing some old Laws, and altering and adding others, as he found occasion, in all which, as he tells us in his Preface, he used the Council of his Wifemen, and commands those his Laws to be observed throughout *England*. "The first of Civil Concernment commands Justice to be faithfully and indifferently administered both to Poor and Rich, and abomineth all unjust Laws. The second commands Mercy to be used, and that no man be put to death for a small Offence. The third prohibits a Christian to be sold out of the Kingdom, especially to Unbelievers. The fourth banishes or Condemns to Death, Witches, Sorceresses and Whores; and threatens Thieves and such as injure and do violence to the People. The fifth forbids the Superstitions of Pagans, with Inchantments and Delusions. The sixth expels Murderers, perjured Persons, and Adulterers out of the Land except they speedily repent. The seventh exhorts all men to beware of these Crimes and suppress all Flatterers, Lyars, Robbers, Thieves. The eighth commands to all People the keeping of the Peace, orders one and the same good Money to be current, and no man to refuse it. If any one imburse the Money, his Hands are to be cut off without any redemption. And if a Reeve or Governour be accused that it was done by his consent, he shall purge himself by a treble purgation, and if he be caught in the same punishment. The ninth enjoins a due care to be had of just Weights and Measures. The tenth commands as the Law of *Ethelred* (for these are but as repetitions of his Laws) that "Towns and Bridges be well looked to, and that the Militia both by Sea and Land be enforced according as the necessity of the Commonwealth requires. By the eleventh he promises to use and entertain such Councils as may tend to the promotion of Justice, the profit of the State, and the advancement of Christian Piety.

Of Forfeitures incurred by the Law.

135. That which follows, being the twelfth, is remarkable for comprizing those *Forfeitures* which the King challenges as due to himself in the Countries of the West Saxons, except he please to conier them upon any other, viz. "The Penalty incurred for breach of the Peace, for breaking into an Houle, stopping up a Passage, and forsaking ones Colours. If also for some Crime a man be outlawed the restitution of him to his former condition belongs to the King. He also that possesseth Bocland, forfeits to the King, whoever else may be his Lord. And whoever relieves or harbours a Fugitive, except he can plead ignorance, shall pay to the King five Pounds. The thirteenth Law makes the same Challenge of all these Mulcts or Forfeitures in *Mercia*. The fourteenth makes the same Challenge in such parts as are governed by the Law of the *Danes*, of Mulcts incurred for fighting, refusing to goe out in the Militia, breaking the Peace, and violent entry of an Houle, except he honour any man else, by granting these Royalties to him. The like is to be said of such an one as harbours or relieves one that is made incapable of the King's Peace. If any Judge have for hatred or lucre perverted Justice, by the Law of the *English* he is to pay to the King the value of his Head, and also to be removed from his place, or redeem it as the King shall please, except he plead that what he did was out of ignorance, and then he must confirm this Assertion by Oath. By the Law of the *Danes* he is to incur the Mulct of the breach of the Law, except he plead Ignorance. In case any oppose or refuse to submit to lawful Judgment, let the Mulct be theirs that are concerned. If it belong to the King the Fine shall be an Hundred Shillings, if to the Earl Sixty Shillings, if to the Hundred thirty. By the *English* Law, if all be concerned, all are to be paid. But by the Law of the *Danes*, if any one make opposition to the just administration of the Law, he is to pay *Lablitte*.

C. 1. Sax.

C. 2. Sax. c. 25. *Apud* *Jornal*.C. 3. Sax. c. 20. *Apud* *Jornal*.C. 4. Sax. c. 26. *Apud* *Jornal*.C. 5. Sax. c. 27. *Apud* *Jornal*.C. 6. Sax. c. 28. *Apud* *Jornal*.C. 7. Sax. c. 29. *Apud* *Jornal*.C. 8. Sax. C. c. 29. & 30. *Apud* *Jornal*.C. 9. Sax. c. 31. *Apud* *Jornal*.

C. 10. Sax.

C. 11. Sax. c. 32. *Apud* *Jornal*.C. 12. Sax. c. 33. *Apud* *Jornal*.

C. 13. Sax.

C. 14. Sax.

C. 15. Sax. c. 34. & 35. *Apud* *Jornal*.

136. This

136. This word *Lablitte* is *Danish*, and first found in those *English Danish* Laws.

It signifies properly the *Transgression* or *Breach* of the Law, but here secondarily, the *penalty incurred for that breach*. The Reader must take notice, that though the *Danes* mingled here with the *English*, yet both Nations preserved their own common Laws and Customs. The *English* for as much as can be perceived, to every several sort of offences assigned generally their several Mulcts, which they called *Gildwites*. But the *Danes* punished several offences by one sort of Animadversion called *Lablitte*. Therefore in these Laws often occurs, *Let the English man be punished with Gildwite, and the Danish with Lablitte*. But though this one punishment was common with them for several Offences, yet was it various in quantity according to the condition of the Party offending. As, a man of liberal condition his *Lablitte* was five Marks, His *Sumner* in that possessed *Bocland* three Marks, that of a *Ceorle* or *Countreyman* twelve Ores, *Gleifar*, ex *Textu* *Reffensh*. Here we have what answers to the *English* *Twelfhind*, *Sexbind* and *Twibind* men. Some have imagined, that when *Lablitte* is mentioned in general terms or *Wite* in reference to the *English*, the value of them is *twelve Ores*, because of that Article in the League, renewed betwixt King *Edward* and *Guthrum*, which ordains, that if a Priest deny Baptism, where it is requisite, he shall pay *Wite* with the *English*, or *Lablitte* with the *Danes*, that is, faith the Text, *twelve Ores*. But this was the lowest sort of these Mulcts, neither can we imagine that the punishment for breach of all Laws was the same, or not fitted to the height of the Crime.

137. The fifteenth Law of *Cnute* confirms that of King *Alfred*, "Whereby is ordained, that he that by defamation does another man damage in his Body or Fortunes, and is convicted of falshood by the proofs of the Party, have his Tongue cut out, except he redeem it with the value of his Head. The sixteenth also, as other Laws before mentioned, will have no Complaints made to the King, except relief cannot be had in the Hundred, at the Meeting whereof all are to be present, or be amerced for their absence. The seventeenth requires, that the *Burglemote* be held thrice a year, and the *Sciregemote* twice or oftener, whereat the Bishop and Alderman are to be present to those purposes as has been before said. The eighteenth will have no man by taking away Pledges, or distraining to doe right to himself against any man, except he have four times demanded it, and expected right to be done him in vain in the Hundred; then he has liberty to get his own where he can. The nineteenth commands, that every one of free condition put himself into some Hundred and Tithing as he desires, that being in a condition to purge himself he may also be in capacity to claim from another the value of his Head. Otherwise none that exceeds twelve years, in case he receive any wrong, shall be capable of enjoying the same Privilege with a Free man. Be he Master of a Family or a Retainer, he must be entered into some Hundred or other, and must have Fideiussors or Sureties for his appearance in case he be accused of any Crime. Some great men, as they can doe it, protect their Servants, giving out sometimes, that they are Free, other times that they are Slaves, but we not induring any such unjust practice, command, that every one of twelve years of Age give security by Oath, that he will neither steal himself, nor be accessory to the Theft of any other. Thus doth he revive what King *Alfred* had before cautioned, that no Freeman should be without Society, without Law, or live at randome, without this most Efficacious Curb of Suretyship, by being thus received. And to what was before, added this Caution of *twelve years*, beyond which for the publick Peace and security none were to live without being admitted and received into some Hundred and Tithing.

138. The twentieth Law of King *Cnute* "so far indulges a man unblameable and of good repute, who never brake his Oath in the Hundred, nor was cast by the Ordeal, that his single purgation be accepted. But a man of the contrary reputation shall either be compelled to take his single Oath in three Hundreds, or a threefold one according to the custom of that Court, or be put to the Ordeal. But a single Purgation is to be made with a threefold preparatory Oath. A man of good esteem may have some faithfull man in his stead to be his Prejurour, or else he must doe it himself; for a preparatory Oath is never to be omitted. The one and twentieth forbids any man to have the privilege of vouchery, except by sufficient Witnes to prove from whom

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"he had the Goods that are found with him. The Witnesses must affirm, as they love God and their Lords, that they have most religiously born testimony, and that both by their Eyes and Ears they are assured that he rightly came by the thing in question. The twenty second revives the Laws about buying without Witnesses, forbidding any thing to be bought above the value of four pence without the testimony of four Credible Witnesses. In case any one buy any thing contrary to this Law, if any one challenge the thing so bought, the Buyer shall not have the benefit of Vouchery, but restore him the thing, with the just price of it, and a Mulct to whom of right it belongs. But if the thing was bought by legal Testimony, he shall have thrice allowed him the liberty of Vouchery, and the fourth time the thing is to be delivered to the Owner, except some other make use of his right in challenging it to be his. For neither doth it seem fitting to us that any one should challenge a thing when there are Witnesses to disprove it, and consequently he is convicted to be guilty of Fraud or Malice; neither that what was stole should be recovered within a less time than six Months.

139. The twenty third directs, that if a man of evil report absent himself from the Public Meetings thrice, at the fourth time some of that Court go thither, and if they can get no Sureties for his appearance, to apprehend him alive or dead, to seize on all he hath, and when the just pretenders have received the true value of what they lay claim to, then of that which is left the Lord shall have one half, and the Hundred the other. If any of the Court, of Kin or Stranger, refuse to goe, he shall for that fine to the King in an hundred and twenty Shillings. Of those that are taken in the manner of stealing, or betraying their Lords, their lives shall in no wise be spared. The twenty fourth forbids one Accusation to be superfed by another, but as the Hundreds shall think fit, orders the first to proceed. The next forbids also the harbouring of a man above three days, except recommended by him he formerly served: As also to remove his Servant from his House till he have purged himself of what is laid to his Charge. That which follows denounceth, that if any one meet a Thief and permit him to pass without discovering him, shall pay the utmost Farthing of the value of the man's head, be it as much as it will, or by a full and perfect Oath make it good that he knew nothing of his Theft. And if he cried out against him, and those that heard him would not pursue the Robber, they shall be punished as contumacious against the King, except they make void the suspicion. The twenty seventh, in case a man be of evil report in the Hundred, and be accused by three several men, admits of no purgation but by threefold Ordeal. But if his Lord affirm that he hath neither broken his Oath, nor since the Council held at Winchester been cast by the Ordeal, out of that Hundred the Lord shall take one or two men of Credit, and with them make Oath, that he neither hath broken his Faith formerly given, nor been condemned by the Ordeal, nor paid nothing for stealing; except some Reeve or Officer there be whose authority may have weight sufficient to clear him without these Oaths. If they make their Oaths, the Accused shall be at choice whether he will be tried by single Ordeal, or make an Oath in three Hundreds, which in proportion shall answer to one Pound and thirty Pence. But in case they refuse to swear he shall goe under the Examination of threefold Ordeal after this manner.

140. "The Accuser must find five Persons who shall be Prejurours, and he himself shall be the sixth. As soon as the Accused is cast, the first time he shall pay double damages to the Accuser, and to his Lord, if he have shewn himself worthy of it, the full value of his own Head, and give Sureties that he will abstain from all Crimes for the time to come. But in case he be cast the second time, he shall have no liberty of making any Compensation, but his Hands, or Feet, or both, if the heinousness of the offence require it, shall be cut off. But if after this he doth not leave off his former Courses but still commit more Villanies, then as they shall think fit that are concerned, either his Eyes shall be pulled out, his Nose cut off, his Ears or his Upper lip, or his Skin be drawn over his Ears for an Example, with a respect to the safety of his Soul. If he flee and escape the Judgment of Ordeal, his Sureties shall make full satisfaction to the Accuser, and to the King or some other that deserves it, the value of his Head. But if his Lord be accused for having been accessory to his escape after the Fact committed, with five men of credit he must purge himself, which if he do, he shews himself to be worthy of the

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"value of his Servant's Head. If he do not, the King shall have the value of Sect. 12.
"the Head, and the Thief shall by all men be taken as excluded from the benefit of the Law.

141. "The twenty eight will have every Master to be Fideiussor, or responsible for the appearance of all his Family. And if any of his Servants be impeached, he shall answer it in that Hundred where the other brings the Action. In case any of them accused of a Crime run away, his Master shall pay the value of his Head to the King. If the Master be accused as accessory to his flight, he shall purge himself by five men of good repute. If he do not acquit himself he shall pay to the King the value of his Head, and his Servant shall be outlaw'd. The twenty ninth enacts, that if a Bondman or Slave be by the Ordeal condemned, he shall first be marked with an hot Iron, and if cast the second time, be put to death. The thirtieth ordains, that if a man be of evil report so as no man speaks well of him, the Reeve (the Sheriff doubtless is meant) shall take security for his appearance when he is called, which if he do not give, he shall be put to death and buried in a prophane place: And if any one stand up in his defence, he shall incur the same punishment. And if any Officer neglect or refuse to put this in Execution, he shall by one universal Sentence pay an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King. The thirty first wills the same manner of Purgation of Criminals be used in all Boroughs. The next directs, that if a man be destitute of all Friends or be a Stranger so that he hath none to be bound for him, such an one, if accused, shall be sent into Custody to be examined by the Ordeal. That which follows sentences such as are convicted to have forsworn themselves upon the Gospels or Sacra, to loose their Hands, or to give half the value of their Heads to the Lord and the Bishop. The thirty fourth accounts it of small moment, that one who has openly born false Witness have no Credit given to his Testimony for the time to come; but orders, that he moreover pay to the King or the Lord the Fine wont to be paid in the room of the Neck being tyed, called Healsfange.

142. The twelve Laws that follow next in course respect Ecclesiastical Matters, and therefore to such we must refer them. "The forty seventh requires, that Adultery be punished more or less as the Circumstances be, affirming it bad for a Married Man to lie with a Maid, much more with another Man's Wife or one in Religion. The forty eight directs, that incest be punished either with the value of the Head, with a Mulct, or the loss of the whole Estate, there being a difference betwixt abusing ones own Sister and another Kinwoman more remote. The next Chastizes him that Ravishes a Widow or a Virgin with the payment of the value of his own Head. The fiftieth denounceth, that if a Man's Wife be convicted to have lain with another Man, she shall for ever be noted as Infamous, and her Husband shall have all that belongs to her; besides she shall loose her Nose and her Ears. But if she be once accused of Whoredom, and in the Tryal be cast, the Bishop in such case is to be Judge, and commanded in his Judgment to be severe. As for Married men the next Law enjoyneth, that "if one lie with his own Maid Servant he forfeit her and make satisfaction both to God and Man: If besides his Wife he keep a Concubine, the Priest shall deny him all Christian Privileges till he put her away, and as well by his forbearance for the future as in other things according to the Bishop's direction, he have made ample satisfaction. That which follows banishes Strangers with all their Vices and Fortunes out of the Land if they do not bridle their Lusts. By the fifty third, if a Man upon premeditated malice kill another, he shall be delivered up to the kindred of the slain. If he be once accused of the Murder and be found guilty, the Bishop in that case shall be his Judge.

143. "By virtue of the fifty fourth Law, whoever conspires against the King, or his Lord shall forfeit Life and Fortunes, except he purge himself by threefold Ordeal. By order of the fifty fifth, He that breaks his Faith given to the King shall forfeit five Pounds; if it was to an Archbishop or great Nobleman three Pounds, if to a Bishop or Alderman two. If any fight in the Court, by the next that follows, it's Capital except the King will pardon it. The fifty seventh punishes him that shall disfarm a man with that which they call Heals-

"fange,

The manner
of Examination
on by three-
fold Ordeal.

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C.28.Sax.c.52.
Apud Jarnal.C.29.Sax.c.53.
Apud Jarnal.C.30.Sax.c.54.
Apud Jarnal.

31.

32.

33.

34.

C.47.Sax.c.75.
Apud Jarnal.C.48.Sax.c.76.
Apud Jarnal.C.49.Sax.c.77.
Apud Jarnal.C.50.Sax.c.78.
Apud Jarnal.C.51.Sax.c.79.
C.50. Apud Jarnal.C.52.Sax.c.81.
Apud Jarnal.C.53.Sax.c.82.
Apud Jarnal.

C.54.Sax.c.83. Apud Jarnal.

C.55.Sax.c.84. Apud Jarnal.

C.56.Sax.c.85. Apud Jarnal.

C.57.Sax.c.86. Apud Jarnal.

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"fange, if he binds him, with half the value of his Head. The next restrains the violence of Souldiers, ordaining, that if in an Expedition any break the Peace he shall either forfeit his life or the value of it; and if he plunder make sufficient Compensation. That which follows, declares, that he that breaks into another man's Houfe, according to the Law of the *English*, is to pay five Pounds to the King; if it be done where the Law of the *Danes* obtaineth, he must be punished according to their Custome. And if he be justly killed in the Attempt, nothing shall be forfeited upon that account. The sixth ordains, That if one man rob another of any thing, he restore the thing together with the value of it and pay the value of his Head to the King. The sixty first declares breaking down and burning of Houses open Theft, manifest Murthers and betraying of one's Lord, according to humane Laws, to be Crimes, for which there is no *bote* or satisfaction to be made, by way of Mulct or Compensation. The next fines such as shall deny to pay toward the Repairing of Towns, or mending of Bridges, as shall refuse to go upon the Warlike Expedition, if he be an *English* man, an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King; if he be a *Dane*, he is to make satisfaction according to their Custome; or fourteen men are to be named to him, out of which number he may make his choice of eleven to purge himself. 144. The sixty third in like manner declares, that "all ought to contribute to the repairing of the Churches. The sixty fourth denounces against such as shall harbour Excommunicated or Outlawed Persons, that they shall bring them forth to Justice, make satisfaction to those that are concern'd and pay the value of their Heads to the King. But in case they will keep and defend them, loss of Life and all their Fortunes. The next wills, that Mercy be shewn as much as may be to such as plainly and unfeignedly amend their ways. And by that which follows, the King declares he will put a difference betwixt small and Great, Rich and Poor, Young and Old, Infirm and Healthfull, forasmuch as some men may offend out of a kind of necessity, and a distinction is to be made betwixt a forced and a voluntary act. Therefore will he succour where there is most need of his Help. The sixty seventh contains an Act of Grace of the King to his Subjects, whereby he relieves such as formerly were oppressed. He enjoys all his Officers, that they make provision for his House out of his own Lands and Tillage, and that they compell no man to furnish him with any Conveniencies in this kind, upon pain of paying the value of their Heads if they impose any Mulcts upon Refusers. The sixty eighth ordains, that in case any man by neglect or by the suddenness of his death depart this World Intestate, his Lord shall take nothing of his Goods but what is due to him as an Heriot. But all is to be distributed by his Judgment to the Wife, Children, and next Kindred justly according to their several right. The sixty ninth in order settles the Rates of the Heriots, ordering that the Heriot of every one be according to his Dignity. As first, that of an Earl eight Horses, whereof four with Furniture and four without, four Helms, as many Corsets, eight Spears, as many Shields, four Swords, and two hundred Mancuses of Gold. That of a King's chief Thane four Horses, whereof two with Furniture and two without, two Swords, four Spears, as many Shields, one Helmet, one Corset, and fifty Mancuses of Gold. The Heriot of an Inferiour Thane an Horse with Furniture and Arms, or amongst the West Saxons the sum that is paid called *Halsfange*, in *Mercia* and East *England* two Pounds; but amongst the *Danes* the Heriot of a King's Thane, who has free jurisdiction, is four Pounds. And if he be nearer to the King his Heriot is two Horses, whereof the one with Furniture and the other without, a Sword, two Spears, as many Targets, and fifty Mancuses of Gold. But the Heriot of a Thane of the lowest condition is two Pounds.

145. This word *Heriot*, or as the true Saxon word is, *Heregeate*, signifies Furniture for War, given by the Vassal to his Lord, probably at first de-

Ab bepe exercitus
 & geote a Saxon geotan fundere & Metaphorice reddere vel erogare, unde Scoto Britannis Herezeld, q. d. Heregeld, g in z, (ut illi sepe) transmuta.

C. 58. Sax. c. 87. Apud Journal.

C. 59. Sax. c. 88. Apud Journal.

C. 60. Sax. c. 89. Apud Journal.

C. 61. Sax. þurbpec. 7 þæpnet
 7 open 8yþ. 7 æbeþemoph. 7
 þlaporþþec. ætþec þecpulu laga
 is þeclear. c. 90. Apud Journal.

C. 62. Sax. c. 91. Apud Journal.

C. 63. Sax. c. 92. Apud Journal.

C. 64. Saxon. c. c. 93, 94. Apud Journal.

C. 65. Sax. c. 94. Apud Journal.

C. 66. Sax. c. 95. Apud Journal.

C. 67. Sax. c. 96. Apud Journal.

C. 68. Sax. c. 97. Apud Journal.

C. 69. Sax. c. 97. Apud Journal.

signed

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signed for the driving away Thieves and Robbers, which abounded when the *Danish* or Northern Nations so frequently invaded the Land; for though the word *Here* do in the Saxon Language signify an Army, yet is it in our Saxon Authors (when without composition) generally taken in the worst sense, for Invaders and Spoilers, a lawful Army collected by the King for the Defence of the Nation, being called by the Name of *Fyrd*. Sir *Henry Spelman* fetches the Original of *Fyrd*, the thing from *Clodone* King of the *Franks*, who having about the Year of Our Lord DXI. given the *Alamans* a very great overthrow, and deprived them of all Honour and Liberty, assigned them as Vassals, some to his Treasury, and some to the Church, the former being termed *Servi Fiscalini* and *Fiscales*, and these *Servi Ecclesiastici*. He ordained, that when any Master of a Family Died, the Officer of the King, or Bishop should seize upon the best Horse he had, or the Cloths of most value. Some are of opinion, that to this *Heriot* succeeded what was afterward called *Relief*; but that these were several is manifest in this, that sometimes both an *Heriot* and *Relief* were paid from the same Lands, and an *Heriot* had place where an Heir did not succeed in the Patrimony, which *Relief* never had. Mr. *Lambard* thought that the *Normans* when they Conquered the Land, and spoiled the inhabitants of all their Arms and furniture for War, remitted the *Heriot*, and took Money in its stead. Most probable it is, that *Heriot* and *Relief* were different, and that Vassals in the *English* Saxon times contributed those Habillments of War to their Lords, towards the Expulsion of those Northern Thieves and Invaders, as we said. Their Land they held on that condition with that burthen and service, and therefore they held them as Feudataries. *Heriots* were in use in the Infancy of *Fees*, when *Fees* were held in a more general and Law sense, as we have already demonstrated. *Relief* succeeded when they were grown up to more regulation and certainty, clothed with new circumstances, of Succession, and the like. The giving of Horses and Arms by Vassals to their Lord, was a thing also practised by the *Germans* and *Italians*.

146. To make an end of King *Cnute* his Laws, The seventieth " Confirms " to a Woman and her Children the Seat and Habitation which her Husband enjoyed. But if there were any Suits commenced against the Man " when living, his Heir must answer them. The seventy first Requires " Widows to continue in Widowhood twelve months, and then permits them " to Marry. If a Woman Marry before her twelve months be out, she is " to loose her Dowry, with all that her Husband left her, which is to come, " in such case, to the next akin; and he that Marries her shall pay the value " of his Head to the King, or whomsoever he assigns it. Nay, although the " was taken by force she shall loose all the had, except the depart and return " no more to this Husband. Widows are not suddenly to enter into Religion; " Widows shall not be compelled to pay their *Heriots* till twelve months be " over, especially if not able to pay before. A Woman, by the seventy second " Law, is not to be compelled to Marry against her will, nor sold, except " the Man voluntarily will give something. The next confirms what had been " formerly enacted, Concerning a Man's leaving his Weapon at another Man's " Door, and another's making ill use of it. That which follows in like manner " confirms what was Law before, Concerning a Woman's not being ac- " cessory to the Theft of her Husband. First, if a Man be convicted to have " brought stolen Goods into his House, it's the same thing as if he stole them; " but his Wife shall not be accounted guilty of Theft, except she kept it un- " der Lock and Key. Now the Wife ought to keep the Keys of these things, " viz. of the Store-house, of the Chest of Cloths, and her Coffer; in any of " which if she lock up any thing, she is to be accounted guilty of Theft. " Otherwise the Wife cannot hinder her Husband from bringing any thing into " his House. It was the custome (such is the avarice of Men) for the Child " which lay in the Cradle, and never yet had eaten Meat, yea though it was " asleep, to be accounted as guilty of this Crime as if it had had understand- " ing. But I (saith the King) absolutely forbid that, with some other things that " are odious to God Almighty. Here Mr. *Selden* demandeth if from any other " Fountain than this can be derived what *Henry de Bracton* and other *English* Law- " yers deliver, concerning a Man's Wife being accessory to his Theft.

147. The seventy fifth Law " Deprives him of Life and Estate, who either " in an Expedition by Land or Sea deserts his Lord, or his Fellow Souldier: " and in such case the Lord is to have back the Land he gave him; or if it " was

Temp. Coura-
 di primi vide
 Sigismund de
 Reg. Italia.
 l. 2.

C. 70. Sax.
 c. 98. apud
 Journal.
 C. 71. Sax.
 c. 99. apud
 Journal.

C. 72. Sax.
 c. 101. apud
 Journal.
 C. 73. Sax.
 c. 102. apud
 Journal.

C. 74. Sax.
 c. 103. apud
 Journal.

In Jan. An-
 glorum.

C. 75. Sax.
 c. 104. apud
 Journal. Et 105.

Sect. 12.

"was *Bocland* it goes to the King. But in case any one dye in a Fight in the preference of his Lord, either at home or abroad, his *Heriot* shall be remitted, and his Children shall succeed both to his Goods and Lands, and rightly divide them. The seventy sixth Gives him liberty that hath defended his Land, and cleared it from all doubts and incumbrances in the Sciregemote or County Court, to possess it quietly while he lives, and to leave it to whom he pleaseth when he dies. The seventy seventh Gives liberty to every Man to Hunt in his own Grounds, but forbids all under penalty to meddle with the King's Game, especially in those places which he had Fenced by privilege.

By those places thus privileged, he means those which afterwards the *Normans* called (a) *Forests*, being Ground defart and woody, most commonly exposed to the King's Wild Beasts or Deer, not fenced about with any Hedge or Wall, but circumscribed and privileged, as here he words it, Fenced with certain Bounds, Laws, Immunities, Magistrates, Judges, Officers and Servants. Concerning these *Forests*, he published Constitutions thirty four in (b) Number, which because he mentions them not in this nor in any other of his Laws, seem to have been made afterwards. But the thirtieth Article is almost the very same with this Law, forbidding all to meddle with his Game, but permitting them in their own Grounds, (c) yet without Chase. Afterwards the *Norman* Kings made strange improvement of what he began, turning many Towns and Churches into Dens of Wild Beasts, with what success it's neither pleasing nor seasonable for us here to relate. The seventy eighth Law requires, that *Drinclean* and other Offices of Service "due to Lords, be inviolably observed. Mr. *Lambard* interprets this *Drinclean*, *Honorary Gifts of Drink*. It seems the same with *Scotale*, which was Ale wherewith Fellow-Vassals joyning together were wont to entertain their Lords or their Stewards when they came to their Manors. The seventy ninth Law revives the Law before, which will have C. 79. Sax.

"All enjoy perfect peace, and be free from all molestation which go to, or return from Gemotes or Publick Meetings; as now they that are Members of Parliament. The eightieth and last, in Confirmation of all these Laws made by the King to be observed by all his Subjects, upon any that shall break them, for the first offence imposeth the value of his own head wherther he be *English* or *Dane*; for the second offence it doubles the punishment; and for the third, deprives him of all his Fortunes. The King closeth all with a very Religious Exhortation to Piety, and a Prayer.

148. There are one only now remaining the Laws of King *Edward* the Confessor. These we have not published in the *Saxon* Tongue, nor as he set them forth, but as they were afterwards confirmed by *William* the Conqueror, and as Transcribed by one who had lived in the Days of *Henry* the Second, or after, who has interlaced them with things very much, sometimes Foreign to the purpose, and with tales of King *Arthur*, and other matters. At best they are a Rhapsody of things, rather telling and explaining things what they anciently were, than exprest in Legislative manner; but of such of them as make for our purpose, (as several of them do) and give us light in the Discovery of the ancient Polity or frame of Government of our *English* *Saxon* Ancestors, if we have not already made use of them, we shall give the Reader an Account.

To pass those which are merely of Ecclesiastical Concernment. The eleventh Law or Article tells us what was the Original of *Danegeld*, declaring that The payment of it was appointed for Pirates, which infesting the Countrey, wasted it to their utmost power. Now for repressing their Insolence, *Danegeld* was appointed to be yearly paid, viz. twelve pence out of every Hide of Land throughout the Kingdom, to hire those that should resist the Irruption of Pirates. Here the Reader is to remember what we said before concerning King *Ethelred*'s raising of this Money called *Danegeld*, that two sorts of Payments are called by that Name, viz. that which upon occasion was raised to give the *Danes* wherewith to buy off their Hostilities now and then as the case required, and that other which was imposed for procuring *Danish* Ships and Men to restrain the

C. 76. Sax. c. 106. apud Jarnal.

C. 77. Sax. c. 106.

(a) *A Latin. foris, sine extra Forestiere pro peregrinis, Sicut autem hujusmodi Saxonibus nostris & Danis dicebantur Buc Dole, i. e. Saltem Cervinus; aliter teporal vel temporalis, q. d. ferarum stabulum.*

(b) *Vide eas si placeat apud Spelman. in Glossar. voc. Forestia.*

(c) *Sine Chace tamen quid hoc faciit venatores videmus.*

C. 78. Sax. c. 109. apud Jarnal. Drinclean a Sax. tunc & lean pendium, tributum, unde nostrations Loane.

Scotale a Sax. poot (patius pceat) symbolum & ale cerevisia.

C. 80. Sax. c. 110. apud Jarnal.

11. De *Danegeld*, *Danegellum redditus* proprii gratiar primus status est, &c.

Danegeld laid upon Hides.

the Irruptions and Infolencies of the Northern Rovers, the former (as we said Sect. 12) was upon occasion, but this was Annual. As for the payment of the latter, the Customs were, according to the Laws of that Age, that the Richer sort should be taxed according to the number of Hides, as is evident from *Doom/day* Book, written in the time of King *William* the first. Now as to the Rate, *Marianus Scottus*, *Hoveden* and *Florentius Wigorniensis*, all tell us that at that time whosoever possessed three hundred and ten *Calvats* or *Hides* of Land, was charged with the building of one Ship, and a Coat of Armour and an Helmet was imposed upon nine, or as *Huntingdon* and others upon eight; all being rated proportionably after this manner, who were owners of more or fewer Hides, or of part of an Hide. *Huntingdon* saith an *Hide* was so much Land as could be Tilled with one Plough in one year. But others of the quantity of *Hides* determine otherwise. And indeed it was various according to the different Customs of several Countreys.

149. Some there are who write, that two Shillings were yearly laid upon every *Hide* of Land for suppression of those Pirates, so that they make the payment double to what is said by this Law ascribed to King *Edward*. But as they differ herein without any reason; so do they with as little discretion fet the yearly Tax at the rate of thirty eight thousand Pounds; as others do at thirty thousand. For at what Rate soever that Tribute was paid to the King according to the alteration of times, it appears for certain from our several Histories that the Stipends usually allotted to the *Danish* Fleet were so uncertain, that they were sometimes higher, sometimes lower, as it could scarcely otherwise happen, according to the number of Ships and Forces, that were necessary for defence of the Realm. This payment being higher or lower as occasion served, was to be sure paid till the year MLI, or the tenth of this King *Edward* the Confessor. "But then as *Ingulphus* himself tells us, in regard that the Earth did not bring forth its fruits in such plenty as it was wont, but devoured many People by Famine, thousands dying through scarcity of Corn and want of Bread, the Pious King being moved with Compassion towards the People, released that most grievous Tribute called *Danegeld* to all *England* for ever. It is reported (saith he) by some, that this most Religious King being brought by his Officers into the Treasury to see the *Danegeld* that was collected, and to take a view of so vast an heap of Treasure, stood amazed at the sight, protesting that he beheld the Devil dancing upon the heap of Money, and extremely rejoicing, wherupon he immediately commanded it should be restored to its former Owners, and would not keep any of so cruel an Exaction, but remitted it for ever, viz. In the thirty eighth year after *Suane* King of *Denmark* commanded it to be paid every year to his Navy, in the time of his Father *Ethelred*. So *Ingulphus*, with whom agree both *Hoveden* and *Matthew of Westminster*, that King *Edward* remitted it for ever. Yet whatever this good King might relapse or order, the Dialogue belonging to the Exchequer makes it to have been paid for fourteen years longer, till the time of the Conqueror; nay, during his Reign, and the Reigns of his Successors, when they either had or suspected a War with Foreigners. From *Hoveden* it appears, as well as from the Interpolator of *St. Edward's* Laws, that it was paid to *William Rufus* and King *Stephen*, and from the Accounts of the Exchequer, sometimes to *Henry* the second, after which it grew out of date, other Courses being taken to frower the Seas and defend the Kingdom, of which we are not here to take notice.

150. The twelfth Article of *St. Edward's* Laws declares, That the Peace of the King is manifold. As sometimes it's given by his own hand, which the English call *Cynninger* hence realbe gnyb. This was given to places and Persons by way of Privilege as to Churches or Churchmen within their own Walls, as appears by the League betwixt King *Edward* and *Guthrun* the *Dane*, in which it is termed *Cynninger* hans gnyb. Another sort of Peace is on that day he is Crowned, which lasts eight days. That at Christmas, which holds also eight days, as also at the Feasts of Easter and Whitsonide. Another sort is given by his Brief or Letters. And another there is belonging to the four great High-ways, viz. *Wallingstreet*, *Foss*, *Hicknildstreet*, and *Ermingstreet*, whereof two are extended to the length, and two to the breadth of the Kingdom. Another yet there is of the Rivers of note, which convey Provisions to Cities or Towns. Then doth this Writer declare the Forfeitures incurred for breach of these several sorts of the King's Peace, as to which we refer the Reader to the Laws and Customs already mentioned, as well as to what he here writes thereof; only here mentioning this, that the Breach of the King's Peace in those great High-ways and Rivers was punishable in the greater Assemblies or Courts

Dialogus Scaccarii M. S. Item Math. Westm. c. 9. Math. Paris. Vide Seldenum *de Jure Feudali* lib. 20 c. 11.

Sect. 12.

Sect. 12. Courts of Judicature, but that in the lesser Ways and Waters was subject to the Law of the County. The fourteenth declares, That *Treasure found in the Earth is the King's, except found in a Church or Church-yard; in this case if it be Gold it's all the King's; if Silver one half goes to him and another to the Church.*

151. The fifteenth treateth of Murderer, and declares, That if any one was murdered, the Murderer was wont to be enquired for in the Village or Town where the Body was found. If he was discovered, he was delivered up to the King's Justice within eight days after the Fact committed. In case he could not be found, a Month and a day was allowed for search after him, within which term, if he could not be found, forty six Marks were gathered out of the Town, and if it was not able to pay so much, what it could not the Hundred was liable to. But so far as such as this payment could not be made in the Towns, and Inconveniencies arose, the Barons took care that six and forty Marks should be paid out of the Hundred, and being sealed up with the Seal of some one Baron of the County, they were sent to the Treasurer, and by him kept so sealed up for a Year and a Day, within which time if the Murderer was found out, upon his delivery to the King's Justice they were to be repaid; but in case within that time he could not be discovered, then were the Kindred of the Murdered Party to have six of the Marks, and the King the other forty. If he had no Kindred his Lord was to receive it; and if no Lord his sworn and devoted Friend and Companion. If none of these there were, the King should have the whole Sum, all men living under his Peace and Protection. Now the sixteenth Article tells us, that Murders were found out and appointed (that is this way of discovery and punishing the Hundred if the Party could not be found) in the days of Canute the Danish King, who after he had gotten England and settled it in Peace, at the request of the English Barons sent back his Army into Denmark. These Barons became Sureties to the King, that all that staid behind him should in all things enjoy perfect Peace. But in case an Englishman killed any of them, if he could not clear himself by the Judgment of God, that is, by Water or Iron (meaning Ordeal) Justice was to be executed upon him, And in case he escaped, Payment was to be made as is aforesaid.

152. That which made King Canute thus fearful and cautious, was the memory of the Massacre committed upon the Danes, during the Reign, and by the Command of King Ethelred. The sense of this made him keep an Army on foot along time, which forely oppressing the People gave occasion to the Request of the Nobility, (the Norman Interpolator calls them Barons) and to the making of this Law. And when the Normans had conquered the Countrey, they Confiscated to themselves that from their usage of the Natives, they could expect no better entertainment than what the Danes had received, made use of it for their own safety. If a Norman was found slain, his death was more grievously by far punished than that of an Englishman; the onely mitigation of it was if the Englecheria of him that was killed could be made out, that is, that he was an Englishman, and neither Dane nor Norman, nor any Stranger.

Hence came this word Englecheria, Englecheria, or Englecheria to be used as the name of this Law. For, as Brañon writes, when any one was killed it was presumed he was a Frenchman, Nisi Englecheria, i.e. quod Anglicus sit probetur per parentes & coram Justitiariis præsentetur. Except his Englecheria, that is, that he was an Englishman could be proved by his Relations and presented before the Justices. But this Law was abrogated by the Statute of the Fourteenth of Edward the Third as Stanford writes, who delivers also that this Englecheria was an Institution of the Common Law, whereby you may take notice, saith Sir Henry Spelman, that our Modern Lawyers attribute that to the Common Law, whereof they can find neither beginning in their Annals nor in their Book of Statutes. But according to this History, and the Original of it, well enough doth Brañon define Murder to be the killing of a Man privately, none either being present, knowing, bearing, or seeing. But Fleta seems beside the matter, saying, that it was not Murder except it was proved that the Party slain was English and no Stranger, as Dr. Cowell understands him, who rightly observes, that at this day Murder is otherwise to be defined, viz. by premeditated malice, whether secretly or openly, be the man what he will.

14.

15.

16.

*Fiditium Substantivum à Saxonic.
Englyc. Anglicus. Quæst Anglicus
vel natiuus Anglica.*

*Vide Brañon. L. 3. Trañ. l. i.
c. 15.*

Pl. Cor. l. i. c. 2.

*Ex quo animadverba bodimus Juris
confutis id legi Communi tribuere, cum
mismum nec in Annalibus suis nec in Statu-
torum Volumine deprenderint. In Glossar.
voc. Englecheria.*

153. The seventeenth Article concerning the Duty of the King, and the Right and Appendices of the Kingdom of Britain, as also the Epistle of Eleutherius to Lucius King of Britain, favour so much of the Interpolator, that to him we leave them. The eighteenth Declares the King's Power by virtue of his Royal Dignity, to pardon loss of Life and Member, yet so as the Malefactor make satisfaction to such as he hath injured, according to his power, and find sureties for his good behaviour, which if he do not, he is to be banished. The nineteenth in like manner; Declares his Royal Prerogative to be such, that he may set at liberty a Captive or Prisoner, wherever he comes in any City, Borough, Castle or Village, or if he meet him in the way, by his mere Word or Command. Yet shall he that is so set at liberty, make satisfaction to the injured Party. But a Murderer, Traytor, or one Guilty of like Crimes, although the King pardon him as to Life and Member, according to the Law, shall in no wise stay in the Countrey, but shall swear that he will depart to the Sea Coast within a Term set him by the Justice, and pass over as soon as he can get the opportunity of a Ship and Wind. And in case any such be perjured and stay in the Land, any one as he meets them, may do Justice upon them. And if any one entertain such a Malefactor for one single night, he shall be fined in the highest degree, according to the Laws of the English or Danes; for the second night he shall pay double, and for the third be punished as an Associate and Abettor of Malefactors. If such leave any Wires behind them, which by the Kindred of the murdered Party, are accused as conscious to, and partakers with their Husband in the Crimes committed, they shall by Ordeal purge themselves, by which if they make their Innocence appear, they shall continue free with their Dowers and Emoluments they have by Marriage. As for their Children born or begotten, before the Commission of the Fact, they shall neither be Outlawed, nor lose their Inheritance.

154. The twenty seventh Article, gives leave to harbour a Stranger or Foreigner, whom in English they termed Cuy uncup. that is, known or unknown, as a Guest for two nights together: If within this space he transgress, be that harbour'd him shall not be answerable for him. But if any one be injured, and complaint is made, that it was by the Counsel and Advice of him that lodged him, he shall with two of his honest Neighbours by Oath purge himself as to the Advice and Fact, or otherwise make satisfaction. But in case any one lodge a Stranger three nights, and he commit any offence, he shall be answerable for him, as for one of his own Family, according to the English saying; two nights a Guest, and the third night one of the House. If he cannot produce the Malefactor, he shall have allowed him a month and a day to hunt for him, within which time, if the Malefactor be taken he shall make satisfaction if he can, and with corporal punishment, if it be so adjudged. If he cannot find him within that time, he shall make compensation for the loss sustained, and undergoe the forfeiture, and if the Justice have him suspected, shall purge himself by the Trial of the Hundred or Shire. The twenty eighth, wills that if any one bring any Cattel or Money into a Town, and say he found them, before he bring them to his own or any other man's House, he carry them to the Church, and before the Priest, the chief Officer of the Town, and the better sort of Men declare all he found, whatever it be. Then shall the Officer of the Town send to the four next Towns adjoining for the Priests and the Officers, who shall bring with them three or four of the Inhabitants of the best note of each Town, before whom all that is found shall be produced and shewn. They being Witnesses, the Officer of the Town where the finder dwells, shall keep the thing by him till the morrow, and then goe to the Governour of that Hundred, of which his Town is a Member, and to him he shall shew all. If it was found in the Ground belonging to a Lord who hath not his Customers or Privileges, viz. Sake and Soke, the Finder shall deliver all up to the Governour of the Hundred if he will receive it, with good witness. But if the Lord have such Privileges, he shall be answerable to him in his Court.

155. The twenty ninth Article, will have all Men know, that all Jews, where-soever they are in the Kingdom, ought to be under the King's Liege Protection, and Safeguard, neither without his Licence can any of them put themselves under any Rich Man. For the Jews and all theirs are the King's. And in case any one detain them or their money, the King shall make enquiry if he please of his own. The thirtieth; gives warning to such as have the King's Peace, either by his Hand or his Letters, that they be faithful to him; as also that they must necessarily observe, and keep it inviolably towards all others, neither because of this Protection, detain other Men's Rights, whether of their Lords or Neighbours; so far as he is not worthy of this Peace, that will not himself strictly observe it. In case out of too much confidence

Seçt. 12. *fidence therein, he proudly injure any man, he shall make double compensation for the loss which the English call Arefpithther. The thirty first requires, that the King's Peace, granted by his own Hand, that of the eight days of his Coronation, of the Feasts lately mentioned, and the others granted by his Breve or Letters, if broken, have the same way of punishment or forfeiture, and that by the greatest way of tryal, had in the County where it was broken, as thus. In Danelaga, or after the Law of the Danes; by eighteen hundreds, which number makes up seven times twenty pounds and four: because the Danes had the forfeiture of the hundred; those of Norway had eight pounds. Therefore eight being multiplied by eighteen, make up an hundred and forty four. And this was not done without cause: For of these eight pounds, the King had an hundred Shillings, and the Consul (Earl he means) of the County fifty, he having the third penny for forfeitures: But the Dean of the Bishop in whose Deanry the Peace was broken, the other ten remaining, the Peace of the King, viz. granted with his own Hand, that of his Coronation, and the Feasts abovesaid of Christlmas, Easter and Whitontide.*

C. 31. De Emenda-
tione Pacis.

156. The thirty sixth Article directs that, if after a Man be slain as a Thief or Robber, any complaint be made to the Justice, that the man was wrongfully put to death, and lyes buried amongst Thieves, and such like Malefactours, and offers to make it good, that he first give security for so doing. "Then shall a month and a day be allowed him to bring together the Kindred of the dead man, of both sorts, twelve by his Fatherside, and six by his Mothers. In case these eighteen will take the matter upon them, together with him who first complained and hath given security, let every one of them give also security with a Sword, and afterward find sureties, who shall be able to pay his Were, in case they cannot make good what they have undertaken. Then must he that killed the man give security, and find sureties to ingage that he was justly slain, and as a Thief justly lyes, according to the Law amongst such Malefactours. And first, he must shew in what Theft or Robbery, and how he was slain. If it appear that he was taken alive, let him name the Justice and Judge, and produce his lawful Witnesses out of the Neighbourhood, which Persons, if they warrantize that Justice was rightly done upon the man as a Thief, he that killed him shall be acquitted: and those that made their complaint shall forfeit their ingagemens as to the Judges and Witnesses. But if they make it out that he was unjustly slain, he that killed him shall forfeit his obligation to the Justice of the Bishop, and find sureties for doing what is right: then shall the Justice of the Bishop (his Officer he means) cause a Procession to be made with a Priest, habited in an Albe Maniple, and Stole, and Clerks in their Surplices, with Holy-water and a Crofs, the Candlesticks and Incense-pot, with Fire and Incense going before, and the Friends of the dead having taken his Body up, shall put it on a Biers, and carry it to the Church, where Mass being said for him, and other Rites performed, they shall inter him as becomes a Christian. Then within sixteen days, shall he that killed him pay to the Bishop three forsoits. One for killing an honest Man instead of a Thief, another because he Buried his (Christian) Brother as a Thief; and the third, because he gave security to acquit himself but could not.

C. 36. De lausmibus.

157. The thirty seventh Article or Chapter, tells us that King Edward defended or prohibited Usurers, forbidding them to remain in any part of his Kingdom. And if any was convicted to have exacted Usury, he was to forfeit all his Estate, and be outlawd. And you must know that he heard it said in the Court of the French King, while he there sojourned, that Usury was the root of all Vices. The next Article acquaints us, that in the same Law also was prohibited the buying of quick Cattel, or used Cloth without sureties or good witnesses. If it was a thing of Gold or Silver, or seemed such to be, it should not be bought without the testimony of Goldsmiths or Minters, who if they saw it belonged to the Church or Treasury, should take care it were not done without security. In case the seller could find no sureties, the thing with what belonged to it, should be kept till his Lord came or some other that would warrantize him. If any one bought any thing without these circumstances, he should forfeit it, and otherwise be punished. Afterward the Justice was to enquire by the lawful men and those of best account in the Town, Village, or Hundred where the buyer dwelt, of what manner of life he was, and whether ever he was charged with any other misdemeanour. If it was affirmed that he was a Man of good repute,

C. 37. De Usurariis, Usurarios quosq; defendit Rex Edwardus. Normanni hunc scriptor usum voce defendit ut hodierni Franci pro vetere, prohibere. Nostri etiam aliquum in locis adhuc dicunt, God defend, pro Deu vetere, God forbid.

C. 38. De emptioibus five fidejussoribus, quod Anglicè dicitur Justmanni.

Seçt. 12. *repute, he should purge himself by the Judgment or Sentence of the County, that he knew not the seller to be guilty as to the sale, neither of any other crime, and if he could, should tell who, and where he was: whereupon the Justice should enquire after him to bring him to Tryal, and if he could not be found he should be outlawd. Now the thirty ninth and last, farther acquaints us, that whereas it is said that no man should buy any quick Cattel without sureties; The Butchers of the Cities and Towns, whom the English called Fleishmongers, made complaint that they every day ought to buy such Cattel, to kill and sell them; forasmuch as in the death of Cattel, their life conflied. Moreover, the Citizens, Townsmen, and the multitude, cryed out for their Customs, that about Martinmas, they were wont to buy Cattel in the Market, to kill against Christmas. Great murmuring was there amongst the People, by reason of this Law. Wherefore I am of opinion, faith our Writer, that as in other Assemblies, if the question had been put yea or nay, they would have answered the latter, and if you had been present, you should have heard private murmurings, as well as clamours and noise of the tumultuous People. Therefore the King thought fit not to take away from them these Customs that were just and prudent; witnesses and consideration of the sellers, being of force in bargaining in the King's Market.*

C. 39. De Emptio-
bus & Ma-
lefacturis.

158. These are they which bear the Name of the Laws of King Edward the Confessor, together with such as we formerly mentioned in describing the Polity of our English Saxons. But such as (what we hinted before) are rather to be called Rhapsodies than Laws, being Notes or Comments made upon his Laws by some Scholus, some pretender in the time of the Norman Kings. So that when the Reader hears the Laws of St. Edward so much talked of, so much contended for, both by word and sword, after the Conquest, he must not understand these to have been the Laws, which are only some scraps taken up and commented on in this manner. For indeed these Laws were said to be the Laws of the Confessor after the Norman Revolution, not because he made or exacted, but observed them, as the Monk of Malmesbury tells us. One of those that King Canute enacted, or rather revived with some other circumstance, being in substance formerly ordained by King Alfred, commanding every one above twelve years old, to be entered into some Century and Tithing, Bracon ascribes to this King, writing that this was enjoyed by the Law of Edward the Confessor. So this Interpolator or Noter himself tells you, that those Laws of St. Edward so much desired, and at length obtained from the Conquerour, were invented and constituted in the time of King Edgar, his Grandfather; but after his death they were laid aside for sixty eight years, during the Reigns of the succeeding Princes. But after that King Edward came to the Crown by the Counsel of his Barons, he revived, repaired, adorned and confirmed this Law, and being confirmed, it was called the Law of King Edward, not that he first invented it, but when it had been laid aside and quite forgot, from the time of his Grandfather Edgar; for the said space of sixty eight years, because it was just and honest, he drew it out of the deep pit of oblivion, renewed and delivered it to be observed as his own. By these and other circumstances, we may gather that the whole Body of these Laws we have recited, or all such of them as were approved by this King Edward, who was a Prince of great mildness and indulgence to his People, such written Laws were in force in his time, and such Customs as had been all along observed in the Saxon times, and still were kept on foot in his days, were after the Norman Conquest, when the People so earnestly contended for their Liberties, called by the Name of the Laws of St. Edward, thereby being indeed meant the English Saxon Laws, which received denomination from him, being in effect the last King of that Race, and one whose memory the People revered and preferred in an especial manner, for the great Reputation he had got of Sanctity, and the gentleness of his Disposition.

Lib. 2. Tit. 2.

159. Now after the Norman Conquest what alteration was made in those ancient Laws and Customs, by introducing the Norman way of Fees, and other matters out of that Countrey as also after the struggling of the Barons, how far Magna Charta and the Common Law were the issue and product of these English Saxon Laws and Customs is not our work, especially now to enquire, lest we should exceed the Bounds of our present Period, and seem to thrust our sickle into the Corn of other Men. But this would better be done, by digesting these Saxon Laws into a Methodical Body under certain Heads, which seems not very hard to be accomplished. For these Laws it's more than time we dismiss them, having already committed an Extravagance, being carried farther than the general Nature of our Desig-

SECT. 12. Design permits, and not to be practised as to other Nations, but that the desire of giving the Reader the most ample Knowledge of his own Country, that we could, hath transported us. So scant are our Histories of those times, that had it not been for these Laws, very little of the Polity of our Ancestours could have been discovered, and thence it is no wonder, if sometimes we meet in them several things that are obscure, or at this distance not perfectly to be understood. For the main they do very much contribute to the Knowledge of the *Saxon* Antiquity, the Nature of the Government with the State of those times, and the humour and temper of the People, matters of the greatest consequence in things Historical. By the Nature and Force of the Medicine, a skillful man will know both the kind and violence of the Disease, Punishments, Censures and Cautions are the Medicines which are prescribed in the Laws. By the general Current of these Laws, which run against Theft for prevention both by Suretyship and Punishments, as we hinted before, the general Inclination of the People to that vice may be discovered. But whereas the Theft most aimed at by the Laws is that of Cattel, and such care is taken for pursuing them when stolen, this thereby is hinted to us, that the Wealth of our *Saxon* Ancestours, as of the Ancients chiefly and principally consisted in Cattel, Gold and Silver with other Goods or Household stuff of price and value, being not so ordinary in these days, nor some Ages after as in succeeding times. Therefore were Rents formerly paid in kind, and our Kings themselves were so paid till the time of *Henry* the Second, who changed the Custome. And in the writings of those *Saxon* and later times by the word *Pecunia*, quick Goods or Cattel are often meant, which are for explication expressed, sometimes by *Viva Pecunia*. And from their Heads or *Capita*, was framed the word *Capital*, *Capitale*, *Capitale*, *Capitalia*, which signified Goods moveable or immovable, sometimes Pledges and the Price and Value of things, and what we *English* now term *Catalla* and *Chattels*; but originally Beasts or quick Goods. But of the *Saxon* Laws so much, from the Knowledge of which as we said very much benefit may be reaped, though we go no farther than to those published by Mr. *Lambard*, those being sufficient if not more than sufficient to our Design.

160. We have seen the Polity or Government of the *English Saxons* much by their Laws and otherwise, for the maintenance and support whereof, we must admonish the Reader to take notice what Revenues and Profits the Kings enjoyed. Besides their own Demefn-Lands, he may observe how much came to them by the way of Mulcts, so frequently occurring in the Laws. Then for *Danegeld* that much money they received yearly from the People. And for military Expeditions both by Sea and Land, they levied much money of the People, which they called *Heregeld*. By *Doomsday Book*, (which Book besides the knowledge and valuation of the Provinces, contains very many Customs in use amongst the *English Saxons*) it appears that several Towns contributed by prescription toward Naval Preparations. As to instance in some. It was a Custome at *Warwick*, if the King went by Sea against his Enemies, to fend him either four Boatswanes (Sea Souldiers or Mariners) or else four pounds in money. And the City of *Exeter*, when he made any expedition by Land or Sea, served after the Rate of five Hides of Land. The three Towns of *Barnesable*, *Lydeford* and *Tornes*, paid as much as *Exeter* alone. The City of *Glocester* paid six and thirty Dicres of Iron, and an Hundred Iron Rods fitted to make Nails for the King's Ships. *Leicester*, if the King went against his Enemies by Sea, sent him four Horses to *London* for conveyance of Arms or other Necessaries. At *Leves* in *Suffex*, King *Edward* the Confeffour had an hundred and twenty seven Burgers at his service, who if the King went not himself in Person, but sent others to guard the Sea, collected twenty shillings of every man of what Country soever he were, and provided men who were to look to the Arms on shipboard. More-over *Colchester* paid out of every House that was able six pence a year for maintenance of the King's Souldiers, upon an expedition by Sea or Land.

161. Some places held many Privileges by way of service, as *Torksey*, a Town of *Lincolnshire* upon the *Trent*, wherein before the Conquest were numbered two Hundred Burghesses, enjoyed many on this condition, that they should transport the King's Ambassadors, whensoever they came this way in their own Barges along that River, and conduct them as far as *Tork*. From this same survey of *England*, sufficiently is evident that most eminent Towns paid money to the King upon several accounts, and sometimes to the Earl or Alderman of the Shire. As for the later way of Subsidies, we must say with a Learned man that we cannot find

find that the *Saxon* Kings had any collected after the modern manner. But they had many Customs whereby they levied money of the People, or personal service as we have already said, and toward the Building and repairing of Cities, Castles and Bridges (as we have seen in their Laws) which they called *Burghbote* and *Brigbote*. The *Danegeld* being imposed upon Hides of Land, it was afterwards called *Hidagium*, and this Name remained afterward upon all Taxes and Subsidies imposed upon Lands, for money was also imposed upon Cattel, but then it was called *Hornegeld*. When the *Normans* came in they called both these sorts, sometimes according to the *Latin* and *Greek* word *Taxes*; and sometimes according to their own word *Tallagium* from *tallier* to cut or divide, and sometimes according to the word usual beyond the Seas, *Auxilia* and *Subsidia*. The Conqueror had these kinds of *Taxes*, and made a Law for the manner of levying them.

Hornegeld
and other
Taxes.

Their Customs.
Dispositions.

Experience
and Courage.

The trial
of it in their
Infants.

Their computation
of time.

Their years.

Their Months
and the Names
of them.

162. Of their Polity and Laws we have said enough. Their Customs as of all other Nations, partly proceeded from their Laws and Polity, or were adjuncts of them, and partly from their natural Dispositions and Tempers. Their Disposition, as we formerly shewed, was very fierce and warlike before Prosperity and Idleness betrayed them to effeminate Courses. By the constitution of their Government, they were to appear all once a year in Arms, which gave occasion to the Massacre of the *Danes* in the time of *Ethelred*, which custom rendered them expert and valiant by way of use and exercise. But a natural Courage they required in their Children while yet but Infants, and as the Eagle is said to try her young ones by setting their Eyes and Faces against the Sun, so those of *East England* tried the Magnanimity and Courage of their Babes by another Experiment thought of a more ordinary and homely Nature. "They were wont to set them upon the thatch sides of their Houses, and such of them as were afraid and hung timorously or cried for fear of falling, they pronounced would be pusillanimous and Cowards; but such as laid fast hold of the Straw, clung fast to the Thatch, and fearless would endeavour to secure themselves, with great Acclamation they predicted, that they would be *Stoutheres*, as their term was, or valiant, magnanimous or courageous Lords.

163. The ordinary way of their Reckoning or Supputation of times was by *Winters*, possibly for this reason at first in barbarous times, because the memory of sharp and severe weather, as of all other things which smart, make a stronger impression in the memory. And as they preferred Winter before Summer in their Reckoning, so also Night before Day, which custom we still retain using these words, a *Sennight* and *Forrnight* for *Seven Nights*, and *Fourteen Nights* more usually than seven days or fourteen days, even as *Tacitus* writes of the old *Germans*, their way of Computation. Their year was two fold, natural and civil. Their natural year they measured not as other Nations by the Sun, but the Moon, beginning it when she was at the full after the Autumnal Equinoctial, when the greatest Tides usually fall out, and hence this Month they called by the Name of *Winter-fleeth*. For the Reader must know, that their twelve Months they equally denominated; six from Summer and six from Winter, but began the year with the first winter Month, which they accounted *October* to be, for in the days of *Beda*, the Autumnal Full-moon fell in this Month, and thereupon the beginning of the *Saxon* year was fetcht from thence, although Posterity to fix it at some certain and remarkable time, settled themselves upon *Michaelmas* Day, a Day still observed as the beginning of the year, both as to Officers, and the letting and hiring of Grounds (the Fruits of the foregoing Year being now gathered in, and seed time arrived for the following) in many if not most places of the Land. The Civil year they derived from the five and twentieth of *December* or *Christ-Beda*. *mas* Day, the Night whereof they termed *Modranect* or the Night of Mothers, from some Ceremonies by Matrons then used, and whereas they thus began the year before their conversion to Christianity, we may imagine it was out of respect to the winter Solstice or the Full-moon thereof, for in the Days of *Julius Caesar*, the Solstice fell on that Day.

164. As their Years for their Months were either Civil or Lunary. The later sort were thirteen in Number, for every year. The former were twelve for three ordinary years together, and in the fourth a thirteenth was added by whatever Embolism, and placed at the end of Summer; but by these mult also, whatever *Beda* and others write, be meant Lunary Months; for had either a solar or lunar Month been added to a civil or solar Year, the year would thereby have swollen to three hundred ninety five, or three hundred ninety three days, which would

Sec. 12 would wonderfully have perplexed the *series* of times. Now to come to the Names of their Months, and begin with the first Circle, or those of Winter; we are told by *Verfegan*, that their Month answering to *September*, they called *Gerf monat* from *Barley*, which by that Month commonly yielded was anciently called *Gerf*, the later Name of *Barley*, being given unto it by reason of the drink therewith made, called *Beer*, and from *Beerlegh* it came to be *Berlegh*, and so *Barley*. But notwithstanding what this Author writes,

Hinc Breton bodie Barton vicus Herdei. Berewickvel Barwick horeham alias Barham, proquibus bodie utitur Grange.

yet in our ancient *Saxon* Monuments ordinarily, this Grain is called *Bere*, and thence several Names of Places derived, and so indeed from the Grain the Name came to be transferred to the Liquour, as from the place of growth to the grain it self, for *Bareley* or *Berelegh*, signifies the Ley or Ground where the grain of *Bere* did grow. *September* was otherwise called also *Haligemonat*. That which answered to *October* had the Name of *Wynmonat*, for albeit they had not anciently Wines made in *Germany*, yet at this season they received them from the Countries adjoining. But, as we said before, this Month they also called *Winter silleth*. That we call *November*, they termed *Wintmonat* or *Windmonath*, it being then the Custome of Mariners to shrowd themselves at home all blustering *March* was over, but wherefore *Verfegan* picked this up we have it from better Testimony, that this Month was called *Bormonath* or the Month of Immolations, because such Cattel as were to be sacrificed they now devoted to their Gods. He tells us farther, that *December* had his due appellation given him in the Name of *Winter monat*, or *Winter month*, but that after the *Saxons* received Christianity they then out of devotion to the birth-time of Christ termed it by the Name of *Heligmonat* or *Holy month*. But *Beda* writes that our *Saxons* called *December* by the Name of *Firft Giul*, as *January* by that of *Later Giul*, for these Names were taken from the turning of the Sun, in respect to which *December* precedes *January*, though ordinarily accounted the last of all. Hence came the Feast of oblen reddende the *Nativity* or *Christmas*, happening at this time to be called *Geol*, as it is by King *Alfred*, and in the Northern parts of *England*, as well as in *Scotland*, the G being turned into *T* as is usual, it is yet known by the Name of *Teol* or *Toul*, as by the *Danes* it is termed *Jul*.

an@ seu versatilis quid Sol jam ad autumnale delapsus se in austrum subleat, vide Spelm. Gloss. de Anno Saxonom.

165. But to take along with us what *Verfegan*, writes of each Month, he tells us that *January* was called *Wolfe monat* or *Wolfe month*, because People are wont always in that Month to be in more danger to be devoured of Wolves than in any season else of the year; for that through the extremity of Cold and Snow, those Ravenous Creatures could not find of other Beasts sufficient to feed upon. Concerning *February* he adds, that they called it *Sprount Kele*, by *Kele* meaning the *Kelewurt*, which we now call *Colewurt*, the greatest Pot-wurt in time long past that our Ancestours used, and the Broth made therewith was thereof also called *Kele*. For before we borrowed from the *French* the Name of *Potage*, and that of *Herb*, the one in our own Language was called *Kele*, and the other *Wurt*: and as this *Kele-wurt*, or *Potage-herb*, was the chief Winter Wurt for the sustenance of the Husbandman, so was it the first Herb that in this Month began to yield out whollome young Sprouts, and consequently gave there to the Name of *Sprount-kele*. But from *Beda* we are assured that the Old *Saxons* called *February* by the Name of *Solmonath*, as the Month of Cakes, which in it they offered to their Gods. The word *Saul* indeed of Old to the *Teutonic* Nations signified Meat, and still it is used in the *French* Language for one who is filled with Meat, or especially Drink. But here *Beda* interprets it of Cakes, which the Idolatrous *Jews* are said to have Offered to the Queen of Heaven, *Jerem. 7. 17.* probably the Sun, which in the *Hebrew* is of the Feminine Gender. And the *Germans* (as *Tacitus* witnesseth) Worshipped also the Sun, and still use the same Gender.

166. These were the Months belonging to the Winter Course. Of those of the Summer *Semicycle* the first was that answering to *March*, which (as *Verfegan* says) they called *Lenit monat*, or according to our present Orthography *Length-month*, because at this Season the Days first begin in length to exceed the Nights. This Month being by our Ancestours so called when they received Christianity, and consequently therewith the Ancient Custome of Fasting, they called this Chief time of Fasting the Fast of *Lent*, because of the *Lenit monat*, whereon the greatest part of the Duration of this Fasting always fell, and hence it cometh that we now call it *Lent*, it being rather the Fast of *Lent*, though

though the former Name of *Lenit monat* be long since lost, and the Name of *March* borrowed instead thereof. But though (as he writes) this Name be lost long since, yet there's another mentioned by *Beda*, which having a more ancient Original, seems also to have ceased long before it. For the *Saxons* (as he witnesseth) termed this Month by the Name of *Read monath*, from their Goddes *Rheda*, to which they Sacrificed at this time of the year. What Goddes this was, neither *Tacitus*, nor *Cæsar*, nor *Diodorus* do tell us; but the *Saxon* word *Read* signifying Council, probable it is she thence received the Name, that as (*Tacitus* writes) the *Germans* were wont to Consult at the beginning or Full of the Moon, and consequently at the Full Moon of this Month, held their great Consultations for the year ensuing. For (as Sir *Henry Spelman* well observes) *Pliny* demonstrates the Moon to be most potent at the *Æquinoxials*, and therefore *March* and *September* have been esteemed as most fit for such Consultations.

167. To the Month of *April* answered that which they called by the Name of *Offer* or *Eoster monath*, from their Goddes *Eostre*, as most write, whose Festival they now observe. Some call her *Goller*, and yet she was supposed to cause the Winds (which by ancient Observations were found in this Month) most commonly to blow from the East. Now East in the *Teutonic* is *Off*; as *Offend*, which rightly in *English* is *Eastend*, hath that Name for the Eastern situation of it, as to the Ships it appears which through the narrow Seas come from the West; so that *Offer* seems the true writing, and *Goller* to have crept in by way of mistake. But by a prophane Custome hath this Heathenish Name been applied to the most sacred Festival of Christianity, so hard is it to obliterate old Manners and Habits; though some there have been who interpret the word concerning the Resurrection, and thence in the *Teutonic* call it *Colstern*, which some ancient Copies of *Beda* do favour, calling it *Colstern*, and not *Eoster*. But in *Saxony* the Feast is called *Offern* at this present, which hath near affinity with ours and their *Offer Monath*. The pleasant Month of *May* they termed by the Name of *Trimilki*, because in that Month they began to milk their Kine three times a day, such being it seems of old the fertility of *Britain*, or of *Germany*, out of which this Nation came into the Island, though no such fruitfulness now appears in either Country that we know of. However on the eighth day of this Month *Beda* placeth the beginning of Summer. To *June* (as *Verfegan* will have it) they gave the Name of *Weyd Monat*, because their Beasts did then *Weyd* in the Meadows, that is to say, go to feed there. For a Meadow in the *Teutonic* is called a *Weyd*, and of *Weyd* we yet retain our word *Wade*, which we understand of going through watery places, such as Meadows are wont to be. But *Beda* writes, that *June* in *Saxon* was called *Erralida*, *Lida* signifying fair or navigable, as the Season is pleasant and fit for Navigation both in *June* and *July*, whereupon *June* they termed *Lida Era* or *Lida the first*, and *July* *Lida after* or *Lida the second*. *Verfegan* writes, that *July* was called *Hen Monat* or *Hay Monat*, that is to say, *Hay Month*, because therein they usually Mowed and made their Hay-harvest. And *August* they termed *Arn Monat*, or more rightly *Barn Monat*, intending thereby the then filling of their Barns with Corn. But from *Beda* it appears, that *August* in *Saxon* was called *Weod*, or *Wend Monat* (not *Wenden Monath*, as some Copies corruptly have it) from *Cockle*, which then doth most abound. He uses *Cockle* as a species to express the genus, for which the *Latin* Tongue hath no proper word; but the *Saxon* fully expresseth it by that of *Weod*, as we still at this day by *Weeds*, thereby signifying all sorts of harmful or unprofitable Herbs.

168. To this Account of the *Saxon* Months and Year, we shall onely add some Customs which we cannot but observe out of *Inguiphus*, and so dismiss this almost tedious Subject. First he tells us it was the Custome of the *English*, that when any one was to be Consecrated to Warfare, the Evening preceding the day of his Consecration he should confess his Sins with Contrition and Compunction, to a Bishop, Abbat, or some Monk or Priest; by whom being Absolved, he should continue in the Church all night, giving himself to Prayer, Devotion and Affliction. On the Morrow, being about to hear Mass, he should Offer his Sword upon the Altar, which being Blessed, after the Gospel, the Priest should put about the Neck of the Souldier with his Benediction: then having communicated, he should be accounted and remain a lawful Souldier. This custome of Consecrating a Souldier (*Miles* he terms him) the *Normans* afterward

Hanc consecrandi militis consuetudinem Normanni abinquantem non militem legitimum, &c. p. 901.

abominated, not accounting such an one a lawful Soldier, but a dull and heavy Knight, a degenerate Citizen. But faith *Ingulphus*, not only this, but other customs they changed. For the *English* way of making Writings of Contracts, which till the time of King *Edward* were wont to be confirmed by the Subscriptions of credible Persons, together with the shape of Golden Croffes, and other sacred Manners of Signature, the *Normans* condemning, gave to these *Chirographa* the Name of *Charts*, and confirmed these *Charts* by impressions of each one's particular Seal, and the Attestation of three or four Witnesses present at the Action. At first many Possessions were passed over by word of Mouth alone without Scrip or Scroll, only with the Sword, the Helmet, the Horn or Cup of the Owner: many Tenements with a Spur, or Bow, and some with an Arrow. This was the Custome at the first coming in of the Conquerour, which shortly after was absolutely changed. After this, he writes, how the *Normans* abominated *English* Men, and drove them from all Dignities. He adds, that they so abominated their Language, that the Laws of the Land, and the Ordinances of the *English* Kings were handled in the *French* Tongue, and to Children at School were the Rudiments of *Grammar* explained not in *English*, but in *French*, and the *English* manner of Writing being laid aside, the *French* mode was introduced in all *Charts* and Books.

169. What *Ingulphus*, as to the Custome of the *English* Saxons calls *Chirographa*, and after the coming of the *Normans*, *Charts* or *Chartes*; after the Decay of the *Roman* Empire, under the Emperours themselves, and the Kings of the *Goths* and *Lombards*, went under the Name of *Epistles*, and by this Name all matters of Conveyance and Contract were transacted. Their style is turgid, affected and not befitting Majesty, as sufficiently appears from those of *Cassiodorus*. Some of our present *Charts* or Deeds still retain the Form of an Epistle, as thus, To All Christian People to whom these Presents shall come greeting. Know ye, &c. And the King in conferring honours, and other matters, still follows this Form. To All Archbishops, Dukes, Earls, Bishops, Barons, &c. The Ancients had as many sorts of Epistles as we have of Charters, or more; as for Adoption, Donation, Concession, Confirmation, and many other, as may be seen sufficiently in *Marculfus*. As to the manner of the *English* Writing, though our Author says it was new laid aside, and the *French* brought in at the time of the Conquest, yet toward the end of his History he tells us, that the *Saxon* Hand was used by all *Saxons* and *Mercians* till the time of King *Alfred*, but he being very well instructed in Learning by *French* Teachers, though before his time it was used in all Writings, by degrees grew out of Esteem, and the *French* Hand as more legible and pleasant, began to be practised by the *English*. Therefore he assures us, that the Charters granted to his Monastery by King *Ethelbald*, and all the ancient Kings were written in the *Saxon* Hand alone; but those of *Edred* and *Edgar* were written double, both with *Saxon* and *French* Characters.

170. It appears therefore from all that *Ingulphus* says upon this Subject laid together, that from King *Alfred*'s time the *Saxon* Characters were not so much used as formerly, but not abolished, as appears from very many Monuments yet extant as well of Civil as Ecclesiastical concernment (whereof some in the *Latin* Tongue it self) all written after the time of King *Alfred*, and to be seen both in the publick Library of the University of *Cambridge*, and the private or inner Library of *Corpus Christi* College. Nay, notwithstanding what the Conquerour and the other *Norman* Kings could doe, both Language and Character continued in use, those things being carried by the Multitude notwithstanding all opposition. Therefore as this same *Ingulphus* writes in another place (at the very end of his History) as to the Language *William* the Conquerour was forced to commend to his Justices the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor in the Idiom they were written, left any one by ignorance should offend against them. And as for the Character, it so long continued, that our Antique Hands of Court

Hic omnino distinguendum inter ascriptionem in militum honorarium & vulgarem. Hæc gregariis militibus, illa insignium vel condictionum nota solenniter in tabulis militibus conscriptis. Ad alterius solennitas adhibenda.

The manner of passing Lands.

The manner of Writing.

Manus etiam Saxonica ab omnibus Saxonibus & Mercibus usque ad tempora Regis Alfredi, scilicet 9.92.

and Chancery owe to their Original, however now altered by continuance of time. Publick Inscriptions also were made in these Characters as appears by the Names of Kings and Noblemen in golden Letters written about the Wall of the Abbey Church of *Westminster*. The Inscriptions also of Coins, whatever the Conquerour and his *Norman* Successors did, continued ordinarily in these Characters, even till the time of Queen *Mary*, although some of King *Edward* I have also beheld, with the *Roman* Characters. And this is observable that those *Saxon* Characters were borrowed by the *Trifib*, several most ancient Books of which Nation are found written therewith, though in their own Language as I have seen. And not long since if not at present, although they retained the sense of their own words and their own way of pronunciation, yet in writing they used the *Saxon* Letters. That this Communication first happened, when in the Infancy of the *English* *Saxon* Church there was great intercourse betwixt the Religious and Learned Persons of both the *Scottish* and *English* Nations, is most probable. But it seems more confirm'd after that in the days of *Henry* the Second the *English* sent their Colonies into that Island.

171. Of the Original, Nature and Progress of the *English* *Saxon* Tongue, now it remains in the last place that we should speak, if we did not daily expect an entire Treatise upon this Subject, which we cannot but promise to our selves to be very exquisite if we may judge from that very learned Preface to it already published. This Language is of the same Antiquity with the whole *Teutonic*; being a Language carried by the Colony into *Asia*, and brought back again by *Woden*, not fer'd and derived from the Greek, as some by reason of some Correspondence do imagine, though the nearness of the People brought back by *Woden* to the Greeks in *Asia* and *Thrace*, might procure some Communication of Words, a Language which looks as old as any that arose from the confusion of *Babel*, that we may not with others carry the Original higher up. A Dialect of the *Teutonic* it is, to which the most ancient *German* Records bear most resemblance, which hath suffered most impairment from Brethren, who having first lost their own Native Language, another Branch of the same stock, could not be satisfied without endeavouring to abolish this also where they found it unmixed with their affections. For the greatest alteration made in it hath been by *Normans* and *French*, both which People were *Teutonic*, and before they lost them in *Gall* spake but different Dialects of the same Tongue. Take but away *French* and *Latin* Mixtures, and what thou speakest, Reader, is still a part of this *Saxon* Language, especially the shortest Words and Monosyllables. By these Mixtures thou hast lost Multitudes of such Words, and now speakest by Circumlocution, what thou mightest have expressed with much more brevity; but it's well if still thou pursuest not this humour of Innovation in thy Speech, and thinkest every Feather very gay onely because it is not thine own. If *Latin* and *French* should each take their own, how naked wouldst thou appear where thou hast stript thy self of thine own Plumes. As this Language whereof we speak was Copious, so not harsh in its pronunciation, not so harsh as other Dialects of the *Teutonic*, as the *Low Dutch*, which bears great affinity to it, but in pronunciation is more rough and full. Where the *Dutch* both high and low use the *d*, we use the *th*, as for *dat* that, *dunder* thunder, *dicke* think, *dicke* thicke, and many more; a motion of our Tongue not easie by them to be attained. So where they write the *v* Consonant we make use of the *f*, as to instance in a word which hits both Particulars, for their *Vader* we say and write *Father*, for their *vor* we say *for*; and Instances of this nature might be infinite.

172. In comparing our ancient *English* *Saxon* with that remainder of it we now speak. I cannot yet but take notice of one thing, wherein Time hath done some service, in lopping off some Superfluities with which the *Dutch* Tongues do still abound. In the *Saxon*, *Be* sometimes, but most commonly *Ge* prefixed before Verbs, Verbals, the Preterperfecten of Verbs, and the Participles of the Preterperfecten is superfluous, being that we call *inceptum augmentum*, or *Syllabicum*, or merely Expletive, as yand *i* have more lately been, especially with our Poets, for the increasing of Syllables, as in *ycleped*, *yuritten*, *ybroken*, and the like. The *Low Dutch* according to their usual manner of pronouncing with Aspiration, use to put an *b* to it and so make it *ghe*. Instances in this kind were also infinite; but for a few *Becopan* they used for *Copan* or to *sell*, *Beclamd* for *cleamed* or *gleued*, *Beclamd* for *cleamfd*, *Beclamd* for *called*; *Gebod* Prayer, *Gebetsud* blessed, *Gebode* bidden, *Gecind* kindred, *Gedon* done, *Geseboh* fight, *Gebird* heard, *Gerute* to meet, *Geplant* planted, *Gewit* writing, *Gewitnes* witness, and the

The Antiquity of their Language.

Copious and smooth.

Compared with the ancient *Teutonic*.

Attali eadem vice mecum de Londoniis in meum monasterium.

terium leges assignavit Regis Edwardi, quas Dominus meus inebat Rex Willielmus authenticis esse & perpetuas, per totum Regnum anglie revolvendo iter tenens, sed penitus gravissimis proclamarat, & suis subditis conveniens eodem volumine quo edite sunt, ne per ignorantiam contingat nos vel vestros aliquando in nostram grave periculum contrarie & offendere auti remanere Regiam Majestatem, ac in ejus censuras rigidissimas improvidum pedem ferre contemni sepius in eisdem, hoc modo. Ita claudis Historiam suam & videtur hic leges Edwards inscribere que desunt.

Sect. 12. the like. We have now quite left off the *Ge*, and where we retain this Augment we use it in *Be*, as still we say for *Gelcafe belief*, *Gecomen become*, so we still say, *bespeak* *berought*, and several others. It were tedious here to make Observations of other Alterations introduced by time and foreign Commerce, and not hard to trace them down by degrees to such as understand the *Saxon* Tongue, and are conversant in the Writings of *Chaucer*, *Lidgate* and others that wrote nearer to the Conquest. An entire Volume of this might be made, and the Reader in a business of his own Country may himself take some pains or expect an account from the Learned Authour of the Original of the *English* Nation. I shall now onely farther observe that the Conquerour took not so much care to destroy this Language (which his own Ancestours spake for the substance before they came into *France*) *Quoniam in finibus seculi a majoribus nostris monasteria quedam Collegia instituta sunt, in quibus offent que & hujus lingue scientia imbuuntur, & eandem (cum ali-* but the *English* our Ancestours however Conquered were as careful to preserve it, to which end in several Monasteries, particularly in that of *Tavistoke* in *Devonshire* Lectures were read of it, and certain Persons were appointed to profess it, even as long, or well nigh as long as these Monasteries continued. Had this course still been observed the Antiquities of our Nation with many things which now lie hidden and abstruse, might have been much more known, and some stop might have been put to this giddy humour of despising all words, as well as Fashions and other things, without consideration, merely because they are not foreign or new.

is Communicando) ad posterum transmitterent. Quod quidem in Cambio monialium Tavestokeni in Comitatu Devonie, & multis aliis conventibus (negra memoria) receptum fuit, credo ne ejus sermonis peritia, ob lingue insolentiam penitus ob- *fulesceret. Math. Parker in Pref. ad Hist. Alfredi.*

AN

AN
INSTITUTION
OF
General History:
OR
The History of the World.

The Fourth Part.

BOOK II.
Of the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

CHAP. I.

From the promotion of Nicephorus, to the Death of
Leo the Philosopher.

The Space of one Hundred Years.

Nicephorus 1. **I**RENE being deposed as we have said, *Nicephorus* the Patritian, and General *Logotheta*, was Proclaimed, and Crowned Emperour in the great Church at *Constantinople*, on Tuesday, being the first of *November*, in the tenth Indiction, the seventh year of Pope *Leo* the Third, the Second of *Charles* the Great, Emperour of the West, A. D.

DCCCII.

2. The day after his Promotion, knowing *Irene* to be possessed of great Treasures, he went to her, and with flattering words and fair promises, obtained a discovery of them, after which he neglected her, and whereas she had surrendered them on this condition, that she might be suffered to live peaceably and honourably in the Palace of *Eleutherius*, which she herself had built; having obtained his ends, he banished her to the *Prince's Island*, to a Monastery there also of her own building, and afterwards, perceiving himself hated of the People, lest they should restore her to her former dignity, without all mercy he removed her to *Mitylene* in very ill weather, and there in the Isle of *Lesbos* she died of grief, the ninth of *August* after. Her Body he caused to be buried in her own Monastery; for several such places of Religion she had built, together with many Hospitals for

Whence he came out of the Treasury.

Then banished her, where she dyes with grief.

Theophanes Hist. compend. in Nicephoro 2o. nec. Annal. Tom. 2. in eodem.

for Relief of the Poor and Aged, and done many other Acts of Piety, as our Historians deliver— who much admire her, and as much detest *Nicephorus*, upon what ground it's easie enough to conjecture. She being gone, he betook himself in the same manner of Address to her blind Son, pretending great kindness to him, and receiving him into his own House, out of hope, to flatter him into a betraying all of those Treasures, and his flattery had such influence upon *Constantine*, being a Man of a light and heedless temper, that he discovered to him Treasure that was hid in the *Stoma*, a place so called from its semicircular Figure. This obtained, he neglected him as he had done his Mother. And before this, on the last day of *April*, *Nicetas Triphyllus*, by whose stout endeavours he had obtained the Diademe, he so far rewarded for his good deeds, as to take him out of this miserable world by poison.

3. All Writers now extant generally affirm him a cruel, griping and covetous Man. *Gyris* calls him a Man greedy of slaughters, the slave of gold, and absolutely another *Midas*; writes farther, that he let to sale places of Magistracy, and even shewed a four and angry countenance to the People, except any brought him Gold; then would he appear very gentle and gracious. Upon the City of *Constantinople* he laid an heavy Tribute, under pretence of repairing their old decayed Walls called *Diceratum*, from two *Ceratia*, which were paid. The dissatisfactions raised amongst the People, *one Ruridanes* on *Bardanius*, Sirnamed *Turk*, a certain Duke of the East, imagined to give sufficient encouragement to his Ambition, which so far carried him as to affect the Empire, and living at *Philomelium*, he made known his purpose to a certain Monk, who was esteemed to have the gift of Prophecy, *Leo* the *Armenian* being privy to the matter. The Monk told him, that if he went about to make himself Emperour, he should loose both his Estate and Life; with which answer as he was going away forrowfull, and ready to take Horie, the Monk casting his eyes upon his Attendants, called him back, who expecting now he would say something that would better please him, readily returned. He told him the same tale over again he had formerly heard, affirming that if he were Emperour, either by his own seeking, or by having it put upon him, he should loose both his Eyes and Fortunes. But he added, that of those his Attendants, the first and second should obtain the Diademe, and the third should be declared Emperour, but should presently perish without ever attaining to his Aims. But for all this, when in some places seditions were raised by reason of the exactions of *Nicephorus*, they chose him Emperour at *Chrysopolis*, and either willingly or unwillingly he accepted of it on the nineteenth day of *July*. Now did *Leo* and *Michael* forsake him, and went over to *Nicephorus*, who preferred the one to the Command of the Confederate Forces, and the other to be Captain of the Counts Troop; onely *Thomas* remained with him, and for his sake shunned no Enterprize, how dangerous soever. But *Bardanius*, either terrified by the predictions of the Monk, or, as our Writers say, abhorring that a Civil War should rise upon his account, sent to *Nicephorus* to beg pardon, upon promise of which he departed to *Catabolium*, and in the Monastery of *Heraclius*, received the Tonsure. The Emperour sent after him to come to *Constantinople*, under shew of kindness, but in the way, in the Island *Prote* (or the First Island) where he had built a Monastery, by Order of the Emperour, his Eyes were put out by certain *Lycaonians*. The Emperour pretended he was very sorry for the thing, which by Oath he affirmed done without his knowledge or command. But if we may believe *Cedrenus*, he never swore truly in his Life.

4. *Nicephorus*, having thus secured himself from *Bardanius*, resolved farther to establish his House, by crowning Emperour his Son *Stauracius*, a Man neither in Body or Mind qualified for such a Dignity, as our Authours write. Being thus settled at home, he made War upon the *Arabians*, but with such bad success, that he narrowly escaped taking, being hardly rescued out of the Enemies hands by some of his stoutest followers, and with loss and disgrace was constrained to return. The next year, or the third of his Reign, being at leisure, he applied himself to the building of Towns, as *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, together with two others, *Theba* and *Andrafas*. But the following Summer he had diversion enough given him, and his mind was sufficiently flattered, by News that *Aaron*, the Captain of the *Arabians*, had invaded the *Roman* Territories, with no fewer than three hundred thousand Men, and having marched as far as *Tyana*, there erected a Molche or House to his superstition. Many fortified places he took, and a Body of sixty thousand sent toward *Ancyra*, which waited all the Country as far as that City. *Nicephorus* gathering together his Forces, took also the Field, but finding the

Annal. part. 4.

Cedrenius describitur filius filii suorum mulierum continet.

Cedrenus.

Theoph.

Cedrenus ad Ann. 3. Nicephori. Idem ad Ann. 4.

"Arabian too strong for him wrote to him a Letter, whereby he taxed him with injustice for invading another Man's Territories, not contenting himself with what was left him by his Father. He demanded by whose command he did it. "Mahomet his Prophet he said commanded him to love all Christians as his Brethren, Almighty God took care for both, and was not delighted with the blood of Man unjustly shed. He could not come to hurt those that did him no injury, for any want he had of Gold, Silver or other matters, having abundance of precious things and Rarities of his own; but in case any thing he had would supply him he would lovingly send it. He concluded his Letter by putting him in mind that they were both Mortal, and being to die e'er long, "should be called before an higher Judge, by whose award each was to receive according to what he had deserved whether good or bad.

And by Presents obtains a Peace.

5. To this Letter he added considerable Presents, by which the *Arabian* was so charmed that he condescended to a Peace on these terms, That the Romans should pay the *Arabians* a yearly Tribute of thirty thousand *Nomismata*, besides three thousand as Tribute for their own Head, and as many for that of his Son, and such Forts as the *Arabians* had taken and dismantled should in no wise be repaired. But *Aaron* being retreated, *Nicephorus* rebuilt and reinforced all these places which so irritated the *Arabian*, that this very year he sent an Army which took *Theba*, and another by Sea to *Cyprus*, where it overthrew the Churches, and either killing or driving away the Inhabitants, plundered and wasted the Island. The year following he invaded the Isle of *Rhodes*, where was taken a great Number of Prisoners, but the Castle was stoutly defended by the Garrison, and the Fleet in its return suffered much damage by an hideous Tempest, which our Writers attribute to the violence they purposed to offer to the Relicks of *St. Nicholas* at *Myra* a City of *Lycia* in their return. *Nicephorus* in the mean time was employed in the Marriage of his Son *Stauracius*, for whom when he looked for a Wife he made choice of *Theophanta* the Kinswoman of the late Empress *Irene*, though she was contracted to another man. To this unjust act he added the deflowering of two most beautiful Virgins, which so incensed the People, that several Conspiracies were hatched against him, but he suppressed them e'er they could produce any thing considerable, and raged cruelly against such as were detected. Many of the Nobility made choice of *Artasius* a Quessour and Patritian for their Prince, but he having smelt out the design caused the Man to be shaven, and enter into Religion, which done, he banished him into *Bitlynia*. Of the Conspirators some he put to death, others he banished, and of some he confiscated the Estates, sparing none of what condition soever, whether Bishops, Monks, or the Officers of the Great Church, in those times held in great Veneration by the People.

Zonari. Theoph.

6. The year following being the seventh of his Reign the *Bulgarians* gave him farther trouble, intercepting eleven hundred pounds of Gold wherewith the Army was to be paid at *Stragomon*, and killing the Convoy with its Captain. At the same time *Crumus* their Prince took *Sardica*, and therein put to the Sword six thousand Souldiers, besides Townsmen a little before the Feast of *Easter*. *Nicephorus* went with an Army against him, but performed nothing worth the mentioning, onely such Officers as had escaped the hands of *Crumus* he handled roughly, that he constrained them to revolt to him. Being returned to *Constantinople* he imposed upon the City a new Tribute for the repairing of *Sardica*, which vehemently incensed the People, so as to call the Multitude into great Tumults, but he still had the better of them, and revenged himself by Executions and Banishments, as he had done before; and laid upon all the People most grievous, heavy, and unheard-of Impositions. Some of this Wealth obtained by violence, was as violently taken away by the *Saracens*, who making an Inroad into the *Roman* Territories as far as *Enchaitra*, fell upon *Leo* the Captain of the *Armenians* as he was going to pay the Army, and took from him sixteen Talents, a thousand and three hundred Pounds, besides the slaughter of a great Multitude of his Souldiers. This happened in *February*, and in *July* following *Nicephorus* undertook an Expedition against the *Bulgarians*, with *Stauracius* his Son, at parting giving order to *Nicetas* the Patritian and general *Logotheta* to lay Taxes upon Churches and Monasteries, with an Imposition of eight years upon the Houses of Noblemen, which caused great Lamentations in the City. Hereof when he was admonished by *Theodosius Salibarn* a Patritian and the Manager of his Affairs, who told him how the People murmured and would be glad he came by any mischief. If God hath hardened mine heart as he hardened Pharaoh's, what good may my Sub-

Which being broken, the Arabian makes another Invasion into the Roman Territories.

Nicephorus Marries his Son to another Man's Wife.

The Bulgarians take Sardica.

Which causes a new Tribute to be imposed on the People.

The Saracens make an Inroad into the Roman Pale.

Nicephorus makes an Expedition against the Bulgarians.

Cajoles Constantine for the discovery of more.

Poisons Nicetas Triphyllus, his promoter to the Diademe.

Is very covetous.

Enacts the Diceratum.

Upon which Bardanius usurps.

But afterwards is shaven.

And his Eyes put out by the Emperour's order.

He crowns Stauracius his Son. Makes War upon the Arabians.

Who returning his visit.

The Emperour expostulates.

SECT. 12. *jects expect* from Nicephorus? And he bade him expect no alteration of what he saw at present. This *Theophanes* protests he had from *Theodosius* his own Mouth.

Refusing Peace.

Wastes the Country.

Taking the very palace of *Crumus* their King.

But is overcome at last and slain.

Nicephorus his Character.

7. Having gathered together the Forces both of the East and the West, and constrained many poor men to serve at their own Charges armed with Slings and Staves, with their Curfies and the Curfies of the whole Army he marched into *Bulgaria*. *Crumus* having notice of his coming sent to him while he yet lay at *Marcella* to desire Peace, fearing such a Multitude as he brought along with him; but overcome by his own Inclinations, as well as by the Flatteries of those about him, he rejected his Proposals, and on the twentieth day of July about the rising of the Dog-star invaded the Countrey, himself predicting his own ruine, for he had these words often in his Mouth. *Who shall go and deceive Ahab? Whether God or the Devil draw me, I am drawn unwilling.* And this was accounted an ill Omen, that before he entred *Bulgaria*, a much beloved Servant he had, called *Byzantius*, fled to *Crumus* from *Marcella*, carrying away with him the Imperial Robe and an hundred Pounds of Gold. At first he seemed to have the better, yet ascribed the success not to God, but cried up the Conduct and good fortune of *Stauracius*. Such Commanders as withstood his Progress, he exceedingly threatened and commanded all living Creatures to be put to the Sword, and neglecting to bury the Bodies of the slain, was only intent upon Plunder and Booty. The Court or Palace of *Crumus* he took and sealed up the Doors thereof as his own, and such of his Followers as imbezelled any of the Booty he punished by cutting off their Ears and other Members. *Crumus* now again being much out of heart offered him good terms, on condition he would quit his Countrey. But he puffed up with his success and acted by covetous desires, was impatient of the very name of Peace.

8. *Crumus* therefore acted by the more prevalent passion of desperation, like a desperate man indeed, instead of opening a way to the Enemy, blocked up all egress and regress by Palliads, which so affrighted the Emperour that he prefiged his ruine, saying, *That if they had Wings they could not escape imminent destruction.* Two days after *Crumus* set upon his Camp, and stormed it, wherein *Nicephorus* himself was slain, together with all his Officers, and a vast number of Souldiers. Here fell *Aetius*, *Peter Sishinnius*, *Theodosius Sabbaras*, and *Tribpiles*, all Patricians, as also *Eparches* a Patritian and Governour of the East; with many *Protospatharii*, the *Excubitus Domesticus*, the Captains of the several Troops, the *Drungarius* of the Imperial Watch, the Governour of *Thracia*, with the other Governours of the Provinces. All the Arms and Baggage were also taken, and so miserable was the Estate of the Empire at this day, that the Writer thinks it not fit to be understood by Christians, as exceeding all height of lamentation. The Head of *Nicephorus* he put upon a Pole, and when he thought he had sufficiently exposed it, inclosed the Skull in Silver and caused his Nobles in an insulting manner to drink out of it. Although this day were made many Widows and Fatherless Children, yet many love it the better, and were something comforted with this only thought that he was dead. For as *Theophanes* affirms, never did Christians feel any thing more insupportable than his Government, exceeding all that Reigned before him in Ambition, Luxury, and barbarous Cruelties, so as to declare all in particular to posterity would seem incredible, and to him laborious.

9. But *Cedrenus* gives us the main of his Accusation in ten Particulars. "The first is, That he constrained his Subjects out of all Quarters to remove into *Slavonia*, and afterward sold their former Possessions, which thing nothing differed from an Hostile Captivity, all of them being put to the utmost extremity. The next was, That he caused poor men to serve in the Wars, and their Neighbours to supply them with Arms and Money, eighteen *Nomismata* for each, and besides pay for them their publick Taxes, which they called in Greek *Allelengium*, because for Tribute they were Sponsors or Sureties one for another. The third Crime was, That he commanded an account to be taken of every Man's Estate, and the Owner accordingly to be taxed; moreover, for the Auditor or Accountant every man to pay (for every *Nomisma*, saith *Zonaras*) two *Ceratia*. In the fourth place all Easements and Relaxations formerly granted he took away. In the fifth, from all Religious places, publick Houses, destined to the Educations of Orphans, and all sorts of Hospitals, he caused to be exacted *Smoke* or *Hearth money*, even from the beginning of his Reign. The best of what belonged to these Places he seized to his own use, yet made them pay

Τὰ ἐκ τῶν
ἐκκλησιῶν,
καὶ τῶν
ἐκ τῶν
ἐκκλησιῶν.

"pay for what was left, and some double, though he had so emptied those Houses that they were constrained to remove out of them. His sixth Tyrannical Practice was to cause his Officers to take an account of such as were grown suddenly Rich, and to exact money from them in such manner, as if they had found Treasure. Nay, in the seventh place from such as had found but a Barrel or Vessel twenty years before, he would squeeze money. His eighth Crime was, that those who received any Inheritances from their Grandfathers or Great Grandfathers, he would force to pay something to the Treasury, though the Inheritance had been divided twenty years before; and such as bought any Slaves beyond *Abidus*, he constrained to pay for each two *Nomismata*, especially the Inhabitants of *Dodecanesum* or the City of twelve Islands. His ninth was that he made the Mariners and Seamen, especially those inhabiting the Maritime parts of *Asia* the less, such as never were practised in Husbandry, to buy such grounds as he had taken from other Men, and pay him Rent. In the tenth place he summoned all the eminent Seamen of *Constantinople* together, and to each delivered twelve Pounds of Gold, with this burthen, that for every *Nomisma* they should pay four *Ceratia* for use, when at the same time they paid "all the other Duties for their Vessels.

10. Thus much *Cedrenus* tells us, he delivers by way of *Compendium*, having omitted the manifold Injuries he did both to Persons of high and low condition in the City, being more than can be written, but such as these. The Slaves of Rich men he suborned falsely to accuse their Masters, rewarding the Accusers and fleeing their Masters of their Wealth. So rapacious he grew, that a certain man who living in the Forum sold Honey and Wax by Retail, and by his own labour and industry had acquired competent Wealth, being sent for he commanded to lay his hand under the Emperour's Head, and by Oath assure him how much Gold he had. He confessed he had an hundred Pounds of Gold, which he caused him speedily to bring to him. This being done, to what purpose (saith he) shouldst thou be at all this trouble? Dine with me, and taking home with thee an hundred *Nomismata*, therewith be contented. He adds, that being much addicted to the *Manichees*, and rejoicing at the difference of Churchmen, he scoffed at all Christians that loved their Neighbours. His Captains he commanded to use Bishops and Clerks no otherwise than like Slaves, to make use of their Houses and all their Goods at their pleasure, deriding those that dedicated any thing to Holy uses. All Emperours that were before him, he taxed as ignorant in the Art of Government, took away Providence, and affirmed that none was greater than the Emperour if he had but the Craft of Government. Such is the Character *Cedrenus* gives us of this Emperour, with whom agrees *Zonaras* as to the substance of the Charge. He Reigned eight years and nine days, as some have it, or as others more truly eight Years, eight Months, and six and twenty days.

11. *Nicephorus* being slain, *Stauracius* his Son escaped but with a deadly wound received in his Neck, and in his Litter came to *Adrianople*, where by the endeavours of some Magistrates he was saluted Emperour, but could not appear in publick by reason of his Wound. Sensible of his condition he resolved to devolve the Empire upon *Theophania* his Wife, so great affection he bore unto her, and upon that account endeavoured to deprive of his fight *Michael*, surnamed *Rangabes*, or *Rancabes*, the *Europolitae*, who had Married his Sister *Procopia*, because he stood most in the opinion of the Nobility for the Dignity. But *Michael* having timely notice of it so wrought with the Senators, that calling together the Souldiers by break of day they named him Emperour in the Cirque, which when *Stauracius* knew he quitted the Palace, and with his Wife betook himself to a Monastery, where having taken upon him the Habit, he shortly after died, having been Emperour but two Months and ten Days. *Michael* at first seemed sile of the preferment, professing himself unable to undergo such a burthen, and made mention of *Leo the Armenian*, a Patritian, and Captain of the Forces of the East, as a courageous and valiant man; but *Leo* strained Courtsey, professing himself unworthy of the Throne, which he affirmed to belong to *Michael*, whom he exhorted to undertake the Government, promising him by Oath his utmost assistance; and that he would be his ready and faithful Servant to his lives end. Thus whether at first he intended to be Emperour merely to preserve his Life, or dissembled his Ambition in the offer made to *Leo* (which for what end he never proved of dangerous consequence, as we shall see anon) he obtained the Diademe, wherewith he was Crowned in the great Church by *Nicephorus* the Patriarch, after he had by an instrument written on purpose declared, that he would neither

Stauracius succeeds.

But turning Monk.

Michael Rangaber obtained the Diademe.

Zonaras.

violate the Privileges of the Church, nor defile his Hands with Christian Blood, in the Eleventh year of *Charles* the Great, Emperor of the West, the sixteenth of Pope *Leo* the Third, the fourth Indiction. A.D. DCCCXLI.

12. He hath the Commendation of a Pious and good natur'd Person, such as had been injury by *Nicephorus*, he relieved and provided for the Widows of Souldiers. *Theophania* the Wife of *Stauracius*, he courteously treated, giving her a good Summ of Money together with an House which she turned into a Monastery, and from the Burial of her Husband in it bore his Name. A few days after his Coronation he caused *Procopia* his Wife to be adorned also with the Diademe, having given her the Title of Empress; and after some time commanded the Patriarch to perform the same Ceremony to *Theophylact* his Son, whom he also dignified with that of Emperor, and propounded a Marriage for him, *Theophanes* writes to *Charles* King of the Franks. This *Charles* must be no other than *Charles* the Great, as wereade in the Annals of the Franks, sent an Embassy to *Nicephorus*, for Confirmation of the Peace betwixt the two Empires. The Ambassadors were *Hatto* Bishop of *Basil*, *Hugh* a Count, *Aio* a Lombard of *Forumjulli*, *Leo* the *Spatharius*, a Sicilian by birth, and *Wilbarius* Duke of *Venice*. Coming to *Constantinople* they found *Nicephorus* dead, and therefore transacted their matters with *Michael*, who was lo ready to entertain their overtures, that he sent his Ambassadors with them at their return to *Charles*, whom finding at *Aquisgranum*, they complemented in behalf of their Master. Their Names were *Michael* a Bishop, and *Theognostus*, both *Protospatharii*, from whom *Charles* having received their message, the Spring following sent other Ambassadors to their Master for farther Establishment of the Peace, viz. *Amalbarius* Bishop of *Triers* and *Peter* Abbat of *Nonantula* in *Italy*, both of them men famous for Learning in that Age; but coming to *Constantinople*, they found not him then in the Throne, but *Leo* who succeeded him, by whom they were heard, and dismissed together with Ambassadors from him to *Charles* upon the same errand.

Makes his Son
Theophylact
Emperor
with him.

Repells the in-
vading Sara-
cens.

13. But to return to *Michael*, not long after his Promotion he was engaged in War on several Hands. The *Agarens* or *Saracens* made Inroads into the Eastern Provinces, but were repelled by *Leo* the Armenian who governed those parts, who in one battle slew of them two thousand men, and got many Horses with other booty. *Crumus* Prince of the *Bulgarians* took up Arms with more success, having received a repulse in a matter which he demanded. Some of that Nation leaving their former Habitations, had with this Emperor's leave settled themselves within the *Roman* Territories. Hereby some better understanding than formerly there had been between the Subjects of both; but it happened that some *Romans*, who in the former Wars had been taken by the *Bulgarians*, broke Prison and returned home. These *Crumus* demanded to be sent back, and some were for gratifying him in this particular, amongst whom the Emperor and several Religious Persons of great account, believing this would prevent the usual hostile Incursions of the *Bulgarians*. But many others were of the contrary opinion, and of them the chiefest were *Nicephorus* the Patriarch, with *Theodistus* the Master, as *Cedrenus* calls him, a Man of mighty esteem for his Vertue and Wisdom, who urged that they were to trust to God's Assistance, and not by giving up the Fugitives to gratify the pride and insolence of the Barbarians. *Crumus* also required, that the Articles made formerly by Mediation of *Theodosius* of *Adrynium*, and *Germanus* the Patriarch might be observed, else he threatened to fall upon *Mesymbria*. But *Michael* by advice of those about him, denying to gratify him in all, he accordingly fell upon *Mesymbria*, using in the Battery of the City the Skill and Industry of a certain *Arabian*, excellently skilled in the framing of Engines, who having formerly betaken himself to the service of *Nicephorus*, was lo ill treated by him that he fled over to the *Bulgarians*, and instructed them in all sorts of Machines. *Zonaras* writes, that *Nicephorus* the Patriarch and the Churchmen, were for the delivering up of the Fugitives, alledging that a few were to be sacrificed to the publick safety; but the Senators, Courtiers, and *Theodorus* *Studites* vehemently opposed their Delivery, by whom the Emperor was governed, being a Person by nature mild, and Orthodox, but slow in business, and easie to be led to any thing which his Officers designed.

The Bulgarians
fall upon
Mesymbria.

14. Now is a Comet said to appear in divers shapes, and amongst the rest of a Man without an Head; this probably having little other Foundation than in the Fancies of Men, who in seeing the shapes of Clouds as in ringing of Bells, may work their imaginations to any posture or sound they please. But *Crumus* takes *Mesymbria*, and waistes the Western Parts of the Empire with Fire and Sword. Hereupon

upon the Emperor sends out his Orders for raising of Men, and hastes into *Thrace*, his Wife accompanying him as far as *Cedostium*, at which his Souldiers murmured and reviled him, that he was forc'd to send her back. *Crumus* having notice of his coming drew back his Men from their Depredations, and *Michael* coming into *Thrace*, suffered his Men to behave themselves so disorderly, that they were as offensive to the Inhabitants as the Enemy himself, which procured the Emperor no small prejudice. *Crumus* fortified himself against his coming not far from *Adrianople*, and after his sitting down near to his Camp began to skirmish; but in these the *Romans* still had the better, and therewith were so elevated, that with great earnestness and impatience they required a Battle, which the Emperor either out of fear or for good reason deferring till he could have a good advantage, differing they grew mutinous, and upbraided him with fawcy and importune Clamours, threatening that except they were led forth, they would break out, and of their own accord attack the Enemy. *Michael* being thus constrained to doe it led them forth, and put them into a Posture for a Fight, which *Crumus* perceiving ordered his men also according to the Customs of his Nation, and to blows they came. The *Bulgarians* had plainly the worst of it, and were so overpowered by the Valour of their Enemies, that they were about to run, *Crumus* their Captain having even spent himself with riding to and fro, and by his presence and speech labouring to reinforce the Battle, when *Leo* the Captain of the East, whose Ambition was now come to maturity, caused his Squadron to leave the rest and depart the Field, no hardship or necessity at all urging him to it. This fight utterly dismayed those that were so hotly engaged, and as much encouraged the *Bulgarians*, whom at first *Crumus* restrained from pursuit, believing it was some Stratagem, and done of purpose to draw them into some greater danger. But seeing the *Romans* flye without all order, or any stop, he then enforced the pursuit, and made great slaughter of them. The Emperor with much difficulty escaped to *Adrianople*, and thence got to *Constantinople*, with a slender Equipage, leaving *Leo* behind him in *Thrace*, to protect the Countrey and repress the Incursions of the Barbarians.

And in a Battle through the Treachery of Leo rout the Emperor.

15. He being gone, *Leo*, who had already prepared the minds of his Souldiers by declaiming against him as an effeminate, unskillfull and cowardly man, now more openly discovered his Design. Consulting with his Officers, and concluding he had now a good opportunity, he sent abroad his emissaries to tell through the whole Army, how silly and unexperienced the Emperor was, and that by his ignorance in warlike matters the *Roman* Forces had been defeated, and their ancient glory and fame eclipsed, or rather quite extinguished. By this means the minds of the Souldiers were corrupted, and such as he could pick up he joyned to his own Troops, and perswaded them to revolt from *Michael*. On the other side these Agitators cried up the Ability and Integrity of *Leo*, as a man born to preserve the *Roman* Name and Empire, and they caused the Souldiers to compass about his Tent, and having reviled and renounced the other to salute him Emperor. He pretended great unwillingness, nay, so pertinacious seemed he to be in the refusal, that *Michael* *Traulus* or *Balbus* the Stammerer one of his Principal Officers drawing his Sword, and causing those with him that were of the conspiracy to doe the like, threatened to kill him, except he would accept of the Empire. When the Report of his having assumed the Title came to *Michael*, some would have perswaded him to buckle himself to a vigorous resistance, and suppress the Usurper; but being of a quiet disposition, he refused to cast himself into so great danger, and reprehended those sharply that incited him on to a Civil War, to the destruction of many innocent Persons. By some of his intimate Friends, he sent to *Leo* the Diademe, Purple and Scarlet shoes (Ensigns of the Empire) whereby he might see that he quitted the Dignity, as one ready also to part with his life, rather than that upon his account one drop of Christian blood should be shed, and he bad him without all fear or doubt to come and take Possession of the Palace. *Procopia* his Wife being a Woman of an high Spirit, vehemently indeavoured to perswade him to the contrary, nay, rather to dye than so quit the Imperial Throne, but to no purpose.

Hath the Diademe and other Ensigns sent him by Michael.

16. So write our Historians generally concerning this change and promotion of *Leo*, that it was accomplished by his own Arts, through his Insinuations, his crafty and fraudulent Suggestions against *Michael*. Yet the History of *Theophanes* attributes the fall of *Michael* to his own Imprudence, allying the contempt and hatred of his Person, to his oppressing his Subjects by the Army he had raised against *Crumus*. It saith nothing of *Leo*'s tampering with the Souldiers,

Y y 2

but

but on the contrary, that when *Michael* after the Defeat would have resigned to him, he refused it. But *Michael* being firm in his resolution to lay down, notwithstanding for some time he was hindred by his Wife and Sons, and quitting the City, the Magistrates and People earnestly implored his assistance, for the saving of both Church and State from Ruine. He as earnestly refused, considering the difficulty of the times, the continual Incurfions and Violence of the Barbarians, and being unshaken in his Fidelity to the Emperour. But perceiving the Enemy to draw nigh the City, he sent to *Nicephorus* the Patriarch who was much for his advancement, and desiring his Prayers, with the Magistrates and Souldiers went to the Tribunal raised without the City, and there was declared lawfull Emperour of the Romans. *Michael* having notice hereof, went with *Procopia* his Wife and his Children to the Oratory of *Pharus*, where being shaven he put on the Monastical Habit on the Eleventh of July in the sixth Indiction, and on the second day of the week. Thus relates the matter the History of *Theophanes*, who lived at this time, and was an Eye-witness of all these passages. But some say he brought down his History but to the end of *Nicephorus*, so that this must not be his but the addition of some other who favoured *Leo*, and concealed his ambitious practices in obtaining the Empire. However it came to pass, *Michael* laid down the Purple after he had reigned one Year, nine Months, and as many Days.

Who turns Monk.

Leo begins his reign.

Banishing Michael, And Gelding his Son.

Beats the Bulgarians.

His Character.

17. *Leo* the Armenian began his Reign on the seventh day of July, in the thirteenth year of the Reign of *Charles* the Great, the eighteenth of Pope *Leo* the Third, the sixth Indiction, A. D. DCCCXIII. However he first obtained the Government; having once obtained it, he took care for the securing of it to himself. *Michael* he parted from his Wife and Children, sending him away to the Island *Pruta* to the Monastery there, where he spent the remainder of his Days; and *Theophylact* his Eldest Son, they say he Gelded, and then Banished him with *Zonaras*, his Mother and Brothers. *Michael* Balbus, or the Stammerer, he promoted to the Degree of a Patritian and Count of the *Schola Excubitorum*, and to *Thomas* his other Fellow-servant he gave the Command of the Confederate Forces. The Bulgarians at this time were put up with their late Victory, and made Incurfions afresh in *Thrace*, where without controll they wasted all things. *Leo* not well settled in his Seat, thought it best at present to restrain their Hostilities by good words, and sent Ambassadors to *Crumus*, who thinking he had much the advantage of the Romans, refused to entertain any reasonable Propositions, and sent the Ambassadors back without having any thing obtained. The Emperour hereby forced to take Arms, omitted nothing to strengthen himself, and Marched against the Enemy. Engaging in a great and bloody Battle, the Bulgarians had much the better, and having routed the Romans, gave the Chase in great disorder, which *Leo* perceiving, who stood upon an Hill, with a Reserve fell down with great violence upon them, renewed the Battle, and got a notable Victory. Many were slain, and more taken Prisoners. *Crumus* himself hardly escaped, for having received a Wound by an Arrow, and beaten from his Horse, he had quickly fallen into the Hands of his Enemies but that he was refused, and set upon another Horse by the more than ordinary Valour and Industry of his Guard. This Victory very much repressed the Insolence of the Bulgarians, and kept them within their Bounds some time after; and on the other side raised up the drooping Spirits of the Romans, whom the Valour of their Ancestours had in a manner forsaken. *Leo* in Triumph with great Spoils and many Captives returned to Constantinople.

18. After this our Historians very much revile him as Heretical and Cruel, because he opposed vigorously the Worshipping of Images. Otherwise they confess he was a most Vigilant and Industrious Prince in Reforming what was amiss in the State, omitting nothing that might tend to the benefit and advantage of it; so that *Nicephorus* the Patriarch whom he had Banished from his See, and out of respect to matters of Religion was his utter Enemy, yet when he heard he was Dead, confessed that the Common-wealth had lost an ungodly, but however a Great and considerable Governour. As he was very exact in ordering his matters of State, so very severe against flagitious Persons. On a time as he passed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his Wife was taken away from him by a Senator, of which he had complained to the Governour of the City, but could have no redress of the Injury. *Leo* com-

manded that at his return should appear before him both the Complainant, the Criminal, and the Judge. By Evidence the Senator was so pressed, that he confessed

feffed the Fact; and the Judge being asked why he had not punished so heinous a Crime, was silent, as having no excuse. The Judge therefore the Emperour discharged of his Place, and ordered the Adulterer to be punished according to the Laws. Most commonly *Leo* heard Causes himself. The Officers of his Army, his Souldiers, and all sorts of Magistrates he chose merely for their Worth and Abilities, no Place being purchased for Money or any other Consideration than that of Merit, in his time, for he was a great contemner of Money. He endeavoured also after several Accomplishments, as that of the Voice, though not naturally fitted for Musical Exercises, and he himself was wont to begin the Psalms in the Church, especially at *Christmas*. In conclusion, he was one of the best, if not the very best Prince of this Age in this declining state of the Empire; and had he not been against the Worshipping of Images, in many words and much flourish by our Writers who were of the contrary opinion, for such an one would have been acknowledged.

Χριστου
γεννησης
αυτης
αρχης
αυτης
αρχης
αυτης

19. That Jealousie, and consequently Cruelty was not his fault appears from this, that want of sufficient caution procured his Ruine. *Michael* of *Amorium* the Stammerer (as we said) he had preferred, and as it proved to that height, that he grew proud and insolent; and as it often happens to such as have done eminent Service to Princes in obtaining their Crowns, imagining that he could never be sufficiently requited, nor commit any offence which the reputation of his former Services would not expiate. Being amongst other vices very lavish of his Tongue, and not able to conceal any part of his mind, he first began to talk against the Emperour, and at length threatened to deprive him, and Marry the Empress. The Emperour being informed of his Discourses, at first resolved to dissemble the matter, and take no notice, knowing him to be very lavish of his Tongue. But afterwards he let him know that he was sensible of his opprobrious language, which he would deny, and then fall into the same fault again. *Leo* therefore resolving not to be wanting to his own safety, set some Spies upon him to observe him more strictly, that they might give Evidence against him, and amongst the rest there was one *Enabulus* very familiar with them both, who would often reprehend him, and admonish him of the danger into which those intemperate Discourses would bring him; but seeing he was not to be reclaimed, he made the Emperour acquainted with all his Designs, which in his drink he easily discovered. *Leo* then not thinking fit to delay any longer, on *Christmas*-Eve fate himself in Judgement and heard his Accusers, by whom he was evidently convicted of Treason; and having not been able to deny the same, had Judgment to be Burnt alive. The Prisoner is bound, and on his way to the place of Execution, when the Empress *Theodora* having notice of it, runs out of her Apartment in the Palace like a Distracted Woman, lays hold upon her Husband, and calls him wicked, and an Enemy to God, in that that he would have no respect to that Holy time, wherein he was also to partake of the Blessed Sacrament. *Leo* was moved with her words and passion, and fearing to offend Almighty God, repitied the Execution, and commanded him to be kept by one *Papia*, with Shackles on his Legs, whereof he himself would keep the Key. But turning to his Wife, he told her he had done what he had desired, being overcome with her Frantic passions; but she and her Children would find at length what would be the Issue of it.

Michael Balbus condemned for Treason is repitied from Execution.

But is still mistreated by the Emperour Leo.

Ουτος ο
βασις
οις
αυτης
αυτης
αυτης

20. So intent was he upon this matter, and as our Writers affirm, so terrified by several signs portending his Destruction, that the following Night he could not sleep, but to secure himself of the Traitour, broke into the House of *Papia*, where, to his great wonder, he saw him bestowed in a very soft and costly Bed, *Papia* lying by on the bare Floor, and so fast asleep, that with no jogging or stirring could he awake him, a thing not incident to those that expect nothing but death. With this sight he was so vexed, that he resolved on the Destruction both of the Prisoner and his Keeper. But *Papia* got knowledge of his coming by one of the Watch, who knew him by his purple Buskins, and observed narrowly his behaviour, and having told to *Michael* the extreme danger they were now jointly in, as desperate Men they consulted how to extricate themselves. *Michael* pretended by the means of one *Theophilus* to come to conference with certain Religious Persons about the estate of his Soul, to which the Emperour being not averse, when *Theophilus* had liberty to come to him, instead of providing for his Soul he took care for his Body, causing him to go to his fellow Conspirators and to threaten them, that except they would enter into some sudden

den and effectual course for his deliverance he would Discover them all to *Leo*.

21. These Men being very much startled, ventured upon this course to rescue him, and preserve themselves. It was the Custom then, that such Clerks as Sung in the Emperor's Chapel did not (as afterward) lye in the Court, but each at his own House, whence about the third Watch of the Night they all met at the Ivory Gate, and by that entering the Palace, so went to perform the Morning Service. With these the Conspirators mixed themselves, and carrying their weapons hid under their Cloths, entered the place, and in an obscure part of the Church hid themselves till the sign was given. One part of the Service being done, in comes the Emperor according to his Custom, and with a loud Voice begins his usual * Anthem, when they take the advantage, but by mistake fell upon the Dean of the Chapel, or he that † Preceded over the Clerks, either because his Head was covered as the Emperor's was, for it being then a great Frost they all wore warmer Hoods, but he quickly uncovered himself, and by shewing to them his bald Pate saved his Life. The Emperor perceiving the matter, conveyed himself to the Altar, and there with the chain of the Incense Pot, or as some said, with the Cross, defended himself as well as he could: but they all rushing upon him together, some wounded him in the Head, others in the Belly, and others in other Parts, till overpowered by the Number, though he demeaned himself most stoutly, like an Hart at a Bay, he was at length knock'd down: Perceiving one of a vast stature to fetch a blow at him, he conjured him by that Grace which inhabited the Sacred place to spare him, but he answering that this was a time for killing and not conjuring, cut off his Hand, together with the Horn of the Cross. At length, spent with wounds, and falling to the ground, one of them struck off his Head; and to such an end came *Leo*, after he had Reigned seven years five months and fourteen days. In a Book of Predictions belonging to the Emperours Library, is said to have been an Oracle of *Sibylla*, expressed in an Hieroglyphical way, by a Lion, from the Back of which, as low as the Belly, was drawn the Greek Letter X and a Man, who standing behind the Lion, thrust a Spear into his Body through the Letter. This obscure Oracle the Questour of old time could alone Interpret, affirming it to signifie an Emperor, that being called *Leo*, should be slain on the day of Christ's Nativity.

22. The Body of the slain Prince the Conspirators cruelly dragged into the Cirque, being void of all manner of fear, for that they set a guard about the Court, out of which they presently cast the Emperess, together with her four Sons, *Sabbatius*, to whom, being designed Emperor, was given the Name of *Constantine*, *Basil*, *Gregory*, and *Theodosius*, all which, putting into a Boat for the present, they sent packing into the Island *Prota*, and there caused them to be gelded, after which *Theodosius* speedily died it seems of the wound, and was buried, after which *Constantine* thereupon grew dumb; as for their Mother, she was shut up in the Monastery of the *Lords*. But *Michael*, freed now from his Gaoler *Papia*, with the Shackles on the Feet (for *Leo* had got the key) fate down upon the Imperial Throne, and was saluted as Emperor, and worshipped by all in the Palace. About noon the noise was all spread abroad, and then, as time it was, were his Bolts knocked off with an Hammer, and without either waiting his Hands, thinking on God, or doing any thing fitting such an occasion, he halted to the Great Church of *St. Sophia*, desirous to be Crowned by the Hand of the Patriarch, and received for Emperor by all the People, trusting onely to his fellow Conspirators, and the Murderers of *Leo*. Here *Cedrenus* makes a wonder, first, that *Leo* of such and so many flatterers should have none to stand up in behalf of his cause, but like so many creeping Animals, each of them betake himself to his lurking hole; and at the impudence of *Michael*, that he should enter the Church, not like some Murderer or Hangman, whose Hands were polluted with Blood, but as some Conquerour, who had deserved the Palm of Victory, and justly prized himself for some notable Achievement. Whereas he had not shed hostile but civil Blood, and that not in an ordinary place, but at the Holy Altar, where the Lord's Blood was offered for expiation of sins. This *Michael* was born at *Amorium*, a City of the upper *Phrygia*, and in this manner became Emperor, in the seventh year of *Ludovick* the Son of *Charles* the Great, Emperor of the *Franks* in the West, the fourth of *Paschal* Bishop of *Rome*, in the thirteenth Indiction. A. D. DCCXXX.

Who is Murdered by the Conspirators.

His Emperess cast out.

And his Sons Gelded.

Michael in his Shackles saluted Emperor.

* Τὸ μυστικὸν ἀντίφωνον τοῦ ἱεροῦ.
† Τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν κληρικῶν.

His Character:

23. As he came to his Preferment by Treason and Cruelty, as safely and ignominiously he Reigned, shewing himself to be Emperor, by no other thing than the Diademe and the Purple. All Discipline, Order, and rational ways of Administration, he with great scorn rejected, as formal fopperies, but indeed because he knew they would discover his folly, and render ridiculous those courses, his own Inclinations and silliness put him upon. Such as in his mean Estate had been his Trade or Exercise, now in the highest degree of Eminency and Power he esteemed his best qualifications. As (if you will have it in down right terms from *Cedrenus*) to guess and divine, whether * Pigs newly pigged would prove well, if brought up; to be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or Afs, to have skill in Mules, whether they would prove better for riding or carrying other burthens. In like manner by the mere look, to be able to tell what Horses would be good for the Race, and what for the War; the like concerning the fruitfulness of Sheep and Cows, the quantity of Milk they were like to give, and the quality of their young newly brought forth. Most ingratefull he had been to his first Master and Benefactor *Bardanius*, and worse did he behave himself to *Leo*, whose Wife and Children he used as we have said, onely allowing them a small pittance to live on out of their great Estate he had seized, with some of his own Servants to attend them. Learning so much he abominated, that he would not suffer Children therein to be instructed, lest they should be able to understand and resist his madness, or be able to write more readily than he could, for therein he was so slow, that another might as soon read a Book as he go over the Letters of his own Name. Such Ignorants as he, have left an evil example to the world; for before the decay of the *Roman* Empire, and Hogherds and Neatherds came to Arrive at the Sovereign Power, who in their younger years by reason of the Poverty of their Parents, had no opportunity to learn, Princes were the best instructed in Learning, the greatest care was had to breed them in Philosophy, and they thought it becometh them to excell others, as well in knowledge as in birth and Dignity; but these upstarts, these base and illiterate Persons coming to be Emperours, began first to decry as mean, useless, and formal, that to which their slender education could never reach, and what they did not understand.

24. But as seldom it happens, but that some notable mischief happens in the Reigns of such fordid Princes, a Civil War fell out in the Eastern Parts, which brought all sorts of inconveniences upon the World, and consumed so many mortals, that it caused a great scarcity of Men throughout the Empire. The Author of it was one *Thomas*, concerning whose birth and condition, there is a difference amongst Writers. some have reported him born of obscure Parents, Barbarians, and very poor, and that according to his Original he led his Life in his own Country, in continual drudgery and hard labour, the onely means of his preservation. After this he came to *Constantinople*, where he got into the Service of a Senator, and there plaid several pranks, being so impudent as to defile his Master's Bed, which being discovered, to shun the disgrace and punishment of his crime, he fled to the *Agarens* (or *Saracens*) and with them having continued the space of five and twenty years, and approved himself by his Actions most unto them, he abjured the Christian Religion, and turning Mahometan, procured the Command of a good Party of Men, and to be sent against the Christians, promising to subdue the whole Roman Empire to their Authority. And left the *Romans* should be averse to him as a stranger and a man of another Religion, he affirmed himself to be *Constantine* their Lawfull Prince, the Son of *Irene*, whom his Mother had deprived both of his Eyes and Empire, and who before this time had left the World. Others there were that affirmed this *Thomas*, the same with him that served *Bardanius*, and concerning whom the Monk of *Philometium* prophesied, as we said, before, and whom *Leo* had made Captain of the Confederates; that this *Thomas* understanding *Leo* to be Murdered by *Michael*, partly to be revenged on him for the death of his Patron, and partly to satisfy his own malice (for from his youth he had ever born ill will to *Michael*) and out of fear of the Monk's prediction, he now took Arms. First of all he raised a great Army in the East, the place of his abode, lifting all that were able to fight, whereof some followed him out of hatred of *Michael*, who had incurred the contempt of all men, others followed him out of good will, some for hope of booty, and those whom none of these motives urged, he compelled to give their Names to the enterprise. His advantages were, that in respect of the gravity of his aspect, he was revered by all, besides he was very familiar and fair spoken; qualities

Τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν κληρικῶν.
Τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ τῶν λαϊκῶν.

Cedrenus.

very acceptable to Souldiers, and inferior to no man in strength and courage.

25. Having seized on the East, and made sure of the publick Revenue there, as he began to proceed, whom he could not allure to his Party, by force bringing them over to side with him. *Asa* he miserably wasted, and dealt severely with those Cities, which out of respect to the Emperour, stood out against him; the whole Region he took, except the Countries of the *Officians* and *Armeniacs*, which through the valour of their Commanders, *Olbianus* and *Catacelas*, stood it out, and for that were rewarded by the Emperour, with the gift of the Smoak-money or Hearth-money, which was wont to be paid into the publick Treasury. But the *Saracens* now taking notice how the *Romans* were imbroiled in a Civil War, took the advantage, and made incursions into all places, Islands as well as others. *Thomas* was hereat concerned, fearing lest his Men affrighted hereat, would desert him, and betake themselves to the defence of their own possessions. He resolved therefore by a sudden onset to repress them, which he did, together with a promise that he would put into their Hands the Territories of the Empire, and subdue it wholly to their Command. By this means being rid of them, he put the Diademe on his own Head, and assumed the Title of Emperour, being declared such by the Patriarch of *Antioch*. Now did he increase his Forces by new Levies, not only out of the Neighbouring, but remoter Nations, as the *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Perfians*, *Affrians*, *Armenians*, *Chaldeans*, *Iberians*, *Zichis* and *Cabiris*, and changing his Name to that of *Constantine*, adopted one whom he thought would be a support to his usurped Dignity. *Michael* all this while was not wholly idle, but made preparations for resistance, but so unequal, that *Thomas* ingaging with them, easily defeated them, killing many, and forcing the rest for to shift for themselves. Having by this success very much established his affairs, he pursued his good Fortune with great industry, setting out a Fleet to Sea of Ships, both fit for Fight and Burthen, which had such success, that he became thereby Master of the Emperour's Navy, and appointing the *Rendezvous* at *Lesbus*, with eighty thousand men, came to *Abydos*, waisting all places in the way. Not only such as were easie to come at; but such as made resistance he took by force, and set on fire.

26. One Castle there was which made stout resistance, and this *Thomas* sent his adopted Son to Attacque. He proceeding without care or good order, fell into an Ambush laid for him by *Olbianus*, who sent his Head to the Emperour, and he dispatcht it back again to *Thomas*, as he was proudly pursuing his Victories. But little affected with his loss, which the world was wide enough to supply, Adoption being easier than natural Generation, he remitted nothing of his former vigour, but passed over into *Thrace* just upon the changing of the Moon, when the Night was darkest, that he might not be discovered. *Michael* was aware of it, and to prevent his Design, had reinforced all his Garrisons, and by both good words and deeds confirmed the resolutions of his Souldiers as much as he could, although to very little purpose. For as soon as he was returned to *Constantinople*, and *Thomas* was arrived in *Thrace*, they all revolted to him, and followed him to the Siege of that City. The Emperour hereupon as he could, raised other Forces, which committing to the Conduct of *Catacelas* and *Olbianus*, he sent to meet the Tyrant, and put a stop to his proceedings, and he neglected not his Sea affairs, putting matters there into as good a posture as his present condition would suffer. But *Thomas* like a Torrent, with his vast Armies, both by Sea and Land, bore down all before him, easily routing and dissipating all the Emperour's Forces, wherever they appeared, and struck him with so much Terror, that he caused a chain to be drawn cross the Haven, from the Castle to the opposite Village, to stop his Progress into the inward Parts of the adjoining Sea.

27. At this time there lived in the Island *Scirus*, one of the *Cyclades*, a certain Captain called *Gregory*, whom being a near Kinsman of *Leo* the late Emperour, *Michael* had thither banished for boldly upbraiding him with his death. *Thomas* thought fit to draw him to his Party, and for that purpose, gave him the Command of twelve thousand Men, and sent him to Attacque *Constantinople*, being assisted by a strong Squadron of Ships, that the Defendants thus set on both by Sea and Land, might have the greater diversion and less ability to defend themselves. He himself intended to follow with the gros of the Army. The chain was without much difficulty broken, and Siege laid to the City on all sides, after which *Thomas* himself coming up, many furious Assaults were made, but the Inhabitants

habitants made such vigorous and resolute opposition, that nothing they produced, and *Thomas* found himself deceived in his expectation, that the Citizens upon his Approach would have opened their Gates and received him in, which caused him to send *Gregory* before, as it were to prepare for his entrance, resolving to follow in State with the Body of his Army, and his newly adopted Son *Anastasius*, who for this Honour had lately forsaken the Monastical Life. Finding himself treated with opprobrious Language, and threatened with Death instead of a kind Reception, he incamped himself as strongly as he could, and sent a strong Party to the Euxine Sea, and *Hieras* to take in all the Fortified Towns, that he might not have an Enemy at his back. As he made preparations to Attacque the City afresh, he was much discouraged by the union and resolution of them all within, and much distracted in his mind what course to take; but at length, trusting to his multitudes, resolved to try his Fortune again by Storm.

28. By break of day commanding the Signal to be given, he draws his Men out of their Trenches. To his Son he commits the Scaling of the Wall by Land; by Water, he orders his Fleet with Fire and all sorts of resolves to fall upon the Towers, to attempt the Town on that side, and he himself resolves to fall upon the Towers of *Blacherna*, wherein he conceived the chief strength of the Besieged to consist. No sort of Engine for Battery or Ladders wanting, nothing omitted to strike Terror into the Defendants, and to force them to yield. But on a sudden arose a violent Tempest which both dissipated the Ships by Sea, and by Land so disordered the Engines and Instruments of Battery, that they were rendered useless and unmanageable, so that he was constrained to give over, and found to a retreat. This so encouraged the Citizens, that now they took more resolution, and began to make Sallies, which so vexed and wearied him, that Winter also being sharp in those Quarters, he resolved to raise the Siege, and leaving *Thrace*, Quarter his Army in some warmer place, with firm purpose to return in Spring as soon as the Season would permit. This he performed, but found *Michael* now better provided for his Reception, being furnished both with a Fleet and a Land Army. At the same Quarter he gave the Assault as before, and with as much violence, which while it continued, *Michael* found a convenience to talk with some of his Souldiers, to whom he promised not only pardon for what was past, but good rewards in case they would desert his Service, and abstain from the shedding of Blood in so bad a quarrel. But they were deaf to all his charming Language, and rather more animated against him, measuring their fidelity to their own Captain by his strength, which in their apprehensions made every way desperate the cause of *Michael*.

29. *Michael* perceiving his good Language had no operation upon the Enemy resolved, with greater hopes to apply it to his own Men, and that he did with such success, that making a sally upon the Enemy he did great Execution, and killing very many of them obtained a notable Victory. *Thomas* having received this defeat at Land had no better success at Sea, where his Navy miscarried through the Cowardise of his men, who terrified with the approach of the Emperour's *Tirremes* fled back to Land, and some of them revolted, the rest retired unto their Camp. His success was better against *Gregory* the Kinsman of *Leo*, who perceiving his Affairs go down the wind, and believing he would in a short time dwindle to nothing, resolved to make his Peace with *Michael*, and the rather because the Emperour had gotten his Wife and Children into his Hands. But *Thomas* had timely notice of his intended flight with that party which he commanded, and as he was marching away, before the Emperour could receive the News of his revolt fell upon him, and easily mastering his Party took him alive, and presently put him to death, having left a convenient Number of men, all this while to keep the siege, lest the Enemy should take the Advantage, and fall in upon his back. The exploit performed, he returned to the siege, and sent Letters up and down which falsely proclaimed a mighty Victory, and sent for such Ships as lay in *Greece*, as purposing to pursue his good Fortune by Sea also, and the Fleet came as far as *Beridus*, consisting of fifty Vessels in all, as well those of burthen as the other for fighting. The Emperour's Fleet had notice of their coming, and secretly by Night set upon them. Many were taken with the men, others were burnt; and those that escaped came up to *Blacherna*, which they joined with the Land Forces.

Endeavouring
to storm it, is
diverted by a
sudden Tem-
pest.

And much
weakened by a
Gally from the
Town.

30. In the mean time several skirmishes happened at the siege, sometimes *Michael* himself, otherwhiles *Theophilus* his Son, or *Cataclas* and *Olbianus* issuing out upon the Besiegers, for he durst not adventure upon a set Battel, because *Thomas* far exceeded him in Numbers. But by this time the Report of the *Roman* Emperours being blocked up in a Town, had flown far and wide, and was come to the Ears of *Mortagon* the King of the *Bulgarians*, who was therewith affected, as pitying the Dignity rather than the Man he sent privately, to encourage him with a promise, that he would come speedily to his assistance. *Michael* either for that he suspected what this stranger in conclusion might do, or was unwilling the Country should be wasted by another Army, or rather to save his Money in getting and keeping, whereof none of his Predecessors had been more fond, thanked the *Bulgarian* for his kindness, and excused his not accepting of his Relief. But for all this *Mortagon* who was accustomed to War and Depredations, and desirous to confirm the League for thirty years, which he had made to the *Armenians*, undertook the expedition against *Thomas*, and coming into the *Roman* Territories as far as *Cedolus*, there incamped himself. *Thomas*, as he had reason, was very much disturbed, finding himself too weak to continue the Siege, and fight the *Bulgarians* too, great Forces being requisite to each of these undertakings. At length he resolved to fight the *Bulgarians*, which he did at *Cedolus*, but was worsted in Battel; great Numbers of his men being slaughtered, the News whereof coming to his Fleet before *Constantinople*, it presently revolted to the Emperour. Yet such was his Ambition and Hopes of attaining his ends, at last, that encouraged by the retreat of *Mortagon* into his own Country, he still continued his siege.

31. But finding all his Attempts frustrate, at length he marched to a place called *Diabasis*, some furlongs distant from the City, and very convenient for Excursions where he incamped himself, and thence waited all near the Walls, without any formal siege or drawing out his Forces. The Emperour encouraged by this his Retreat raised a considerable Army, which he committed to the Conduct of *Cataclas* and *Olbianus*, and thereto joyning his Guards and the ordinary *Militia*, he led them all against him who received them courageously, and by way of stratagem ordered his men to counterfeit flight, and suddenly again to retreat, and to terrify the Enemy. But his Design would not take at this time. His men were quite tired out with expectation. Such of them as had Wives and Families at Home, now began to think of returning to them; how lavishly they had shed civil and innocent Blood, and to gratify the madness and ambition of one man spent three years in prosecution of that, which now there was no probability of attaining. The sign being therefore given they fled not in jest, but in good earnest, and dispersing themselves, most of them went over to the Emperour. *Thomas* himself with a few got to *Adrianople*, and *Anastatius* his fictitious Son seized upon the Castle of *Birya*, *Michael* resolved to make fire of them e'er they could recruit, and in the first place pursued *Thomas*, whom besieging, he resolved not to use any Engines or Instruments of Battery in attacking the Town, but to starve him out, partly because he would not deface the Walls and Houses, and that he might not teach the *Scythians*, bordering upon the place, the manner of taking Cities by storm. A line he drew about the place, and blocked it up every where. *Thomas* put forth all such as were not fit for War, but necessities at length failing those that remained, most of them made their escapes as they could, at a little Gate, and over the Walls by Ropes, part of them going to the Emperour, and part to *Anastatius* still lying at *Birga*.

32. Those that remained with *Thomas* being reduced to such extremity, that they were forced to eat rotten Leather and other things which naturally Man abhors, at last entertained Correspondence with *Michael*, and having obtained pardon for what was past, delivered him up in Fetters to him. *Michael* observing the Custom received in those times by the Emperours, upon such occasions, first caused him to lie all along on the ground, and then set he his Feet upon his Neck, after which his Hands and Feet being cut off, he was put upon an Ass and shewed about the Camp, saying onely thus much, *Thou who art the true King (or 'Εἰς τὸν μὲν αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς βασιλεὺς)* have mercy upon me. The Emperour went about to examine him if any of his Courtiers were of the Conspiracy, and he had doubtless accused many had not *John Exabulius* the Patritian advised *Michael* to forbear and not to trust an Enemy that accuses his Friends; by which saying he saved many miserable Citizens and the very Friends of the Emperour from great impending mischiefs. *Thomas* at length spent by lingering Torments, breathed out his last in the middle

middle of *October*, a Man who at the beginning enterprized great things, and with great Alacrity and Vigour prosecuted his Designs, but fell less and less as he went on, and his last attempts answered no expectation. Those at *Briga* understanding what their Friends at *Adrianople* had done, treated *Anastatius* in the same manner; for they delivered him up bound Hand and Foot, and he perished after the same manner as did his Father, succeeding him in his punishment, though not in his Imperial Dignity. The two Usurpers were thus dispatched, but some Remnants of the Rebellion remained. *Pavium* and *Heraclea* two Maritime Towns of *Thrace*, still held out, not so much out of respect to them as hated to the Emperour, because he refused to restore Images. But e'er long *Pavium* was taken, the Walls being overwhelmed by an Earthquake, and *Heraclea* was stormed on the side lying toward the Sea.

33. There yet remained two Castles, *Cabala* and *Saxiana*, whereof the one was held by *Choreas*, the other by *Gazareus*, who thence exercised Robberies and Depredations. The Emperour offered them their pardon, and more than that to make them Masters (such was the Name of the Dignity) but they rejected his offer, which he knowing, corrupted some of the garrison Soldiers, so that going out to rob another time, the Gates were shut against them at their return, and flying into *Syria*, they were there apprehended by some of the Governours, and nailed to Crosses. By this means the whole Rebellion was now extinguished. Upon such as were taken in the War *Michael* no otherwise animadverted, than by setting them first on Asses, and so carrying them about to be seen at the *Circenian* Games, after which they were banished. But, as *Cedrenus* writes, all mischiefs (so he caled not with the War; but as well *Europe*, as *Asia*, the Head, as the Tail, (so he terms it) were chastized from Heaven, by Slaughters, Fires, Earthquakes, Robberies, Civil Broils, sudden and unexpected destruction of Cities, signs in the Heaven and Air; and the like mischiefs invaded also the Islands, as well as the Continent; all which he ascribes to this, that they would not worship Images. But (to come to the matter) at such time as *Thomas* began to raise Commotions, when the rumour thereof spread abroad, the *Saracens* that inhabited *Spain*, thinking a fit opportunity to be presented them, desired of their Prince, that they might send out a Colony; for that they were too numerous for the Country they inhabited. Their Prince *Apocaphus* by Name (their *Amermunes Cedrenus* rather than they themselves called him) very glad of the opportunity, and concealing his design went with some long ships furnished with them to waste the Eastern Islands which belonged to the Empire; both to gratify the People, and to discover whether there was any fruitful Isle, into which it would be worth his labour to send a Colony. Sailing away at the beginning of the Spring, and coming to several Islands he found no resistance, all Ships and Garrisons being gone to the assistance of *Thomas*; great booty he got, and so returned, bringing home especially Intelligence concerning the fertility and pleasantness of *Crete*, as a place abounding with Milk and Honey; for so he termed it.

34. When therefore Winter was over, and the season permitted, with another Fleet consisting of forty Ships and furnished with Souldiers, he set sail, and arriving at *Crete*, there landed his Men. He incamped upon the Promontory *Charax*, and sent Spies to discover the Country, who returned without having met any to oppose them, when in the mean time, he caused all the Ships to be set on fire. The Army being much affrighted at the sight, and returning to the Camp to know the cause of the misfortune, their Captain told them that they themselves were the cause thereof, who had been earnest for planting a Colony in some fruitful place: but no fruitful, nor fitter every way to plant in did he know than this, now he had both satisfied their desires, and had eased himself of their Importunities. But they objected to him the want of their Wives and Children, to which he answered that they should speedily have captive Women which they might use as Wives, and on them beget Children: and satisfied with this answer they intrenched themselves. *Photinus* the *Protospatharian* and *Prefect* of the East, having speedy notice hereof gave Intelligence also to the Emperour, desiring he might have sufficient Forces to withstand so impending a mischief, who accordingly with great supplies dispatched to him *Damianus* another *Protospatharian*, and they, joyning their Powers together, prepared for an expedition. But it happened that coming to engage the *Saracens*, at the very first onset *Damianus* was slain, which so affrighted the whole Army that it ran away, and amongst others *Photinus* to the Emperour as fast as a swift Pinnace could carry him with the News of the Overthrow, who yet rewarded him with the Government of

And forced to raise the siege upon the arrival of the *Bulgarians* to the Emperour's aid.

'In a Battel is slain to *Adrianople*.

But at last *Thomas* is delivered up to the Emperour.

The Inhabitants of *Heraclea* and *Pavium* reduced to obedience.

Choreas and *Gazareus* subdued.

And the Civil War is finished.

The Eastern Isles wasted by the *Saracens*.

They invade *Crete*.

Thereof *Photinus* advised the Emperour. They defeat him and *Damianus*.

Sicily instead of that of *Crete*, whereof the unmannerly *Agarens* had now deprived him. They could not for some time, agree amongst themselves where to plant, being solicitous for a place of safety, till a certain Monk coming down from the Mountains directed them to *Chandace*, which finding very convenient for their Designs, they there built a City to command the whole Island, and thence they made Excursions, and took all the Towns within the Island in a short space, one only excepted. After this manner became the Isle of *Crete*, subject to the *Saracens*, who straight began to persecute such as professed the Christian Religion.

35. But, *Michael*, freed from the civil Wars, ascribed the Issue not to the Goodness of Almighty God, but to his own Prudence and Sagacity. His Wife being dead and having a great desire to be married again, he deals with some of the leading men in the Senate, by their complaints to constrain him as it were to take another; nay to threaten him in case he did it not, using this worthy pretext, that their Wives must by no means want a Sovereign Lady and Mistress. To satisfy them therefore he will take a Wife, but not without this Caution neither, that in case she overlive him, they will ingage to esteem and honour her as their Emperors, and make Emperour one of the Sons he should have by her. After all this stir, he takes out of a Monastery a Virgin called *Euphrosyna*, one that from her Childhood had ever professed the Monastical life, and was reported to be the Daughter of *Constantine*, whose Eyes were put out by his Mother *Irene*. Being married, he began to think of the Isle of *Crete*, and what a disgrace it was, for him to suffer the *Saracens* in it to nest themselves; therefore he sent away *Craterus* the Governour of the *Cibyrents* with seventy Vessels, to which joining all the rest that belonged to the Islands, he made up a considerable Fleet, and there-with landed his men, and very fiercely fell upon them, who with as much resolution received him. From break of the day they fought till noon, without any appearance to which side the Victory inclined, but, towards Evening the *Saracens* were worsted and put to flight, many of them being slain and many taken, and their new City might have easily run the same fortune had day and light sufficed. But the Conquerours were, neither, willing to take too much pains, and not valuing those that had escaped whom they doubted not, but they could easily master when they pleased, they gave themselves to Drunkenness all the Night, as if they had been at home, and not in an Enemies Country; not so much as setting any Watch, or taking the least care of their own Security. The *Saracens* now, how weary and wounded soever, perceiving the condition they were in, when they were all drowned in drink and sleep fell in upon them, and cut them all off, hardly one escaping with the News from the Island except *Craterus* himself, who got away in a Merchants ship, but the Captain of the *Saracens* seeking for him, and missing him among the dead sent those after him who took him also napping in the Island *Cos*, and there-nailed him to a Cross. This expedition so ill succeeding, one *Oripbas*, a man considerable both for Courage and Skill in military Affairs, raised by the Emperours order an Army which got the Name of *Tessaracontarius* or *Fortieth*, because to every man were assigned so many *Aurei*. Herewith visiting the Isles partly by Ambushes, and partly by open Engagements, he repressed the Insolence of these *Cretian Saracens*.

36. At this time it happened that one *Euphemius* an Officer in the Army, falling in love with a veiled Virgin in a Monastery, and encouraged by what he knew the Emperour to have done in the like case, took her thence by force and lay with her. Her Brothers hereupon make loud complaints to the Emperour, who gives order to the Governour of *Sicily*, if upon examination he found the matter objected to be true, to cut off his Nose. *Euphemius* having notice of his doom draws into conspiracy his Fellow Officers, and makes so strong a Party, that when the Governour comes to execute his Orders he easily repels him, and flying over to the *Ameras* or Governour of *Africk*, promises him to betray *Sicily* into his Hands, and pay him a large Tribute if he would declare him Emperour of the *Romans*. This the *Ameras* thought was no great matter to do, and therefore furnishes him with Forces, and sends him away with the glorious, but empty Title of Emperour. He accordingly brought the *Saracens* into *Sicily*, but as he went about the Island to persuade the People to own and receive him for Emperour indeed, and coming to *Syracuse* went so near the Walls, that he was drawn about a bow shot off from his Company, as he endeavoured to make his way by a flattering Speech, two of the Citizens being Brothers agree together to take the opportunity and kill him. They made him great Reverence, and both

by words and gestures flattered him into a belief of their kindness and fidelity, inasmuch that he to requite their Civility called them to him, and went to salute one of them, who caught him by the Hair of the Head, and so fast held him till the other cut off his Head. But the *Saracens* fell not short of what they designed and he promised, for introduced by him they got possession of the Island, and not only that, but upon *Calabria* and several other parts, by reason of this Vicinity they seized, waiving all where e'er they came with Fire and Sword. But though *Cedrenus* and others relate this story of *Euphemius* all together, yet two years seem to have been taken up in transacting the whole Affair, the Death of the Emperour *Michael*, being related just after the Conclusion. He died after he had reigned nine years of a Dysentery, and was buried in *Justinian's* great Chapel. *Dalmatia* also revolted from the Empire in his time, which was very full of Calamities, which credulous People believed was foretold by an Oracle. They also concluded, that the Empire should at length be devolved upon him, from some Circumstances which fell out at the Promotion of *Leo* his Predecessour. As *Leo* being about to pray for happy success put off the Robe he then had on, he gave it to hold to this *Michael*, being then the Master of his Horse, who without any more to do put it on. And when the said *Leo* invested in another Robe, went into the Chapel belonging to the Palace, this *Michael* following him negligently trod on his Train, which it's said *Leo* accounted an ill Omen, and thence guessed that he would in time raise Commotions. From these passages, and what has been said of the Monk, we may see how they were addicted to Prophecies and Ominous conceits in those days.

37. *Michael Balbus* being dead, *Theophilus* his Son now arrived at Man's Estate succeeded him in the Month of *October*, and the seventh Indiction in the sixteenth year of *Ludovicus* Emperour of the West, the second of *Gregory* the Fourth of that Name Bishop of *Rome*. A.D. DCCCXXIX. This *Theophilus* shewed himself a marvellous observer of Justice, and a severe Asserter of the Laws of the Empire, though as his Adversaries, upon account of Religion take upon them to censure him, he was herein hypocritical, pretending this Zeal merely thereby to secure himself from Conspiracies, to cut off all Pretences and Advantages, that any who had a mind to usurp, might catch at, and improve against him. To this purpose he put in Execution such a Design, as could not but to the understanding fort evince his Father to have been both a Traitor and a Tyrant, and himself an Usurper if he came to the Dignity by the way of Succession, and upon his account. He resolved to put to death all those that had any Hand in the Murder of *Leo* and his Father's Advancement, and for that end published an Edict whereby he summoned all such as had had any Favours, Dignities or Preferments conferred on them by him, to the House called *Magnaure*, and from the Five Towers *Pentaperygium*. When they were all assembled he mildly told them, that his Father had in his Life-time resolved to reward such highly, as had procured his preferment, and done him eminent service, but forasmuch as being prevented by death, he could not effect what he purposed, he had left him as his Executour to pay that Debt. Therefore he desired them that were his Father's Friends to separate themselves from the rest, into a peculiar place, where they might receive the Reward intended them. Such as had assisted in the Murder of *Leo*, in expectation of some great matter gladly and readily discovered themselves, whom having incircled as Fish in a Net, he commanded the Officer thereto appointed to put the Laws in execution, telling him that Seeing both God and he committed the Power to him, he should give these men their full hire, who had not only defiled their Hands with Man's blood, but had killed the Anointed of the Lord within his Temple. Having said this he dismissed the Assembly, and the Officer going to work took the Malefactors, and punished them as those that had committed Murder. This performed, *Theophilus* sent back his Mother-in-Law, and shut her up in the Monastery, where first he had been professed. And the Engagement wherewith her Husband had bound the Senate in her behalf, could not stand her in any stead.

38. Such was *Theophilus* his beginning. He was so exact a Follower of Justice, that he was feared by bad, and admired by all good Men, this only blot our Authors find in his Eloquence, that he was against the worshipping of Images, and as severely as any of his Predecessours. Every week he rode to our Ladies Church in *Blacherna*, and heard all Complaints of oppressed People, without any partiality. Riding also about the Markets, he himself would view what was to be sold, and take notice of the Prices of Commodities, wherein he went

And fix at
Chandace.

Michael mar-
ries a veiled
Virgin.

Craterus and
all his Souldi-
ers slain by
the Saracens.

Euphemius
usurps, and
brings the Sa-
racens into Si-
cily which
they seize on.

Michael dies.

Dalmatia re-
volts from the
Empire.

Theophilus his
Son succeeds
him.

Puts to death
the Murder-
ers of *Leo* his
Predecessour.

Is a strict ob-
server of jus-
tice, and a-
gainst wor-
shipping of
Images.

829.

Joan. Europae-
datus, ex eo Ce-
drenus, Zonara,
alii.

below himself, but he would not trust any to do it, especially in Meats and Drinks, where the Poor were most concerned. In all other matters relating to Government he was very exact, having an especial regard to Courts of Justice. And although he condescended thus in these things yet was he not of any Mean, Covetous or Sordid Spirit, as appears by this following Passage. Looking on a time over the Wall of the Palace towards the Sea, he beheld coming into the Haven a Ship of burthen goodly to behold under sail, and very well fraught with Merchandise. Being much taken with the sight, and asking to whom the Vessel belonged, and what was her Lading, it was answered, to the Emperess, with which answer at present he seem'd satisfied, and replied nothing. But staying till the time came he was to go to the Church in *Blachernis*, in his way he took the Haven, where he called to the Mariners, and demanded of them if they wanted any thing, when after often asking, at length they replied, that by the care of the Emperour they had all things that were convenient for them, he demanded if they did not know that God Almighty had made him Emperour, but the Emperess his Wife had made him a Merchant or Mariner; and he added with Indignation, was there ever any Emperess before that saw her Husband a Merchant? This said, he caused the Men to come ashore, and to bring their own Goods along with them, then fire to be set to the Ship, which consumed it with all its Merchandise and Tackling. He rebuked his Wife with great earnestness, and threatened her with destruction if ever she attempted any such thing again; telling her that Traffick was ordained for private men wherewith to sustain themselves, and that if Princes should besides their publick Incomes apply themselves to Trade, their Subjects should not have wherewith to live. Her Name was *Theodora*, by Birth a *Paphlagonian*, the Daughter of one *Maximus* a Man of Noble Parentage, and *Theodissa Floriana* his Wife.

39. Another Story is told, which as much shews his Justice, and both of them declare his generous Disposition. There was a certain Souldier in the Army that had an excellent Horse, of so good Heels that he had often saved his Master's life in Battel. The Officer under whom he served taking notice of him, endeavoured by all means, both by Threats and Promises to get him from him, and when he could no ways prevail, accused him to the Emperour for a Coward and Calli'd him. Not long after it happened that the Emperour wanted an excellent Horse, which bringing to the mind of this Officer the repulse he had received from the Souldier, he takes away his Horse by mere force, and presents him to *Theophilus* as of his own free gift. After this there being a necessity of raising more Forces, this man is prest to the service afresh and engaging in Battel, for want of his Horse is overtaken and slain, leaving a Wife and Children behind him. The Widow left in low condition, and hearing much of the Emperour's Justice, comes to *Constantinople*, and as he rode to the Church in *Blachernis*, according to his custom, upon her Husband's Horse, caught him by the Bridle, crying out that he was hers, and that the Emperour had been the cause of her Husband's death. *Theophilus* amazed desires her to have patience till he returned to Court, and then to come to him, which she did, and having told him all the Story, he sent immediately for the Officer, and caused the Woman to step aside. He being examined would confess nothing, till the being produced, and confronting, he could no more deny the Fact, but first standing mute, acknowledged what she said to be true as to all Circumstances, and then he fell at the Emperour's feet with Tears imploring his mercy. *Theophilus* took away all his Estate and gave it to the Widow and her Children, put him out of Command, and sent him into Banishment.

40. Besides these good qualities he was very magnificent in building, amongst other things he rebuilt the Walls of the City, pulling down the old and mean ones, and rearing others in their room, so lofty that they could not be scaled by the Art of Enemies. To all dissolute living he was so averse, that he turned Whores out of the Stews, and converted the place to the better use of harbouring Strangers, giving it his own Name, and afterward it became a Nunnery or Receptacle of the better sort of single Women. He himself is reported never to have been overtaken with Women but once, being then inspired by the extraordinary beauty of one of the Emperess's Attendants, but seeing his Wife to be much concerned about it, he confessed his fault, asked her forgiveness, and with hands lifted up to Heaven, vowed that he had never been faulty in that kind before. He much affected Music, and composed several Anthems. He had very short Hair, and therefore published an Edict, that no *Roman* should wear Locks longer than

than his Neck; but otherwise also by Laws he indeavoured to retain the ancient *Roman* temperance and moderation. Having five Daughters and never a Son, his best beloved, *Mary* by Name, he resolved to Marry to some Person of Principal note and merit, and pitched upon one *Alexius Mofes*, an *Armenian* by Birth, descended of the *Genitæ*, one beautifull in Person, and in the flower of his Age. He first conferred on him the Dignity of Patritian, then of Pro-consul, afterward of Master, and at last created him *Cæsar*, and with a numerous Army, matters then requiring it, sent him into *Lombardy*. There he managed his matters to the satisfaction of his Father-in-Law, but what satisfied him, dissatisfied his Emulators, who accused him as Ambitious, and affecting the Empire, and they urged a Prophecy as if *A should injure* Th; which as soon as he understood he desired leave of *Theophilus* to retire to the Monastical life. The Emperour unwilling to do so much injury to his Daughter, denied his Request, and compelled him to keep his Rank and Power; but the dying not long after, and *Theophilus* having a Son born to him by Name *Michael*, when he again importuned him to dismiss him, he assented, though with much regret, and assigned him such places as he thought most commodious for his retirement.

41. Besides this *Alexius* he was otherwise well furnished with eminent Captains, two especially, *Manuel* and *Theophobus*. *Manuel* had formerly been General to *Leo*, and Master of the Horse to *Michael Rangabes*. *Theophobus* was the base Son of a certain *Persian* Ambassadour, descended of the Royal blood, who after his birth presently died, and left him at *Constantinople*. It happening that all those of the Royal House in *Persia* being either destroyed or driven away by the *Saracens*, the *Persians* hearing of him sent to *Theophilus* to desire they might have him to be their King; but he refused it, chusing rather to make him a Patritian, and to give him his own Sister in Marriage, and he made a Law which gave leave to his Subjects to Marry with *Persians*. By this means many of that Nation came over to him, and gave their Names to the expedition he was now undertaking against the *Saracens*, out of whom he raised a Legion, which was called the *Persian*, and joyned in the Army with the *Roman* Legions. The *Saracens* having invaded the *Roman* Territories, *Theophilus* with these two Captains marcheth against them. When they came near the Enemy, and began to consider whether they should give Battel, *Manuel* was against the Emperour's engaging in Person, affirming it a thing below him to grapple with a Man so inferior as the *Amermunnus* was, and that some of his Captains with part of his Forces was to do it. But *Theophobus* contended that the Prince himself ought to fight, and advised him by Night to fall on with the Foot, and to leave the Horse for a Reserve. The Emperour approved not of his Advice as to falling on by Night, but resolving to do it by day light, *Impraet* the *Amermumma* or General of the *Saracens*, whether out of fear, or to let the *Romans* see how much he despised them, went away with part of his Army, and left eighty thousand men with *Abuzachar* one of his Captains to fight them. Battel being joyned many fell on both sides, and at length the Cohorts or Schools, as they called them, with their Captain or *Domestick* gave ground and turned their backs. The Emperour with his Guard, two thousand *Persians*, and *Theophobus* got to an Hill, where they were incompanied by the *Saracens*, who fought to take him Prisoner, and his own men strove as hard to defend him, and in this Contention they spent all the day; when night was come *Theophobus* commanded the Souldiers to shout and make a noise with their Trumpets and Instruments of Music as if they rejoiced for some Relief that was arrived, which Stratageme took so well that the *Saracens* concluding they had Succours come indeed, left they should be surrounded by their Enemies, retreated to seven Miles distance, and by this means the Emperour escaped to the rest of his Army which had run away. Yet did he only chide, and in no severer manner animadverted upon them. *Theophobus*, as reason was, he very much honoured, which made his Countreymen the more fond of him, insomuch that they Petitioned *Theophilus*, that under his Conduct they might by themselves make War against the *Saracens*. And he so far gratified them, that he suffered none else to command them.

42. The following year he marched against the *Saracens* with very good success, which encouraged him to make another attempt the next Spring, but this did not answer expectation. For he had far the worst, and was very near being taken in Battel, when *Manuel* his General considering what a disgrace it would be to the *Roman* Name and Empire, propounded it to the Army as an Argument to animate them to fetch him off, and when he had broken through to him and found him

Not at all given to Covetousness.

Very Just.

Endued with several other good Qualities.

Engaging with the *Saracens* and *Turks* he is worsted.

And with difficulty brought off by his General in the next.

Who being accused to the Emperor flies to the Saracens.

But is sent for to the Emperor.

And received into favour.

Theophilus enters Syria waiting the Dominion of the Saracens.

him wearied and in despair, he intreated him to follow him as he made him way through the throng of the Enemies. But *Theophilus* still loitered, pretending he milt not discourage his men by flying, which *Mannuel* perceiving came back when he had already passed to him the third time, and drawing his Sword threatened to kill him except he would follow him, (telling him it much more behoved the State that he should die than be taken) by which means he brought him off. For this service he deserved a reward, and the Emperor was not slow to give it, and the thing being so evident, to confess he had been his Deliverer. But as Princes do not care too much to be beholden to their Subjects, he envied him for his Reputation, and there wanted not those who gratified him by accusing the General of Designs to Usurp, so that it was resolved he should loose his fight. This was discovered to him by one that formerly had been his Servant, and now was Cup-bearer to the Emperor, whereupon he fled to the *Saracens*, and upon condition that he should not be constrained to change his Religion, revolted to them and was joyfully received. He was speedily advanced to the highest Honour and Command he was capable of, and with an Army the *Saracens* sent him against their Neighbours called *Cermata*. But he refused to fight with any other than such *Romans* as there were in Captivity, whom gathering into a Body he therewith did very notable Service, and took a Castle called *Chorofan*, striking greater terror into the Besieged, not onely by his valour, but the difference of Language and Habit, and an unexpected change of the manner of fighting. But not onely was he very acceptable to the *Saracens*, for fighting with Men, but making War also upon Wild Beasts, which did very much at this time infect their Countrey, and afforded him this opportunity of keeping his Souldiers in Action.

43. These things being made known to *Theophilus*, vexed him much, as taxing himself with Ingratitude and high Imprudence, in disobliging so serviceable a man, therefore he resolved to get him Back by any means. At that time Monks being wont to travell and wander up and down in all Places, he employed one of that sort whom he knew fit for his purpose, as least liable to suspicion, sending by him Letters strengthened by a Seal of Gold and a Crois, which gave *Mannuel* such satisfaction, as concealing the Message he studied how to return, and after some time effected it in this manner. He desired leave of *Ismael* Prince of the *Saracens* to make an Expedition against the *Romans* into *Cappadocia*, to be revenged chiefly on those who had accused him to the Emperor, and easily obtained it, together with the Son of the Prince to accompany him, as having already given sufficient Testimony of his Fidelity. The Governour of *Cappadocia* he prepared beforehand to receive him, and being arrived at the place he desired, and going out from the Army with the Prince his Son and a few Followers as to Hunt, he bid the Young man get him back to the *Saracens*, and let them know his Resolution of returning into his own Countrey. Getting safe to *Constantinople* he was gladly received by the Emperor in the Church of *Blacherna*, there had conferred on him the Place of *Magister*, and was shortly after Godfather to his Son *Michael*, whom afterwards he adorned with the Imperial Title and Ensigns of Majesty. After this in the Spring *Theophilus* and the *Saracens* on each side made preparations for War, but coming near together were struck with such mutual fear, that both Armies returned home without having any thing performed. At his return came Ambassadors from *Chagan* the petty Prince of *Chazaria*, desiring leave to build up a Castle called *Marcol* on the Borders, as very convenient for restraining the Incurfions of the *Petzinacæ* toward the River *Tanais*, which they obtained, and one *Petronas* was sent to see the thing performed. *Petronas* when he came back acquainted the Emperour that he could not continue Master of *Cherson*, except he sent thither a Governour of his own, the manner having been to put some of the Natives into the command. The Emperour being satisfied with his Reasons sent him to execute the office, with orders to the Townsmen to put him into possession, which they obeyed.

44. The year following *Theophilus* made an Incurfion into *Syria* against the *Saracens*, which waiting all in his way he took two Cities, and carrying away the Inhabitants made himself Master also of *Sozopetra* the Native place of the *Amermunes*, though he sent to him and earnestly begged of him that he would spare it. This done the Emperour returned to *Constantinople*, leaving behind him *Theophilus* to settle some matters relating to the Army, which pait, he was to follow after. But the Reverence which the Mercenary *Perfians* had for *Theophilus*, being removed they fell into a Mutiny, and laying hold of *Theophilus* at *Sinope*, would

Is required by a Visit from them.

would needs make him Emperour, though he used all the Proteffations and Intreaties he could; but when he could not divert them, he sent private notice of it to *Theophilus* to signifie his Averfens to the Thing, and as soon as he could made his escape and got to Court, where he was kindly received and enjoyed his former Honours. And for this time no farther trouble happened, the *Perfians* being alto pardoned, and received to favour, yet it was thought fit that being thirty thousand in Number they should not continue together, but be dispersed by two thousands into several Provinces under their distinct Officers. But the Prince of the *Saracens* or *Amermunes*, as these Greek Historians call him, was wonderfully enraged for the destruction of his Native City, and breathing nothing but revenge, hired men out of *Babylonia*, *Phanicia*, *Palestine*, *Calofyria*, and the farther *Africk*, (that lying next *Spain Cedrenus* means) giving Orders to every Souldier to engrave upon his Target the word *Amorium* which being the Birth-place of *Theophilus* he was resolved to destroy. At *Tarfus* all his Forces met; and *Theophilus* aware of the danger marched to *Doryleum* with such an Army as he could raise, distant three days journey from *Amorium*. Now there were several that perswaded to decline rather than withstand the fury of the *Saracen* Prince whose Numbers far exceeded his, and to remove the Inhabitants of *Amorium* to some other place. But he thought it would much reflect upon him, and resolving to protect the place, sent thither *Aetius* a Patritian the Captain of the East with a strong Party, which he also committed to the Conduct of *Theodoros Crateras*, (whom *Zonaras* will have to have commanded at *Amorium*) *Theophilus* *Bulbuticus* and others, men very eminent in their time.

45. The Prince of the *Saracens* lying at *Tarfus*, deliberated with those about him what to do; for he was of opinion that he should not pass on directly for *Amorium*, but send his Son with part of the Army to make an Attempt upon the Emperour, whom if he should beat he should share in the Victory, and if it happened otherwise, it would be best for him to be quiet. His Son therefore he sent together with *Ameras*, who then commanded *Metylene*; ten thousand *Turks*, all the *Armenian* Forces, and his Commander in chief, and they came and incamped themselves at a place called *Dazymennum*. *Theophilus* with his Army, consisting especially of *Perfians* both Eastern and Western, marching to a Town called *Auzin*, resolved before he would engage to view the Numbers of the Enemy, which finding to exceed his, it was to be considered with what Strategem and advantage they should fall upon them. *Mannuel* the Domestick of the Schools, as *Cedrenus* calls him, and *Theophilus* thought it best to be done by Night; but all the rest were for day light, with whom the Emperour agreed. And by day light a most fierce Battel was fought, wherein first the *Romans* had the better, the *Saracens* turning their backs. But the *Turks* so exceedingly galled the Pursuers with their Arrows, that they quite turned the course of the fight, and made those to run and forsake their Emperour, who but now seemed to have the Victory. Yet did the Captains manfully behave themselves, and so did the *Perfians*, who compassed him about, and earnestly laboured for his Preservation: yet he had been slain had not Night come on and some Rain fall, which wet the Bowstrings of the *Turks* so as they could not so conveniently use them, and the *Romans* had thereby opportunity to retreat. In the Night *Mannuel* who commanded the Watch, observed the *Perfians* to entertain Discourse with the *Saracens* in their Language, about betraying the *Roman* Army and returning into their own Countrey, which revealing with all speed to the Emperour, he advised him by all means, with some choice Followers to provide for his own safety by flight, now while he had time, and not fall into the hands of the *Saracens*. He answered, that this he could hardly do, especially to leave those to perish whom he had brought into the danger, but *Mannuel* replied, that if God would but preserve him, they would look to themselves, whereupon *Theophilus* took his Advice and fled away to a place called *Chilicommum*. Hither such as we said ran away from the Battel being fled, it's said they met him, and confessing themselves unworthy of life, who had so deserted their Emperour, drew their Swords and would have killed themselves, but that he restrained them, by affirming he was preserved by God, and that therefore they should not perish.

46. But the *Saracenian* Prince understanding how matters had prospered under his Son, resolved without delay to fall on *Amorium*, which joyning Forces with him, he did, drawing first a deep Trench about it. The *Turks* plied it with Arrows, and the *Saracens* with Batteries, yet the *Romans* within valiantly defended themselves and it, though the storm continued without intermission. *Theophilus*

philus with much ado having escaped at *Dorylaeum* expected the event, whence he resolved to try the temper of the *Saracens* by Messengers sent with rich Presents, and to desire of him to desist. But he being implacably incensed by the Destruction of his *Szopetra*, upbraided him with Cowardize, and scoffing at the Message, commanded those that brought it to be secured till they might see the Issue. Then did he more vigorously than ever attack the Town, dividing his Forces into many Parties, so as when one was spent or beaten off, another fresh one might succeed, with which pertinacious course he hoped that the Besieged would be tired out and surrender. Yet the Defendants were so resolute, that the Town was not to be taken but by Treachery, to which one *Badatius* a Townsman was Bribed, who upon some discontent had abjured the Christian Religion. He gave them notice where the Walls might most easily be mounted, and an Assault be made, which so succeeded as the *Saracens* by storm took the Place, and made unspeakable Slaughter of the Garrison and Inhabitants, being enraged at their Resolution, and for the Death of so many eminent Men as on their side had perished in the Siege. And with the Citizens so perished this most Beautiful of Eastern Cities, nothing remaining of it but Rubbish. The Women and Children were led away into Captivity, the Men generally being put to the Sword. But *Callistus*, *Constantinus*, *Theodorus Craterus*, all Patritians, and others who were eminent for their Employments in the Army or the State were taken, and the Prince now in an Insulting manner caused the Ambassadors to take a view of the estate of *Amorium*, and then sent them with an Account thereof to their Master.

47. He sent them back again to desire that such eminent Persons as were taken, being his Kinsmen and Allies, and the rest of the Prisoners might be set at liberty for their Ransome, offering four and twenty Centenaries; but he rejected them and their Message ignominiously, saying he should be unjustly accounted a Fool indeed, if he should accept of but so many Centenaries, when it had cost him no less than a thousand Centenaries in his Preparations. *Theophilus* hereupon as overwhelmed with insupportable Calamity fell into excessive Melancholy, so as to abstain from all sustenance, receiving nothing but some Snow-water, which cast him into a Dysentery. The only Thought or Discourse he would admit, was how to be revenged for *Amorium*. To this end he sent away *Theodolus* a Patritian toward the King of *France*, to desire his Assistance, and to procure him to invade those Parts of *Africk* which belonged to the *Amermunes*; but this Design came to nothing, *Theodolus* Dying upon the way e'er he could deliver his Message. His Melancholy and Disease both encreasing upon this Disappointment, in his Litter he would be carried to *Magnaure*, where calling together the Senate, with the Chief Men of the City, he most sadly lamented the posture of his Affairs, and earnestly moved them, that being mindfull of their kindness to him, they would continue faithful to his Wife and Son, and secure them from all Treachery. His lamentable Speech they Answered with as lamentable a Cry, and praying for his Life and Health, promised him that in case of unacceptable a thing as his Death should happen, they would stand by his Wife their Lady and Mistress with their Lives and Fortunes to the utmost.

After this he lived not long, yielding to the Distempers of his Mind and Body when he had Reigned twelve years, three Months and twenty days. His care for his Posterity it seems was so great, that he would not Dye without having *Theophilus* bear him company, whose Enemies took advantage at the Revolt of the *Persians* in the Battel we mentioned, and encreased the Jealousie conceived of him by the Emperour, from their giving to him the Title of Emperour, urging that the Revolt was not without his Device and Procurement. Having before caused him to be Imprisoned, when he was at the point of Death he commanded his Head to be cut off and brought to him, which touching with his Hand he breathed out these words, together with his Soul: *Henceforth I am neither Theophilus, nor thou Theophilus*. But some reported that *Oriphas* the *Drungarius* of *Bigla* flew him without having received any orders.

48. *Theophilus* being Dead, *Michael* his Son succeeded him, the third of that Name, Surnamed the *Drunken*: in the second year of *Lotbarius*, Emperour of the West; the fiftieth of *Gregory* the Fourth, Bishop of *Rome*; the Fifth Indiction, A. D. DCCCXLII. His Father by his Will left *Manuel* the Magister and Domestick of the Schools, and *Theodistius* the Patritian and *Logotheta Dromi* his Tutors or Governours, but the Regency was committed to *Theodora* his Mother, who by their Directions ordered all Affairs of State. Presently after the

And Race the City *Amorium*.

Which makes the Emperour melancholy.

After which he Dies.

Michael his Son succeeds.

Titus & Julia Descriptus, sic Imp. Occid. Communiter vocantur Cedrenus, alii.

Joannes Cedrenus Cedrenus Zenaras Glycas

Old Emperour's Death, the two Great Ministers lately mentioned went into the *Circus*, where calling the People together they rehearsed to them his last words and Will, insisted upon his Love and good Inclinations to them, and with many fair and alluring words endeavoured to gain their Affections toward his Young Son and Successour, who promised, if need should so require, to shed their Blood in his behalf, and their Promise instantly confirmed by Oath. *Theodora* thus settled in the Government was drawn wholly to matters relating to the Church, binding all her endeavours for the restoring of Images, which for a considerable time by the late Emperours had been forbidden: and she raised a great Persecution against the *Manichees*, which became an occasion of unspeakable Calamities in the East. For those he employed in the Inquisition, using no moderation but great cruelty in their Office, Nailed some of those they Condemned to Crosses, and others put to Death by many and unheard-of sorts of punishment. An hundred thousand by this course they made away, and confiscated their Estates, which drove the rest into Desperation and Rebellion, which was began by one *Carbeas* of that Sect, who served *Theodorus Melissenus*, Commander of the East, in quality of *Pratemandator*. He understanding that his Father was Crucified, enraged by so ignominious an Affront, fled with five thousand of his Persecution to the *Ameras* of *Mirylene*, and from him to the *Amermunes* himself, by whom being graciously received he presently after invades the *Roman* Territories, and therein builds two Cities, which he called *Argannum* and *Amera*. Then great numbers of the *Manichees* flying to him for shelter, to these two he added another for their Reception, by the Name of *Tephrica*. From these three places joining with some *Saracen* Officers, they made Inroads without intermission into the Emperour's Dominions, with such success generally as pleased them, only *Alimus* the Governour of *Tarfus* making an Inroad into *Armenia*, was cut off with his Party, and *Amer* the *Ameras* of *Melitena* for some time was diverted by the Revolt of one of his Fellow-officers. But having Conquered his Adversary, and being a Man impatient of Rest, he joyed himself with *Carbeas*, and renewed his Hostilities. Against them at length was sent *Petronas*, Brother to the Emperors, and Domestick of the Schools (which Office he executed, though it properly belonged to his Brother *Bardas*, who otherwise employed in State Affairs could not attend it) who led down an Army of *Thracians* against them, as we shall see hereafter.

49. In the mean time *Michael* the Emperour growing up towards a Man, was mightily inflamed with a desire to Govern by the procurement of this *Bardas* his Uncle, who thereby and by all other ways fought to screw up himself into Power. The great obstacles to his Rise were *Manuel* and *Theodistius*, who being the Emperour's Governours, and constantly attending in Court, were by one means or other first to be removed. It luckily happened for him that there fell some misunderstanding betwixt them, which he so encreased that thereupon *Manuel* quitted the Palace, and retired to his own House. Having thus removed him, he attempted the same upon his Instrument *Theodistius*, whom he more hated, because he had taxed him for having incestuously to doe with his Daughter-in-Law. The Engine he used was the Emperour's School-master, a wicked and intractable Man, whom the Scholar (commendable yet in this, that he was his Master) willing to Prefer to some considerable Office, *Theodistius* had opposed it, telling him such Preferments were to be bestowed according to Merit, and not upon undeserving Persons. The School-master acted by Revenge, and the constant incouragements of *Bardas*, never left whispering into the Ears of the Youth, that all things went ill through the bad management of *Theodistius*; that he had a Design to make a Marriage for the Emperors or one of her Daughters, and put out the Emperour's Eyes; otherwise terrifying him, and telling him he must be quick, and very crafty in providing for his own safety. They having often met and deliberated about this matter, resolved to have *Theodistius* made away, and that after this manner. As he went to *Lanchicum* for the Recording of some Transactions, the Emperour following after at some distance should give the sign by these words, *Take him away*. *Theodistius* apprehending the sign, endeavoured to save himself by flight towards the Court in the *Circus*, where the Secretaries then had their Office, but was stoped as he ran, and *Bardas* drawing his Sword threatened to kill any that should make any opposition or defend him. He was then committed to Prison till order should be taken about him, which was not long in taking nor executing; for left the Emperors should in the Inter-

A Persecution against the *Manichees*.

Which causes a Rebellion.

And the Destruction of the East by the Inroads of the *Saracens*.

Manuel one of the Emperour's Guardians leaves the Court.

Theodistius the other, Murdered by the procurement of *Bardas*, Uncle to the Emperour.

rim attempt any thing, they sent one to dispatch him, with whom he struggled some time, but Died of a wound received in his Belly.

50. He being dead, *Bardas* took upon him the Office of *Canicless*; but *Theodora* understanding what was done, ran with her hair all about her shoulders up and down the Court, which she filled with her shrieks and cries, cursing her Son and Brother, and wishing to them the like end. *Bardas* could not bear her Reproaches, but resolved that she, as the next obstacle to his Designs, was to be removed. She being an understanding Woman, was aware hereof, and resolved not to put all into blood by making resistance, but to call together the Senate, and give them an Account what Treasure was now in the Palace, both to obviate the extravagant expences of her Son, and to make manifest how careful and frugal she had been, during her administration of Affairs. She told them, that of Gold there was one thousand and ninety Centenaries, and three thousand of Silver, partly gathered together by her Husband, and partly by her self; besides very great Wealth in other kinds, of which she thought fit to let them know, lest her Son should hereafter make them believe that she had left him an empty Purse; and she caused the Officers of the Treasury to be present, who bore witness to what she had said. Having thus delivered her self, she resigned her Power and Government, and departed from Court; of which her Son was not at all displeased. For all this Wealth the foolish Young Prince in a small time consumed. Being above all things delighted in Riding, and Driving of Chariots, he refused not the Office of a Driver himself in the Cirque, and such as would accompany him and play with him at this or other idle and Rascally Sports, he profusely enriched, bestowing upon each an hundred, eighty, or at least fifty Pounds at the Christening of their Children. Having thus made away all his Mother had left him, when the solemn time came that he was to make Presents, having no other means left him of making Money, he caused to be melted and stamped those famous Trees of Gold, which (as *Silius* relates) being made in the late Emperor's time by *Leo* the Philosopher a Bishop, the greatest Scholar of his time, held in the Boughs a number of Golden Birds, which by virtue of an Engine sung melodiously, together with Golden Lions which roared also by the same Device, besides as many Vultures, and other stuff of the same metal, with other things, for which the Imperial Palace was famous, and gratified the curiosity of Strangers. In the same manner he had dealt with the Imperial Robes, but that Death prevented him, and *Basilus* his Successor recovered them out of the Hands of his Instruments, who found in the House only three Centenaries of Gold, and nine Bags of *Miliaris*, which he produced to the Senate, and deploring the Poverty of the Empire, Commanded them to Consult by what means it might best be supplied.

51. But *Bardas* and his Nephew proceeding in their evil courses, and still jealous of the Emperess, caused *Petrone* her own Brother, when on a time he came to the Church in *Blackernis*, to lay hands on her and her Daughters that accompanied her, to have them, and make them all Nuns, which Indignity the not long survived. Now the whole Power was in *Bardas* his Hands, whom his Nephew Honoured with the Dignity of *Caupalata*, as a Reward for thus dealing with his Mother. After this he raised an Army, and undertook with him an Expedition against the *Saracens*, and the *Ameras* of *Melitena*, and laid Siege to a City of theirs, situate upon the River *Euphrates*. Herein they contained themselves, as willing to have it believed that they durst not adventure out, and their Design prospered so well, that the Emperor's Army thereupon grew secure, and took no care how they ordered their matters. The *Saracens* then took the advantage when they were at Prayer, and going to Communicate on the Lord's Day, and slitting out fell upon them, put them easily to the Rout, the Emperor escaping by the swiftness of his Horse. All the Baggage of the Army was taken, and *Charleas* Captain of the *Manichees* so notably behaved himself, that besides many of the Inferior sort which fell by his Hands, he took no fewer than an hundred of the most eminent Commanders alive, who were all put to Ransome, only one *Seon* died in Restraint. Two years after, *Amer* with an Army consisting of thirty thousand Men invaded the *Roman* Territories, whom *Michael* opposed with no fewer than five and forty thousand *Thracians* and *Macedonians*; but *Amer* making his Passage through bye-ways, fell upon him unexpectedly, and with as much ease as formerly, put his Army to flight. And he himself had been taken, but that *Manuel* the Domestick of the Schools in good time came in to his Rescue with a strong Party. The rest shifted for themselves, every Man as he could.

52. Two

52. Two years more having passed after this Engagement, *Amer* marches with another Army of forty thousand Men into the *Roman* Provinces and wastes *Armenia*, with the Maritime Parts; at which time it's reported that he imitated the mad frolic of *Xerxes*, in lashing the Sea, because it stopped his farther pleasant progress. The Emperor upon the News, sent Orders to his Uncle *Petrone*, with all the force he could make to march against him, who then lying at *Ephesus*, and much disturbed upon Receipt of the Letters, consulted one *John* a Monk, who had the opinion of a Prophet, and by him was promised victory against the *Saracens*. Encouraged hereby, he hastes toward the Enemy, whom in an advantageous place he compasses about, and after some vain attempts of getting loose, cuts him off, and his whole Army. The Son of *Amer* being abroad on Foraging, and hearing of the disaster, made with all speed he could toward *Melitena*, but the Officer that commanded the *Charshan* Straits, took him and his Party and presented him to *Petrone*. Now returned *Petrone* to Constantinople, carrying along with him this Monk, whom he commended as a wonderful Man to the Emperor and his Brother *Bardas*, and for his good Service was made Domestick of the Schools, *Manuel* being lately dead. *Bardas* being now left without a Competitor, ordered all things as he listed, putting in and out all Officers, and now procured to himself the Dignity of *Cesar*, *Michael* in the mean time, as he was well pleased he should, by his ridiculous Actions making himself despicable in the eyes of all Men. *Bardas* hoping one day to be sole Master of all, that he might by something commend himself to the publick, endeavoured to bring into fashion again Philosophy and other Parts of Learning, which by reason of the ignorance of the later Emperours, had for many years lain buried in oblivion, appointing to each Science its several School in the Palace of *Magnaara*. He was frequently present also in the Courts of Justice at the Cirque, and procured the Laws again to flourish, which in these times had been also much neglected.

53. In the mean time, all the Coasts lying upon the *Euxine* Sea, were grievously wasted by a sort of Pirates called *Ressi*, a *Scythian* People, fierce and cruel, inhabiting some of the Northern Parts of the Mountain *Taurus*. They brought the City of *Constantinople* also into great danger. About the same time another Fleet of Pirates from *Crete* infested those Parts, lying about *Proconnesus* and the *Cyclades*, and most horrible Earthquakes happened, whereof the greatest on Ascension day, wherewith Walls, Churches, and other Buildings and Works were overturned. Besides Rivers and Fountains failed of their Waters, and many other Prodigies happened in divers places; of all which when the Emperor had notice, he regarded them not, so intent he was upon his Races. One fortith Act of his must not be past over in silence. His Predecessors, that they might have certain notice of the Incurfions of the *Saracens*, and to give warning to the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Countries, that they might not be surprized, caused to be built as near *Tarsus*, in the Border of theirs and the *Saracenan* Dominions, a strong Fort or Tower called *Luluni*, on a very high Rock, wherein were placed certain Men, who as soon as ever they perceived these People to be about an Invasion, by firekindled, were to give notice thereof to others that kept their station in another Hill called *Argens*. Those in *Argens* gave a sign in the same manner to others that watched in *Agialus*, those to others at *Mamas*. From *Mamas* the sign was given to the Cirque, from the Cirque to *Mocillum*, and from *Mocillum* to those that watched in the Mount of *St. Auxentius*, who in the last place gave the sign to the great Palace. By these Beacons were the Emperours, in a moment as it were, certified of the Enemies motion, and the Countreymen had timely warning to secure themselves and goods, in the strong holds adjoining. Now it happened that on a time, near the Church of *St. Mamas*, this *Michael* beginning his Races, the Beacon was set a fire, which exceedingly afflicted him, lest the People should not view well, and consider his Dexterity in Riding. And left by any such sight, the attention of the Spectators should be diverted for the time to come, he forbade the fires to be made in the places that were near to the City.

54. Another time as he fate in his Chariot, and the Horses were just ready to be let goe, word was brought, that the *Ameras* of *Melitena*, did grievously harass the Province of *Asia*, and being come already as far as *Malagina*, threatened the rest with Desolation, which being told him by the first Notary, in a sorrowfull manner, who also presented him with the Letters of the Domestick of the Schools, matters of Importance as he imagined, he looked upon him with a grim and angry Countenance, asking him how he durst, Villain as he was, disturb him, buffed

Theodora the Emperour's Mother gives an account of the Treasure.

Which *Michael* lavishly consumes.

Theodora is taken.

An Expedition against the *Saracens*.

But with ill success.

They invade the *Roman* Territories, and rout the Emperor's Army.

Another Invasion. Wherein the *Saracens* are worsted.

Bardas made *Cesar*.

The Maritime Coasts of the Empire infested by Pirates.

The firing of Beacons forbidden by the Emperor.

Who is wholly addicted to Racing and Villany.

busied in so important an Affair, with such trifling matters, especially now onely intent upon this, to turn off him that should Encounter him, to the left Hand, which was the wagger laid. He would debase himself with all sorts of mean Actions, blaming his Predecessours for insisting upon State. He had ever in his company a crew of most impure and profligate wretches, whom to abuse all things Sacred, he would cause to put on Copes, and other Vestments wherein Churchmen were wont to Officiate, and thus Habited, to imitate the most Sacred Functions and Holy Mysteries. One *Gryllus* a Rogue, he called Patriarch; others he named Metropolitans, and took to himself the Title of one of the chief Bishops and President of the Colony. With this crew he would meet the Patriarch in Procession, and once sent for his Mother, as to meet *Ignatius*, who then held that Place, and as the good Woman on her knees begged a Blessing, the Villain *Gryllus* appeared, having all the while hid his Beard, and with filthy gestures derided the poor Lady, who with such Anger as upon such an occasion became her, denounced vengeance unto her Son. Such were the manners and company of this dissolute Prince, whom vengeance at last overtook according to his Mother's Prediction, but first all his Governours, and such as should have better principled and advised him, were to receive their Punishment. How *Theophilus* came to his end we have already seen, and *Bardas* his Tragedy is now to follow, which was ushered in by a terrible Dream, and several other prefaces, as our Authours observe.

55. He had persuaded the Emperour to Arm against the *Saracens* of *Crete*, who infected his Subjects upon all occasions, and were now come in their Expedition into *Thrace*, as far as a place called *Chorus*. There the Servants of *Bardas*, whether out of Design or unadvisedly, for they were in an hurry, pitched their Masters Tent upon an Hill, the Pavilion of the Emperour being placed below in the Plain. This advantage was taken by his Enemies, who ceased not to render *Michael* jealous of him, and to inflame him against him to procure his sudden Destruction. Yet the Interest of *Cæsar* was such at Court, that they had much difficulty to bring about what they desired. For, his Son *Anigenus* bore the Office of Domestick of the Schools, and had the other Officers of the Army much at his Devotion; and *Symbatius* the *Logotheta Dromi*, being his Son-in-Law, was concluded of his Party, although the Emperour himself privately had taken him off, and no Man so much watched an opportunity to destroy him, and to him alone was committed the trust of giving the privy sign when it should be done. Now *Symbatius* making a Relation of what had happened, signed his Face with the Crows, which was the sign agreed of among the Conspirators. Yet were they very slow, being awed by the Relations and Dependents of *Bardas*, there present, though *Michael* fearful lest the Plot, if not now executed, might be turned upon himself, by one he could trust, sent and animated them all he could. The Fact had not now been committed, but *Basilus* the Emperour's Chamberlain, (who for especial reasons, as we shall see at large, was more concerned than any other to have him made away) stirred up his courage, and exhorting those present to stand to him courageously, resolved upon it. *Bardas* seeing them come upon him with drawn Swords, fell down at the Emperour's feet, and was cut all in pieces, after which they exposed his Genitals ignominiously fixed upon a Pole. So great a Tumult hereupon ensued, that brought the Emperour into extreme danger; and he might have easily miscarried in it, had not *Constantine* the *Drugarius* of *Biglæ* come in in good time with a strong Party of Men and quieted those concerned, affirming that *Bardus* was justly put to Death. He being after this fort dispatched, *Michael* cast off all thoughts of the Expedition to *Crete*, and returned to *Constantinople*.

56. Here it's obvious to remark the Custome of Courtiers and great Ministers to raise themselves upon the Ruine of others, and that usually they themselves are served in the like sort; the Interests of times or humours of Princes easily changing, although their hopes fo beguile their wits that they do not consider it. *Bardas* had cast down others, as steps to mount to his great Preferment, and more than probable it is, that the Emperour himself must at length have fallen for a greater advantage, had he not been prevented; but now his Removal makes way for another Favourite, who executes at last what he had but designed. This was *Basilus* but lately mentioned, by Birth a *Macedonian*, but as some reported, of *Armenian* Descent, and that from the stock of the *Asfacide*, out of which alone of old time the Kings of the *Partians*, *Medes* and *Armenians* could be chosen, out of respect to *Asfases* the First, who recovered the Kingdom to

Bardas Mur-
thered.

Basilus put
into his Place.

the *Partians* from those of *Persia*. And long did this Race continue, *Artabanus* and *Clitens* being the two last of the Kings, who being driven from their Inheritance, came in the time of *Leo* the Great to *Constantinople*, and he entertained them honourably, assigning them convenient abode in the City. Afterward the King of *Persia* invited them to return, about which while they were Consulting, *Leo* removed them to *Nice*, a Town in *Macedonia*, whence in process of time, when the *Saracens* had Conquered the *Persian* Kingdom, the *Armenians* also invited their Posterity to return. This being understood by the Emperour *Heraclius*, who perceived that he recalled them not out of any affection, but that by their means he might the better master the *Armenians* and *Partians*, he removed them first to *Philippia* a City in *Macedonia*, and thence to *Adrianople*, where they multiplied, yet kept their race unmixt with other People. Sometime after when *Constantine* and his Mother *Irene* reigned, one of them by Name *Maitles* came to *Constantinople*, where lighting upon *Leo* one of his own stock he contracted such Friendship with him, that coming to *Adrianople* he gave him his Daughter in Marriage. Of this Conjunction was born the Father of *Basilus*, so gracefull a Person, that a certain eminent Matron, said to be descended from *Constantine* the Great, married to him her Daughter. This is the Pedigree *Cedrenus* gives us of *Basilus*, but by others generally it's accounted but a fiction, who affirm him born of very ignoble and obscure Parents.

57. It's granted on all Hands, that when *Crumus* the *Bulgarian* took *Adrianople* his Parents were led away Captive, and carried him with them being a young Infant hanging on the Breast. The Successor of *Crumus*, being fore distressed by several Defeats received from the *Romans*, made peace with the Emperour, and by virtue of that Agreement restored all Prisoners formerly taken, amongst whom *Basilus* returned. Many Prodigies are said to have pertended to him the Empire. An Eagle, when being a Child he was laid in the Field, as his Parents were at work, covered him with her Wings, and being beaten off once or twice still returned to her former Posture. When he was grown up to be a youth, his Father died, and his Mother being left a poor Widow, and notable to maintain him, he went to *Constantinople* to seek a service, where he got into the Family of one *Theophilizes* (so called from his small stature) who was of kin to the Emperour and to *Bardas*, being recommended it's said by him that kept the Church of *St. Diomedes*, to whom they will have it that the Martyr revealed it that he should be Emperour, and commanded him to take him in as he lay at the Gate for want of a better Lodging. *Theophilizes* being much taken with him, for he was tall, beautiful of Body, and wore long curled Hair, being besides very active, and of a very good wit, made him Gentleman of his Horse, which they in those days and places called *Protofrator*. The Emperour at this time having an unruly Horse, none could tame him, till at length it was effected by *Basilus*, who when he was got loose rode after, and leaping into the Emperour's saddle made him quiet and tractable, which was accounted another Omen, the Imperial trappings and purple Bridle, Ensigns of Majesty, being considered. For this Service and Contemplation of his Dexterity, he was taken amongst the Officers of the Emperour's Stable, and shortly after *Bardas* having out of Jealousie caused the former to be turned out, was made a *Protofrator* or Master of the Horse a place both very honourable, and which gave him occasion often to be near and converse with him. So much he grew into favour, that *Bardas* began to cast a jealous Eye upon him; as also the Empress *Theodora* her self, by reason of I wot not what secret marks the espied in his Face, which had been formerly described to her by her Husband, as appropriate to him that should put a Period to his Family.

58. But neither her swooning at the sight of these marks, nor all the Caution she could give her Son could in the least diminish his Reputation with him, who after some time preferred him to be Chamberlain, which so enraged *Bardas*, and augmented his jealousy that he sought his destruction; and this being known to the other, impossible it was that both of them could long subsist. But the expedition towards *Crete* gave *Basilus* the Advantage, who as *Cæsar* stood and talked with the Emperour, lift up his Hand in a threatening manner at his back, which the other by chance looking behind him having espied, fell down at the Feet of *Michael*, where the rest of the Conspirators cut him in pieces, but not till the first stroke was given by *Basilus*. Returning then back with the Emperour to *Constantinople*, he received from him in Marriage *Eudocia* the Daughter of *Juarez*, a Lady much extolled for her Chastity as well as Beauty, and other Qualifications by

Some account
of him.

*Bafilus made
Emperour.*

by *Cedrenus*, but *Zonaras* writes, that she was Concubine to *Michael*, and that she was then believ'd with Child by him of *Leo*, who afterward succeeded *Bafilus* as his Son. After this the Emperour made him his Collegue, or Emperour causing him to be Crowned by the Patriarch in the Great Church of *St. Sophia*. For after the Death of *Bardas*, the Administration of Affairs having fallen upon *Michael* alone, his Weakness and Debauchery came to be made more publick than ever, no business being dispatched, but all things going to Ruine, which constrained him as stupid as he was to think, of some one who should bear the Burthen. Being eased something in his mind by this he returned to his Drunkenness, his driving of Chariots and other loose Courses rather more than ever, and on a time when he had won the prize entertained *Bafilus* and *Eudocia* at Supper, being grievously incensed against him for rebuking and admonishing him; for in his mad and drunken fits he would command the Ears of some, the Hands others, and sometimes the Heads to be cut off. But there one *Bafilus*, of late Master of his Barge, but whom for his comely Person he had made something familiar with him, standing by the Table fell into a great Harangue, wherein he wonderfully extolled him for his skill, and his management of his late exercise in the Cirque. *Michael* being even drunk and much elevated with Commendation, delivers him his Purple shoes, bids him put them on, and salutes him Emperour; at which when he was abashed and looked upon *Bafilus*, the Emperour growing angry, *Bafilus* beckoned to him to do as he was bidden. The shoes being on, *Michael* enraged at *Bafilus* told him, that these Ensigns of Empire did much more become *Bafilus* than him, and asked him whether as he made him Emperour, by the same Authority he might not create another. To this relation of *Zonaras Cedrenus* and *Glycas* add, that as Emperour and more fit than the other he recommended *Bafilus* to the Senate. However, *Bafilus* saw plainly there was no way but one, he must either strike or be stricken, and therefore making a Party, as *Michael* was drunk another time in the Palace of *St. Mamias*, being led into his Chamber, when he was fast asleep he made sure the Doors, and then came with his Conspirators who being resisted by those that waited without, a noise was made, and the Emperour therewith awaked. One going in to him with a drawn Sword, cut off both his Hands as he held them up, and therewith returned to his Companions. Not able to go he stumbled, lay roaring on the ground, till another of them thrust his Sword through his Breast, and so opened his Body that his Entrails came out. To such an end came *Michael* surnamed the Drunken, after he had reigned twenty five years and three Months, whereof fourteen years together with his Mother.

Conspires with
others who
murder *Michael*.

Bafilus sole
Emperour.

59. *Michael* being dead, *Bafilus* became sole Emperour by consent of Nobility and People, in the twelfth year of *Ludovicus* the second Emperour of the West, the tenth of *Nicholas* Bishop of *Rome*, the fifteenth Indiction. *A. D.* 867. The first thing he did was to call together the Senators and Magistrates, and to open the Treasury wherein were only found as we said before three Centenaries. But to know how these vast Sums of Money had been spent, he procured the Accounts of an old Eunuch belonging to the Revenue, and shewed them to the Magistrates and Senate, by whom it was unanimously resolved, that those who had received them for such dishonest or frivolous services should refund to the Treasury, which sentence he so far mitigated as to make them pay half, by which means three Hundred Centenaries of Gold were recovered. By this and other Courses very acceptable and honest he so furnished himself, that he made great largesses to the People. Hereby he got great Reputation and Love, which he augmented by bestowing Offices upon fit Persons alone, by taking great care for equal and indifferent distribution of Justice, to which end he appointed upright Judges to whom he assigned convenient Salaries, and dividing them into three Courts which he appointed to sit daily in *Magnaaura*, the Cirque and *Chalce* or the *Brazen Gate*, which for this purpose he repaired. To such as were poor and unable to be at the expence, he allowed Money for their suits. As his publick Affairs permitted, he himself would attend these matters, and going down to *Genicum* where his Custom-house was, took care that no Man should be oppressed. It's reported that once being at the Place he was wont to hear Causes, and finding none that exhibited any complaint, he suspected that some of his Officers hindered such as had recourse to Justice, and therefore he sent certain Officers about the City to make inquiry, if there were any that desired to prefer their Petitions, who returning with this answer that they could find none, he wept for joy, and gave God Thanks. Taking notice that the weights and Measures of the City were stamped only

1 reveres cherting.

only with Figures, which wearing out, or ignorant Persons not understanding them, gave opportunity to many Tradesmen to cheat, he caused instead of Figures the quantity to be exprest in words at length, that any Countryman might read them, and this at his own charge. To these commendations is added by some, that he altered and new modelled the Civil Laws themselves, of which we shall inquire in another place.

A conspiracy
against him,
but discov-
ered and pu-
nished.

He settles his
Family.

He wastes the
Country near
Tephrica.

Enters the
Territories of
Melitena.

Thence to the
Manichees de-
stroying all
things in his
return to *Con-
stantinople*.

The *Mani-
chees* invade
the Empe-
rour's Domi-
nion.

But are met.

60. But though he gave content to the generality, all were not satisfied; for in his first year one *George* and *Symbatius*, both Patritians, made a Conspiracy against him, which being revealed by one of the Party, their Eyes were put out, and the rest being shewn up and down in disgrace were sent into Banishment. The better to obviate all Designs, to gain Diadems to his two Eldest Sons *Constantine* and *Leo*, and in his third year to his third Son *Alexander*. His fourth, *Stephen* by Name, he caused to take orders with intention to prefer him to be Patriarch, as some have written, and his four Daughters he made Nuns in the Monastery of *Euphemia* the Martyr. Having settled his Domestick affairs as to him seemed most prudent, he then resolved upon War, and finding the usual Number of Soldiers much diminished, by reason that *Michael* had otherwise spent their Pay, he took care for making up the several Companies by new Levies. Then went he against *Tephrica*, the Governour of which was one *Chrysichir* a Man of approved Valour and Skill, who had done much mischief by his Inroads made into the Roman Territories. Upon notice of the Emperour's approach he shut himself up within the Walls, to which *Bafilus* purposed to lay Siege, but understanding that the Place was strong and well furnished, he waited the Country adjacent, and taking three Neighbouring Castles *Abara*, *Coptus* and *Spatia*, he departed thence with much booty. This expedition so terrified *Taurus*, a City not far distant from *Tephrica*, that it made peace with the Emperour, and *Curterius* an Armenian, who held a City called *Locana*, and had done great harm in the Roman borders, gave it up into his Hands. In the mean time, a select Party took in *Zapetra* and *Samojava*, where a great Number of Christian Captives were set at liberty, and then passing over *Euphrates* wasted the Country, and with many Captives and rich Spoils returned to the Emperour, then lying upon the River *Arzanucus*. He encouraged by this Success marched to *Euphrates*, and laying a Bridge over it besides other Acts of Hostility, took a Castle called *Rapfacium*, as a Party he sent to harass the Country, lying betwixt *Arfines* and *Euphrates*, destroyed five other Forts. Entering the Territories of *Melitena*, he killed and took many of those that made opposition, and at first thought of attacking the City, but finding it very strong, and so furnished with Provisions as to hold out a very long Siege, he departed into the Country of the *Manichees*, where destroying all things as he passed with Fire and Sword he took four Castles, and then returned to *Constantinople*, which entering at the Golden Gate from the *Hebdomus*, he went in triumph accompanied with the Acclamations of the People to the Church of *St. Sophia*, where having given thanks, the Patriarch, according to the Custom, set a Crown upon his Head. This done having diverted himself a little with his Wife and Children in the Palace, he returned to the Cares of the Commonwealth.

61. The year that followed, the *Manichees*, under Command of *Chrysichir*, again made an Inroad and wasted the Emperour's Dominions, against whom; according to the Custom, he sent the Domesticke of the Schools. He with all the Forces that could be made restrained their Incurfions as he could; but not daring to hazard all in a Battle, as the Enemy retired, sent two Commanders with Orders to follow him at some convenient distance to watch his motions; if he returned to let him know, but if he went directly home then to return back to the Camp. It happened that those two Officers being upon their Duty, and watching the Enemy as he had sat down at the Foot of a certain Hill, their two several Parties they commanded, fell into a sharp Contention about their Valour; and which had most deferred for their Service in the Field. The Contention continuing, a cunning fellow amongst them, told them it was vain to contend in words, seeing that so notable an opportunity presented it self by their Actions, as to declare their Superiority in Courage. The thing took so well, that their Officers resolved to make use of this their present Heat, which would receive much advantage from the convenience of the Place, they being upon the higher Ground. The half of their Men fix Hundred and no more, they led down against the *Manichees*, and the other ordered to stand upon the Hill, and by making a great Noise to amuse them with apprehension of greater Numbers. By

Bbb

Night

And taken by the Romans.

Night they made their Onset with such Clamour, as put the Enemies into a great Frigh, which hindred him from looking about or consulting, and he fairly be- took himself to his Heels. Then was notice sent to the Domestick of the Schools, and pursuit was made for thirty Miles with great Execution. *Chrysochir* himself was slain, and his Head sent to the Emperour, and with him fell the whole Vi- gour and Strength of the *Manichees*, who from *Teprica* had done so great mis- chief, and *Cameia* their Metropolis our Greek Historians call it, or chief City, was presently after destroyed. About which time also *Basilus* recovered *Lulum* a Cas- tle from the *Saracens*; and *Melvus* another Fort yielded it self.

Another Con- spiracy, dis- covered and punished.

Basilus in- vades Syria.

62. This good success of *Basilus* abroad was envied at home, another Conspi- racy being at this time hatched against him, by one *Curcias* a Patritian; but one of the Number revealed it; *Curcias* had his Eyes put out, and the rest being ig- nominiouly beaten and shaven were banished their Country. Having escaped this danger, in the beginning of the Spring with his eldest Son *Constantine* he made an Invasion into Syria, and took *Casarea* the chief City of *Cappadocia*, where he staid some time and trained his men. But thence by several Parties sent abroad, he took in several Places, and either caused the Governours of the *Saracens* to run away or to submit; after which he passed over the Rivers *Onopites* and *Sardus*, and came to *Cucusus*, and thence through the Straits of the Mountain *Taurus* to the City *Germanicia*, the Inhabitants whereof, as of other Towns, shutting up themselves he wasted the Country about, and having taken a Fort called *Geron*, with all his might fell upon the City *Adapa*. The Inhabitants most valiantly de- fending themselves, he asked how they could be so confident, seeing such certain destruction to hang over their Heads, to which an Old Man amongst them an- swered, that their City was not to be taken by him at this time, but by one de- scended from him named *Constantine*, therefore they were nothing terrified by this Attempt he made. He replied, that he had a Son there whose Name was *Constantine*, but the Old Man again affirmed, that he was not the Person, but a- nother of that Name and of his Posterity long after should destroy the Place, which enraged *Basilus* so as he indeavoured by all means possible to prove the Prediction false, but his indeavours would not succeed, and the Frost coming on he was forced to rise up and be gone homewards. In his return he caused many of the Prisoners to be killed because they were too numerous, and by several Hostile Acts struck such terror into *Abdelomeles* a *Saracen* Governour, that he submit- ted himself to him and became his Associate against his own Nation. Coming to *Casarea* out of *Mesopotamia*, and from elsewhere he received news of good success of his Forces and Multitudes of Captives, whom he commanded to be put to death as Cumberstone and Dangerous. At *Medeus* he rewarded such as had done worthily in this Expedition, and sending the Army into his Winter Quarters returned to *Constantinople*, where he received a Crown from the Patriarch, as the manner was, and was Carested after the usual fort by the Inhabitants.

Returns with vast Spoils to Constantinople.

The *Saracens* beaten by the Conduct of *Andrea*.

63. By this success of his Arms he quite broke the Power of the *Manichees*, or those of *Teprica*; but the *Saracens* from *Tarfus* began to renew their Hostilities, and rather more than ever to practise their Robberies and Depredations. Against them one *Andrea* a *Scythian* made very strong opposition, and did so eminent service therein, that the Emperour honoured him with the Dignity of a Patritian, and at length made him Domestick of the Schools. Furnished now with great Strength and Authority, he fought several Battels with the *Ameras* of *Tarfus*, wherein he had ever the better, and in one of them slew him who had by a Bla- phemous Letter challenged him to an Engagement. Yet, as Envy is never want- ing to great Achievements, there were some at Court who maligned and accused him to the Emperour, as having had *Tarfus* it self in his power, which he might easily have taken had he not wanted either Courage or Conduct, or both. They persuaded *Basilus* to take away his Command, which was given to one *Stippentus*, one of his Accusers, one who made great Brags, and undertook speedily to put the Emperour into possession of *Tarfus*. And thither indeed he led an Army, but managed his matters without any discretion or foresight, and suffered his men to lie in such disorder, that the *Saracens* issuing out frightened them by certain Noises they made, and easily routing put most of them to the Sword, for by the many Over- throws received from *Andrea* they were reduced to so small a Number, that they durst not venture a Battel but were forced to use their Wits. Such was the State of Affairs in the East, how they stood in the Western parts we must now discover, ac- cording to the measure of our Intelligence.

Pannonia and Dalmatia wasted by the *Saracens*.

But somewhat relieved by the Emperour's Forces.

64. All business, especially Foreign, being neglected by *Michael*, such Parts of Italy as had belonged to the Empire, with the Roman Pale in Sicily, were fallen into the hands of the *Saracens* of *Africk*, and made Tributary to those Barbari- ans. Farther, the *Scythians* (so our Authors call them) inhabiting *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and the other adjoining Countries, as the *Chrobata*, *Servi*, *Zachlubi*, *Ferbuniotae*, *Canalite*, *Diocletiani* and *Restani*, having been formerly subject to the Empire, had cast off the Yoke and declared themselves free People, against whom the *Saracens* of *Carthage* watching an opportunity, made War, and creating *Goldan*, *Saba*, and *Calphus* their Generals, with a Fleet of six and thirty Ships took several Cities of *Dalmatia*, as *Butama*, *Rofa*, and the lower *Decatura*, and thus prospering they fell upon *Ragisum* the principal City of the Province. The Inhabitants being almost spent with a long Siege sent to *Constantinople* for Relief, begging they might not be necessitated to fall into the hands of the professed Enemies of Christian Religion, and it well happened for them that by this time *Michael* was dead, and *Basilus* in possession of the Government. He commiserat- ing their condition sent away with all expedition possible a Fleet consisting of an hundred Sail under command of *Nicetas Oryphas* a Patritian and the *Drungarius* of Naval Affairs, or Admiral of the Empire, a prudent and skillful Person, whose coming the *Saracens* apprehending, raised their Siege, and sailing to *Lombardy* seized on a Castle called *Baris*, whence they graped by degrees all the Country about, and extended their power well nigh as far as *Rome* it self. But the *Chro- bata*, *Servi*, and the rest of the *Scythian* Nations perceiving how well their Neigh- bours in *Dalmatia* had succeeded in sending to the Emperour for aid, by their Mes- sengers craved that they might return into their former Obedience and Protec- tion of the Empire, to which their Petition *Basilus* willingly assented, their Re- covery bringing no little accession to the good Fortune and Glory of his Reign.

Siege laid to *Tarfus*, but to the great loss of the *Saracens*.

65. But the *Saracens* that from *Ragisum* had invaded Italy, making great De- vastations in that Country, *Basilus* considered that his Fleet under Command of *Nicetas* was not sufficient for the Enterprize, and therefore he sent to *Dolick* King of *France* (*Lodovick* the Emperour of the West these Greek Authors mean) and to the Pope of *Rome*, so they word it, to desire their Assistance; moreover, those to his Subjects that were lately returned to obedience, he desired not to be wanting to so good a work. Hereby a very great Army was got together, wherewith *Baris* was taken with *Soldan*, and such as fought under his Command, whom the King of *France* led away Prisoner unto *Capua*. Here being kept two years, at length he beguiled the King and got his Liberty (as is more proper to be related in another place) and returning into *Africk*, thence brought a great Force against *Capua* (the Inhabitants of which had set him free) and *Beneventum*. Being thus distres- sed they sent to the King for aid, but by the cunning of *Soldan*, having been brought to revolt from him, he refused to give them any, wishing them destruc- tion, and thereupon they sent to *Basilus*, who on the contrary returned them a ve- ry comfortable answer. But it happened that the Messenger at his return, was taken by some of *Soldan's* Army, to whom being brought, a quite contrary answer, except going to the Walls, he would deliver to his Friends, which yet he refused, so great was his love to his Country, and telling them truly what he had in charge from the Emperour, was accordingly cut in pieces; after which, the *Soldan* not daring to abide the coming of the Succours, raised his siege and departed. About this time *Efman* the *Ameras* of *Tarfus*, puffed up with his late Victory, sends an Ar- my aboard thirty great Ships (by the *Saracens* called *Cumparia*) against the City *Euripus*. But *Basilus* being aware of such an attempt, had ordered *Orneates* the Governour of *Greece*, to have it very well manned, and furnished with all manner of necessities; which rendered *Efman's* attempts ineffectual, so as instead of taking the Town, he lost many Men, and had several of his Ships burned. Enraged hereat, and knowing that Gold was wont to operate much, he caused a great quantity thereof to be set before the Wall, together with an hundred most beautiful Captive Virgins, proposing these as a reward to him that should first mount the works and enter. This being taken notice of by the Defendants, they encouraged one another, and setting open all their Gates, made an universal sally, wherein they killed the *Ameras* and many of his followers, and drove away the rest to their Ships, who few in number, with sufficient ignominy, returned home.

Another Invasion from Crete with like success.

66. But this being over, another storm came from *Crete*, the Lord whereof, *Sael* the Son of *Apocaphe*, sent one *Phorbus* a stout and skillful Souldier, with seven and twenty *Camparia*, called also *Gallies*, against the *Romans*. Such Islands as lye in the *Aegean* Sea and all the Maritime Coasts they wasted as far as *Proconnesus* and the *Hellefpont*. But *Nicetas* the Admiral, met with them at *Cardia*, in the mouth of the *Aegean* Sea, and in a sharp Engagement burnt twenty of their Ships, the rest shifting for themselves by flight. Notwithstanding this great defeat, yet they of *Crete* under command of *Phorbus*, again Rigged out a Navy, and therewith much distressed the Western parts of *Peloponnesus*. *Nicetas* going against them, found he should loose much time, and perhaps the expedition if he should Coast round about that *Peninsula*, and therefore with admirable industry and expedition, conveyed his Ships over the *Isthmus* or Neck of Land of *Corinth*, and fell upon the Pirates e'er they heard of his coming, of which he killed and took great Numbers, flew their Commander, sunk, burnt, or took many of their Vessels, and forced the rest to run, and hide themselves amongst the Islands where he hunted them out, and such as he could come by, put them to death, by various and exquisite torments. This course had such effect upon the *Saracens* of these Parts, that it made them more backward afterward to invade the *Roman* Countries, but could not so much operate upon those of *Africk*, who with hopes of better success set forth a Fleet consisting of fixty Ships, of unusual bigness, wherewith they did very much mischief, roving as far as the Island *Cephalonia* and *Zacynthus*. Against them was sent *Nasar*, or (as *Zonaras* calls him *Narfan*), the successeur of *Nicetas*, who had with a very strong Fleet to *Metbona*, but thence to many of his men ran away, that he durst not venture to engage, his Ships were so unmanned. This he signified to the Emperour, who presently thought of this device. Thirty *Saracens* then Prisoners at *Constantinople*, having their Faces besmeared so as they could not be known, he caused to be led into the Cirque, and there whipped, thence to be sent into *Peloponnesus*, as if they had been the Authours of the Defection, and there to be nailed to Crosses, in the place whence it must be imagined that they fled. This truck such fear into all the Seamen and Souldiers, that it did the work, and they earnestly desired to be led against the Enemy, to which he readily assented, as soon as he had from *Peloponnesus* sufficiently furnished himself, and given order to the Governour to meet and assist him.

Which caused the *Saracens* to desist from invading the *Roman* Territories in the West.

Those of *Africk* make an invasion.

But are beaten by *Nasar*, General to the Emperour.

Who returns to *Constantinople* in triumph.

67. The *Saracens* were much elevated at this delay of the *Romans*, and as fully secure left their Ships, and were intent upon Rifling and Pillage at Land, when *Nasar* by night, and unexpectedly fell upon their Fleet, and sunk, burnt or took all their Vessels, such as remained he offered to God at the Church of *Metbona*. The Emperour much commending his Conduct, ordered him to proceed in the hunting of these Pirates; whereupon he sailed to *Sicily*, where he destroyed such Ships as the *Saracens* had hired, and took many Vessels full fraught with Merchandize, especially with Oil, of which by this means he caused such plenty, that a pound thereof was sold for no more than an *obolus*. From *Sicily* he proceeded to the Coasts of *Italy*, where joining with the Emperour's Land Forces, commanded by *Procopius* his *Protuefarius* or Gentleman of his Wardrobe, and *Leo* a Patritian, the Governour of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, did very commendable Service. For another *African* Fleet was defeated at the Island *Sele*, and most of the Forts in *Calabria* and *Lumhardy*, were taken from the *Saracens*, which done, *Nasar* returned victoriously to *Constantinople*. After his departure, things went not so well in *Italy*, where the two Commanders, *Procopius* and *Leo* falling out, and an Engagement happening with the Enemy, *Leo* was so far transported with Anger and Revenge, as to suiter the other to perish in the Battel for want of help, when he might easily have relieved him, having the better of the *Saracens* in that Wing where he fought. He endeavoured to make amends by his good Service in taking the Cattle of *Tarentum*, and sending the Plunder to *Basilus*, but he understanding the manner of *Procopius* his Death, would not let it pass, but Banished *Leo*, some of whose Servants presently accused him of Treason, and for that were killed by *Bardas*, and *David* his Sons. Fearing punishment, they fled with their Father towards *Syria*, but were overtaken in *Cappadocia* by some the Emperour sent to pursue them. Refusing to yield, the two Sons were slain in the place. The Father was brought back to *Constantinople*, and Sentenced by the Judges to loose one Eye and one Hand, which being executed, he was Banished to *Mejembría*, and there spent his days.

Mena is said to have been the son of Apocaphe, and to have been the first of the line of the Saeli.

Syracuse besieged and taken by the *Saracens*, through the neglect of *Adrian* the Roman General.

Stephen, another General banished for the like fault.

Crimes laid to *Basilus* his charge.

68. While the Emperour's Officers were thus employed in the West, the *Saracens* of *Africk* thinking him careless, and unprovided at home, from *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, and *Syria*, got Ships together, and made up a considerable Navy, yet resolving to eschew the condition of *Basilus*, before they would attempt any thing, but the Spy returning, acquainted them how he kept many Men in readiness for any occasion, and employed them in Building of Churches and other Works to keep them in Action, which understood they desisted from their Enterprise. They of *Carthage*, had prepared a Fleet to defend themselves, imagining *Basilus* would make War upon them, but when they found no such thing, concluding that he was diverted by some other Enemies, they sailed over to *Sicily*, and Besieged *Syracuse*, to assistance whereof, one *Adrian* a Patritian was sent, but he either wanted Wind, or loitered so by the way, that at *Peloponnesus* he heard that the City was taken (the story went as first told by Spirits) which the Infidels destroyed, together with all the Churches. *Adrian* having certain Intelligence by some that had escaped, how he should come too late, and was prevented, returned with the Fleet to *Constantinople*, and took Sanctuary in the Great Church, but was thence taken and sent into Banishment. Much after the same manner miscarried one *Stephen* a *Cappadocian*, who with a select number of *Thracians*, *Macedonians* and *Cappadocians*, was sent into *Lombardy*, but minding nothing but his ease and luxury, he was turned out of Command, and one *Nicophorus Phocas* sent in his Room, (a valiant and worthy Person) with a new supply, and a Party of *Manichees*, formerly belonging to *Chrysochis*. Joining these with the Forces of *Stephen*, he obtained many Victories over the *Saracens*, taking several Towns, as *Amantia*, *Trope* and *St. Severina*. These were the Wars managed by *Basilus*, in the several Quarters of the World.

69. Otherwise he most employed himself in the Building or Repairing of Churches, of which *Cedrenus* reckons up a great number, besides other expenses upon the Imperial Palaces, much admiring him for his Prudence and Goodness, whereas *Zonaras* rather taxeth him for his toiling of his Subjects in such works, and inflicts most upon the Churches, built to *St. Michael*, as provoked to so much expense upon them by the stings of his Conscience, to expiate as it were the Murder of the Emperour *Michael*, his Master and Benefactor. Two things besides that there are upon Record against him, which cannot be excused, whereof the one was his being in a manner bewitched by the cheating tricks of a certain Monk called *Theodorus Sandabareus*, who after he had lost one Son, had almost procured him to make away the other. His Eldest Son *Constantine* being dead, his thoughts and hopes were fixed upon *Leo* the second Brother, yet so he could not cease from mourning for *Constantine*, and was so fond as to desire he might have his shape, as alive, represented to him. This it's said, this *Sandabareus* being a Conjuror, undertook, causing a *Spectrum* in his shape to meet him on Horieback, which he embraced and killed. However it was, this Monk got very much into his favour, and often deluded him by his cheating tricks, which *Leo* his Son could not but take notice of, often exclaiming against him as a Mountebank and Impolltour; The Monk for this bore him a Mortal grudge, resolving to be revenged of him, but concealed his Malice, and carried it fair towards him, the better to bring about his Design. He perswaded him when he went abroad with his Father, to carry a knife along with him, therewith to serve his Father in hunting, if need were, or if any Treason should be committed against him, that he might be in a capacity the better to assist him.

70. The young man not knowing his drift, and thinking it no imprudent advice, the next time he went abroad put a knife into his Boot, which the Monk understanding, and how his device took, then betook himself to the Father, telling him that his Son *Leo* had resolved to kill him, and for that purpose that he might not doubt thereof, came prepared with a knife into the Field. The old man's jealousy is easily kindled, the young man is searched and the knife found, whereupon he is committed to close Prison, in an apartment of the Palace, where his Eyes had been put out at the Infatigation of the Monk, had not the Patriarch and the Senators made vigorous opposition. But for a long time in Prison he continued, notwithstanding all intercession used in his behalf, so powerful was the suspicion of *Basilus*, till on a solemn day, at a dinner, there was a Parrat hung up in a Cage, which, in imitation of some one he had heard, lamented the young Prince his condition, saying often, *Alas, my Lord Leo*: This occasion the Senators took to renew their solicitation to the Emperour in behalf of his Son, for whom they undertook to answer, as if the

Bird

Basilius dyes.

Bird it self did reprehend them for their neglect, and the good nature of *Basilius* was now so much wrought upon, that he let him at liberty, and restored him to his former place and favour. *Basilius* not long after died, when he had Reigned eighteen years ten months and seven days, by himself, and about one year with *Michael*. About the cause of his death there is some difference; *Cedrenus* writes, that he died of a *Diarrhea*, but *Zonaras* tells us another story of his going to hunt, and how a certain Deer, more stout than ordinary, making resistance, thrust his horn under his girdle, and lift him up from the ground, bringing him into danger of his Life, which was saved by one of his Followers, who drew his Sword and cut the girdle. He adds, that instead of rewarding the man, he cauled his Head to be cut off, as having drawn his Sword against the Emperour. Of this, *Cedrenus* is silent, and so *John Curopalates*, who mentions also the Flux he died of, though *Zonaras* attributes his death to an hurt received from the Deer. Least of all is that story to be believed of him that he should make a vow, that if he could conquer and reduce the *Bulgarians*, he would turn Monk, and having conquered them in effect, performed it, abstaining from all flesh (both of Woman and Beast) ever after, though he still used the Imperial Ensigns. Take it all together, his Government was successfull and easie to his People, which we may believe, though we gave no credit to what *Cedrenus* farther hath in his commendation, that when the Senators advised him to send some Officers down into the Provinces, who should be severe in exacting the publick Revenue, he would not permit any such strict inquisition to be made.

Leo succeeds.

71. *Basilius* being dead, *Leo* the Sixth of that Name, succeeded him in the sixth year of *Charles* the third Emperour of the West, the second of *Stephen* the Sixth Bishop of *Rome*, the fourth Indiction. A.D. DCCLXXXVI. He succeeded him as his Son, though as to his Birth, *Glycas* bids us observe that the Writers of Annals differed amongst themselves. For *Seyltzes* wrote, that the Emperour *Michael* left no Natural Issue, such as are much given to Drink seldom being able to get Children, as he tells us that Men skillful in those matters affirm. But others delivered it for a truth, that *Leo* was the Son of *Michael*, particularly *Zonaras*, that he was indeed the Son of *Michael*, and in the opinion of the world the Son of *Basilius*. His severity to him so long in restraint, may a little increase the suspicion that he thought him not his own, and yet scarcely would he have left him the Empire, having other Sons, except he did it to make amends for the death of *Michael*. However, as to his Son, he left him very good Instructions, whereof some had Relation to his Faith and to the Church, and others to his universal good behaviour. And as a great means for his Information and Direction of his Life, he charged him to be constant in reading ancient Histories, wherein with little labour he should find what others with great pains had laid together. There he should have a view of the virtues of good, and the vices of bad Men, with the several changes incident to humane Life, the vicissitude of Affairs, and Instability of all worldly things, as also how prone Empire and Sovereignty it self is to decay and perish. In short, he should therein read the rewards of good Actions, and the punishment of Wickedness, to learn to obtain the one and avoid the other. *Leo*, so far observed these Precepts, as by his Study, at least to obtain so much Theory, that for his extraordinary knowledge he got the Surname of Philosopher. How he observed them as to practice the History of his Actions, will best declare, though by *Curopalates*, and the rest of the Writers, who have taken in a manner all from him, though it be most obscurely and confusedly delivered.

Obtains the Surname of Philosopher.

Animadvertens upon Sandabareus.

72. The first thing that *Leo* did, was to be revenged of *Sandabareus*, in order to which he removed *Photius* from the Patriarchal See, as one that bore him good will, and had consulted with him for the promotion of a Kinsman of his own to the Empire; *Sandabareus* he cauled after Judgment to be ignominiously and grievously Whipped, though a Bishop, and thence Banished to *Athens*, where having his Eyes put out, he was sent into the East, though long after he recalled him, and ordered him maintenance from the New Church; he outlived *Leo*, Dying in the Reign of *Constantine* his Son. While he was intent upon this course of Revenge, he sought to get Reputation, and make amends for his Father's fault by taking up the Body of *Michael* the Emperour out of the Monastery at *Chrysopolis*, and conveying it to *Constantinople*, attended by a number of Priests, Torches and Candles, perturbed with sweet Odours, placed in a Coffin of Cyprus wood, and graced with all Rites and Ceremonies suiting the Place and Dignity which he bore. Being at the City received by the Emperour's Brothers, viz. *Alexander* and *Stephen* (whom he had made Patriarch in the room of *Photius*) with Singing and

Removes the Body of Michael the Emperour to Constantinople.

Historia Aetionica, apud Pirheum fragmentum.

Evolvere ne unquam cessis Historiam veterum, ubi enim reperies sine labore, Ge- ad An. 886. n. 13.

The Saraceni make an Inroad into the Empire.

other Solemnities it was intombd in the Church of the Apollites in a Marble Monument. While he thus employed himself, the *Saraceni* the Enemies of the Empire were not idle, but took the uppermost City, lying upon the River *Charisians*, making Prisoners all the Inhabitants. And at the same time happened a Fire in the Southern Part of *Constantinople*, which with other Buildings, consumed the Church of *St. Thomas* the Apostle, repaired afterward by the Emperour with very great charge.

73. In the second year of *Leo*, the Greek Historians to whom those of *Italy* herein bear no Testimony, tell us, that *Angus* Son-in-Law of the King of *France*, *Agapion* i. and Captain or Governour of *Lombardy*, having notice of the Death of *Basilius*, *Agapion* i. fell off from the *Romans*, and subjected all the Countrey to the obedience of himself. Against him was sent *Constantine*, a Patritian and Overfer of the Emperour's Table, with the Western Forces, but he received a total Defeat, losing all his Army, and escaping himself with much difficulty. About the same time the Sun suffered so great an Eclipse, that the Stars were seen at Noon, and terrible Thunder and Lightning followed, with the force of which seven Men were killed in the Forum upon the Stairs of *Constantine*. Then was *Saxius* Besieged by the *Saraceni*, and the Emperour being exceedingly enamoured of a certain Lady called *Zoe*, gave a new and unheard-of Title to her Father *Zantzas*, of Father to the Emperour, having formerly made him *Magister*, and *Logotheta Dromi*. This *Zoe* was esteemed the most Beautifull Woman of her time, and had been Married to a Patritian called *Theodorus Guniastzas*, but he being removed it's said by Poison, *Leo* used her as his Concubine in the lifetime of his Wife *Theophania*. The year that followed happened a Quarrel with War with the *Bulgarians* upon this occasion. There was an Eunuch, *Mafcus* by Name, belonging to *Zantzas*, who being very intimate with the Chief Merchants of the City, by his Interest with his Master procured the Mart of the *Bulgarians* to be removed from *Constantinople* to *Thessalonica* on a sudden, and these Merchants by whom the Design was contrived to be made Officers and Receivers of the Customs, who imposed grievous and unusual burthens upon those of that Nation, and quite tired them out of their Traffick. *Simeon* their Prince, who fought all ways possible of picking a Quarrel with the *Romans*, made complaint hereof to the Emperour, who by the suggestions of *Zantzas*, having his ears stopped to all that could be urged, he gladly laid hold of the opportunity, and took Arms against him.

A War with the Bulgarians.

The Romans are beaten.

Upon which Leo desires the Turks to invade Bulgaria.

Who Defeat the Bulgarians, and force Simeon to desire Peace of the Emperour.

74. *Leo* having Intelligence hereof, prepared also for War, and sent an Army against him, under Command of *Procopius Crenites*, with whom he joynd one *Curticius* an Armenian. In *Macedonia* the Armies met, but the *Romans* were overthrowen, and their Generals slain; such Prisoners as *Simeon* took he cut off their Noes, and so sent them in scorn to *Constantinople*. *Leo* most grievously nettled with this Affront, sent one *Nicetas* a Patritian to the *Turks* or *Ungri* (*Hungarians*) to persuade them to pass the River, and invade the *Bulgarians*, which they readily undertaking, he resolved also to fall upon them on the other side. His Fleet he committed to the care and Conduct of *Eustathius*, a Patritian and *Drungarius*; and his Land Army to *Nicephorus Phocas* a Patritian, whom after the Death of *Andreas* he had made Domestick of the Schools; yet having a mind still more desirous of Peace, he sent to *Simeon* one *Constantinacius* about that Affair, whom he imagining to be sent onely to put a trick upon him, for *Nicephorus* was now at hand, committed to Prison *Simeon*, preparing himself to meet and engage *Nicephorus*: the *Turks* (so they call them) pass the River, and waste all *Bulgaria*; which he understanding, omits his Design of meeting him, and marches directly against them. They readily engaging with him, defeat his Army, he with much ado escaping to *Dorostolum*, otherwise called *Drissa*. The *Turks* being Conquerours, desired of the Emperour that he would buy of them their *Bulgarian* Prisoners, which he did, sending some of purpose to drive the Bargain. *Simeon* his matters going so ill, desired Peace of the Emperour, to which he being sufficiently inclined, sent one *Leo Choroiphables* with sufficient Instructions for concluding of it, and ordered *Eustathius* the *Drungarius* to return Home with the Forces. But now the cunning *Bulgarian* seeing himself freed from great Danger, let the Ambassadors into Prison, and with a great Army suddenly fell upon the *Turks* or *Ungrians* and defeated them, which he waited their Countrey, the Emperour not being in a capacity to send them Relief, by reason of the shortness of the warning. Now pulled up at his success, he writes to the Emperour, that he would not in any case admit of Peace, except first the *Bulgarian* Captives were set at liberty, to which he yielded, receiving

Χαροφάκης Οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁμοῦσι.

ceiving back his Ambassadors, with whom came one *Theodorus* to receive the Prisoners.

75. The Prisoners returned, and yet *Simoen* would not accept of Peace, which enraged *Leo* to that height, that he was resolved with all the Power he could make to chastize, and if possible, utterly to destroy him. This Army he committed to *Catacalon* (a man lately preferred to be Domestick of the Schools, in the room of *Nicephorus Phocas*, whom *Zantzas*, because out of fear of the Emperor, he refused to become his Son-in-law, had procured to be discharged of that Office) and *Theodosius* a Patritian, and the *Potroestiarus*, who giving Battle to *Simoen*, were defeated by him, with great slaughter of their men, with whom fell also *Theodosius*. This Disaster abroad was followed by an imminent Danger at home from a Conspiracy, while he used the company of *Zoe* the Daughter of *Zantzas* in the Countrey. She happened to overhear the Conspirators Discourse, and awaking the Emperor, caused him to shift for himself, which he did by returning to his Palace by water. *John* the *Drungarius* of *Bigle*, who then Commanded the Guards, he put out of his Place, for having Watched no better; and it seems he had *Zantzas* himself suspected, for he was sorely displeased with him, we are told, and was at length brought to a Reconciliation by the means and solicitation of *Leo Theodotus* the *Magister*, and an intimate Friend to them both. Yet that excellent Lady *Theophano* his Empress being Dead, he Married *Zoe* his Daughter, who was formerly his Concubine, and set the Diademe on her Head, in which the joyed not long, dying after a year and eight months. She being Dead, another Conspiracy was hatched by a Kintman of her, by Name *Basilus*, the *Pelles*, as *Zonaras* calls him, or *Epeitles* of the Emperor, as *Cedrenus* hath it, who communicated his Design to *Samonas* the Chamberlain, under an Oath of secrecy. But he, though a *Saracen* by Birth, revealed the matter; whereupon *Basilus* was sent into *Macedonia*, as there to celebrate the obsequies of *Zoe*, and at his return subjected to Examination and Tryal, together with his Complices, by which being found Guilty, he was led ignominiously through the City, and Banished to *Athens*. The good service of *Samonas* was so far applauded by the Senate, that they gave him thanks, and judged him fit for the greatest preferment: and the Emperor who had made a Relation of it to the Fathers, so far approved their judgment, that he made him presently *Protospatharius*, and began to use him very familiarly. Now about this time did *Leo* Marry a third Wife, a Woman of extraordinary Beauty, by Name *Eudocia*; but she died not very long after in Childbed, together with her Infant. To the memory of his first Wife *Theophano* he now Built and Dedicated a Church, in which and other Buildings while he employed his Seamen, a Fleet of *Saracens* took *Taurinimum* in *Sicily*, with great slaughter of the *Romans*, and made themselves Masters of *Lemnus*, whence they led away a great multitude of Captives.

The Saraceni make an Invasion.

Leo like to be Brained.

76. To *Leo* it ordinarily happened that one mischief did not come alone; for at the same time that his Subjects suffered these things in other Parts, he himself escaped narrowly with his Life at *Constantinople*. It was the Custom on *Whit-Sunday* to make a solemn Procession to the Church of *St. Mocius*. He being present thereat, just as he entered the Church, a certain Fellow assaulted him with a great Club, and striking him on the Head had killed him outright, but that a Candlestick hanging in the way kept off part of the Blow; but as it was it fetched blood in abundance. *Alexander* his Brother being not at the Solemnity, was suspected by many as guilty of the Contrivance; but the Man, though grievously tortured, accused no Man, and therefore no further inquisition was made, he having his Hands and Feet chopped off, and so burnt alive in the Cirque. The Emperor no sooner recovered, but being now a Widower, and having himself much dabled in Astrology, as well as hunted after the Opinions of others, who affirmed he should have a Son to succeed him, applied his mind to new loves, and shortly after Married another *Zoe*, called *Carbonophna*, from the place of her Nativity or abode, who lived with him a good space before he set the Diademe on her Head, not till he had brought him a Son, which he called *Constantine*. But his Nuptial Joys were presently allayed by ill News he received from *Sea*, where now the *Saracens* having taken Encouragement from the Hostility which the *Bulgarians* exercised, tyrannized exceedingly, and under Conduct of one *Leo Autleus* a Renegade of *Tripolis* did great mischief upon the Coasts, who threatened *Constantinople* it self with speedy Destruction; the Emperor upon the News dispatched away *Eustathius* his *Drungarius* of the Fleet, who finding himself too weak for *Leo*, returned, but with him at his back, for he followed him into the mouth of the *Helefont*, and proceeded on as far as *Parium*.

77. This

Upon which Leo sends a Land Army into the East who perform great Execution.

77. This much disturbed the Emperor, he sent away *Himerius* his Principal Secretary with the Fleet, who found out the Renegade, but finding him superior to him in Numbers and his Men more courageous, he durst not venture upon an Engagement, but suffered the *Saracens* quietly to return and lay Siege to *Theffalonia* which they took, shed much blood and made many Prisoners. A little before it fell out, that one *Rhodophyllus* one of the Bedchamber, travelling upon publick business for *Sicily*, with an Hundred Pounds of Gold fell sick by the way, and for his ease and recovery was forced to take in at *Theffalonia*, where *Leo* the Renegade finding him tortured him to death, to force him to betray this Treasure into his Hands. But indeed the Money he had left by the way, which was taken up by *Simoen* one of the Secretaries, who had other occasion to travel on that Rode. He perceiving *Leo* resolved to destroy that City, persuaded him to accept of the Money as a Ransom of it, which the Emperor took so well from him, that he rewarded him with the Dignity of a Patritian, and of Principal Secretary. The *Saracens* having left *Theffalonia*, *Himerius* prepared to pursue them, but they failed to the life of *Crete*, and there having left part of their booty, departed home unmolested leaving him idle at *Lemnos*. The Emperor not able to grapple with them at Sea, sent two of the greatest Captains he had by Land into the East, *Eustathius Argyrus*, and *Andronicus Ducas* who so managed their Affairs, that they got many Victories. In the mean time *Gamonas*, who, as we said, had discovered the Treason intended against the Emperor's Person, and for that was with him in great esteem, veiled a *Saracen*'s mind under the habit and shew of a Christian and a Roman, and pretending a Journey to his Monastery (of his own founding it seems) endeavoured with much Money and Horse to escape into his own Countrey, and left he should be pursued, hamstring'd, the publick Post-Horses in the way. *Leo* sent several after, but at the River *Halys* he was taken and stoop by *Nicephorus Caminas* the *Drungarius*, though he used many Intreaties, and offered a great reward to be let pass. When he saw he could not escape, he then pretended that he was on his way towards the Cross of *Siracha*, there to discharge himself of a Vow he had made, but for all that *Constantinus Ducas* brought him to *Constantinople*. There *Leo* ordered him to be kept in the House of *Bardas Caesar*, and caused *Constantine* to tell another Tale in the Senate, how indeed he was going to theafore said Cross to pay his Vow. The next day calling the Senate together, he caused *Constantine* to swear by God and the Emperor's Life, and then asked him the question whether *Samonas* was going into *Syria*. He resolving not to forswear himself, openly protested that he fled toward *Melitena* his own Countrey. Hereat the Emperor was angry, and having kept *Samonas* for some space in custody, set him afterwards at Liberty, and restored him to his former Dignity and Place. *Zonaras* adds, that he made him a Patritian, and designed him to the Office of Chamberlain.

Leo excommunicated for marrying thrice.

78. Not long after, at the Birth of his Son *Constantine* a Comet appeared, casting its Tail toward the East for forty Days. *Zoe* his Wife he now declared Empress, for which the Patriarch excommunicated him, or forbade him as they term it entrance into the Church, so as he was forced to go on the right side to the *Mitarium*. Hereat grievously offended, he yet earnestly begged of him that he might be restored to Christian Communion, and when all this was to no purpose, resolved to exercise his Authority over the Priest, so as to correct him for his Arrogance, and sent him as a banished Man into a Monastery. In his Room he made Patriarch one *Euthimius Synellus*, who it seems took off the Ecclesiastical Censure, but whenas by the Advice of his Nobility, he was about to publish an Edict, to make it lawful to marry three or four Wives, he vehemently withstood, and prevented it, so nice and severe was this Age in the Point of Marriage. For Reader, neither the Practice nor Design of *Leo*, was to have or allow more than one Wife at a time, but successively after the death of the former. Yet must not this be allowed to him, though some of his Wives lived not long with him after Marriage. But the truth is, he led aside by the Humour of the Ecclesiastics, who all along by a great Fatality had been from the time of *Constantine the Great*, inclined to the Commendation of Celibate and Aversion to Marriage, he made formerly an Edict (a) against the Multiplicity of Marriage, subjecting such as were thrice married to the Penalties (b) imposed by the

(a) Leonis constitutio. *Itin. 9. que sic rebus nos.*
(b) Tempus aliquod penitus Bigamis & Trigamis imponebatur, insuper octabatur Presbyteri interesse nuptiarum ejus que secundo nuptiarum, privabantur cum novis benedictionibus secundas nuptias. Vide Aug. serm. 243. Ambros. in Cap. 7. 1. ad Corinth. & in 3. Cap. 1. ad Corinth. Concil. Lateranense sub Alexandro 3. Tit. de secundis nuptiis. c. 1. Gorbodred. in locum.

The *Saracens* again renew their Incursions, but are beaten by one of the Generals to the Emperor.

nons, of which now he late enough repented. This fame year the *Saracens*, fet cut a Fleet against the Emperour's Subjects, against whom he sent *Himerius* the *Logotheta Dromi*, and with him joined *Andronicus Duca*, the Father of *Constantine* formerly mentioned. *Samonas* bearing implacable hatred to this Family, for his being intercepted by *Constantine* on his way homeward, bribed a familiar Friend of *Andronicus* to write to him, that he should by no means adventure to join in the Enterprize with *Himerius*, who had order from the Emperour to put out his Eyes, assoon as he could have an Advantage to doe it. *Andronicus* believing this story, refused to accompany *Himerius* in the Expedition, who ingaged without any Colleague with the Enemy, and gave him a very notable Defeat.

79. *Andronicus* awakened with this his Succes, and sensible of his Errour, out of desperation, seized upon a Castle situate about *Iconium* called *Cabala*, and considered how to revolt. His Enemy now incessantly plied the Emperour with complaints against him, urging his Treachery and Designed rebellion, upbraided him for not having secured him before he escaped his Hands, and importuning him at least to obviate, and lessen this growing Michief. Overcome with his Suggestions, he sent against *Andronicus*, *Iberizus Gregoras*, the Domestick of the Schools, and one allied to him, with a strong Army, which he understanding, and how *Nicholas* the Patriarch, his principal Friend was cast out of the Church, he fled with all he had to the *Saracens*, and was kindly received by the *Amermunnus*. This much disturbed *Leo*, when he considered both what a Subject he had lost, and an Enemy he had created to himself, and if possible he resolved to get him back. He wrote Letters to him, wherein he promised both oblivion of what was past, restitution to his former Dignity and Estate, and much more Incouragement, and more kindness than he had ever yet received. But the Messenger, a Captive *Saracen*, was perswaded by *Samonas* not to deliver the Letters to *Andronicus*, but discover the Contents of them to the *Amermunnus*, who thereupon cast *Andronicus* and his Followers into Prison, where they endured much and long misery; and of them some abjured their Religion to be rid of their Chains, he himself perished without Redemption. But his Son *Constantine*, with divers of the other Prisoners made his escape, and though pursued sometimes by fighting, and otherwhises by casting Gold in the way, and thereby diverting the greedy Souldiers, got safe to *Constantinople*, where the Emperour conferred great Gifts upon him, and feasted him in the Golden Room. It's said, that as he was departing out at the Gate, *Leo* called him back again, and advised him, that by reason of his Name he should never take the Confidence to aim at the Sovereignty, for he was very well assured by such as could foretell things of this Nature, that *Constantine* his young Son was destined of God to the Empire. But if not content with his former Condition, he should make any Attempt that way, his Head for certain should be cut off, and brought thorough that Gate in its Gore. which the Event confirmed.

80. Much about this time, out of some jealousy he had conceived *Leo* put *Eustathius* his *Magister*, and *Drungarius Bigla* out of his Place, whereupon he retired and died by poison, being much regretted by the Souldiers, both by Sea and Land. For he was an extraordinary Man, who brought the surname of *Agrus* or *Silver* to his Family, either by reason of the Purity of his Life, the beauty of his Body, or the lustre of his valiant Actions, wherein he so far exceeded all others of his time, and during the Reign of *Michael*, that with Slaves and Dependants alone, he kept in awe the *Manichees* of *Tepbrica*, and the *Saracens* of *Melitena*. *Leo* was not so fervere to him, as indulgent in the other extreme to *Samonas* the *Saracen*, whose Father together with one *Abelbaces*, sent from *Melitena* and *Tarfus*, he entertained in the Palace of *Magnauna*, with all Magnificence imaginable. And what was thought not suitable to Men of their Religion, shewed them all the Treasure and Furniture of the great Church. The old Man was so much taken with the splendid condition of his Son, that he would have staid at *Constantinople*, and been partaker of his good Fortune; but *Samonas* would not permit it, desiring him to go into his own Countrey, and persevere in his own Religion, assuring him that he would follow him with the first opportunity. Now on *Whitsunday*, *Leo* caufed his Son *Constantine* to be Crowned by the Hands of *Euthymius* the Patriarch. And the Confidence of *Samonas* was by his immoderate Favour grown to that height, as being jealous of a new Favourite named *Constantine* a *Phlagonian* by birth, which he himself had given to the Emperess, he both accused her as being too familiar with him, and made a scurrilous Libel against

Upon which
the other re-
voit to the
Savacens.

Where he dies
miserably.

The Saracens
infest the Sea
Coasts and
beat the Em-
perour's Ad-
miral.

Leo dies.

against the Emperour, who upon Inquisition finding him to be Author of it, caused him to be hanged for a Monk, and made *Constance* whom at his Suggestions being shaven, he had retaken out of the Monastery, Chamberlain in his stead. About this time the *Saracens* sent out three Hundred Ships under conduct of one *Damianus a Tyrant*, and *Leo of Tripolis*, which committing the usual Hostilities, *Flimerius* the Admiral was sent against them, and engaged with them at *Samus*, but was beaten, put to flight, and hardly escaped to *Metilena*. The Emperour not long after was seized with the Colick, and brought so low with it, that he could not make his usual Speech in the time of Lent, but calling together the Senate recommended to their gratitude and care his Wife and Son, telling them he should hardly hold out so long as *Easter*. Yet he lived till the Eleventh of *May*, and then dying left the Empire to his Brother *Alexander*, whom with all Earnestness, he desired carefully to educate his Son *Constance*, to use him as became his Quality, and to leave him his Successor. He reigned two and twenty years, three Months and four Days.

Twenty Years, three Months and four Days.

81. We have brought *Leo* to his end, yet have not done with him, as neither with *Basilius* his Father, and that upon account of a remarkable Alteration made by them in the Laws of the Empire, of which we must necessarily give the Reader an Account. He is then to know, that the Civil Law was so great Care and Industry modelled a-new by *Justinian* was in great danger, not long to survive the Author. For besides that came not into *Italy*, and the Western European Nations for the space of five Hundred years after his death; being suppressed or kept out by the particular Laws and Customs of the Barbarous Nations which had lately possessed these Parts, as the *Goths*, *Lombards*, *Vandals*, *Franks*, and others, in the City and Empire of *Constantinople* it self, either through the neglect or envy of the Emperours, scarcely for forty years did it continue in any considerable Authority. Indeed through the Reigns of *Justin*, *Tiberius* and *Mauricius*, his Books were received both in the Schools and Courts of Justice, and in *Latin* as they were written, and in the same Language was Justice administered, the Decrees of Magistrates and the Resolutions of Judges published, such honour and respect being as yet given to the Tongue of the *Romans*, to the Valour and Conduct of whom to great Dominion was to be ascribed. But *Mauricius* being murdered, *Phocas* and his Successors had little care either for Preservation of the Language or the Laws, and though the Empire was still called the *Roman* Empire, and their Writers are very careful to give the Name of *Romans* all along to the Emperour's Subjects, even so far that if they and the *Italians* be mentioned together, yet by *Romans* they ever mean such as were subject to the Constantinopolitan Empire wherever they lived, yet however, *Latin* grew out of use, the *Greek* Tongue being native to the Place (though exceedingly mixed with *Latin* words) drove the practice of it out by Degrees; Generally in other Countries the Emperours were known by the Name of *Greek* Emperours and some of them vaunted themselves, as the Successors of *Alexander* the Great.

Vide Valerius in Edit. h. in fine.
in fine.
Dictionum de iust. & author. lib. 1. cap. 5.

Great. 82. By these means the Books of *Julinian*, written first in *Latin*, because little regarded, yet of some use they were for two hundred years, till the time of *Basilius Macedo*, the Father of *Leo*. For they had been either in the lifetime of *Julianus* himself, or shortly after translated into *Greek*, as the Code and the Pandects by *Theodorus* an Antecessor, and the Institutions by *Theophilus*, and besides these, many other Books of the Ancient Lawyers, out of which the Pandects had been Composed. Our of these Translations then and the Constitutions of such Emperours as succeeded *Julianus*, was Justice admitted, so as it was, till the time of *Basilius*; though the knowledge and practice of the Law were both very small, for the Reasons now mentioned, and the continual Interruptions and Desolations made by the *Saracens*, during which like disturbances, Laws are wont to make but little noise. But *Basilius* being a Man of Spirit far above his Birth and Breeding, and having good success against the Infidels, as our *Historians* write, set upon the work of making and reforming Laws. He was moved by this reason, as they tell us, because he perceived the Civil Laws to be very confused and obscure; therefore he resolved to purge them by abrogating the unprofitable ones, by making shorter such as were tedious, and otherwise, of which Design Death preventing the accomplishment, it was perfected by *Leo* his Son. Later writers ascribe

**Basilus and
Leo new mo-
del the Civil
Law.**

Ἄλλα καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν νόμων, πολλὰν ἀσφαλίαν, καὶ σύγχυσιν ἔχοντα ἰδὼν, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀρεσκέου ἀρεσκείας ἐπαπαυσάμενος ἔσπευσεν, &c.
Cedrenus in Basilio.

so as he could easily face about and pursue the Pursuers, which he did with such execution, the Romans hindring one another, that not onely a great Slaughter was made of the ordinary Souldiers, but very many of the Officers themselves were lost, amongst whom *Constantinus Africanus* and *John Grapson*, &c. now mentioned. All this while *Romanus Lacapenus* the *Drungarius* of Naval Affairs, according to order hovered about the Sea Coasts with the Fleet to relieve *Leo* if need were, and give passage to the *Patzinacae*, whom *Bogas* had brought to the assistance of the Empire. But he and *Bogas* fell into a difference and thereupon they departed home. As for *Leo* he hardly escaped to *Mesembria*.

6. These are the ordinary Reasons given for this overthrow, though another Report was very current, as that when *Leo* was hot in the Pursuit of the Enemy, News was brought him that *Romanus* the Admiral was returned back to *Constantinople* with a design to make himself Emperour while all the great Ones were absent, which so affected him, who had himself the same ambitious purpose, that he retired into the Camp to know the truth, at which his men were discouraged, as imagining it was out of fear, and so changed the course of the Battell. However it happened, a great loss was received, and after the return of the remainders of the Army to *Constantinople*, the business betwixt *Romanus* and *Bogas* was scanned, the issue of which was, that the former was sentenced by the Judges to loose his Eyes, for not having according to his duty passed over the *Patzinacae*, and received such as fled from the Battell, which some attributed to carelessness, but others to Malice and Design; and the Sentence had been executed but that *Stephen* the Magister, one of the Emperours Tutors, and *Constantinus Gonyles* a Patritian, men very powerful with the Emperors had not prevailed for the remission of it. Now was *Simon* the Bulgarian so puffed up with his late success, that again he resolved to attack *Constantinople*, and was on his way, when *Leo* the Domestick, *John* the Commander of the Associates, and *Nicholas* the Son of *Constantinus Ducas* were sent out against him. In a place called *Catsafyrtes* they light upon a Party that was foraging, and defeated it with little trouble. Then a fresh one came on which put the men now wearied and wounded much to it, but they were so resolved and courageous that after a sharp Conflict they had the same success, though not without loss of several worthy men, amongst whom none more eminent than *Nicholas* now mentioned, to whose Valour especially the success of the day was ascribed.

7. So went matters in the Field, and against the Enemy, at home they carried a sadder Aspect, whilst in the Minority of the Emperour several of the Nobility wanted but opportunity and power to divest him of his Dignity, and to reign themselves. Of all others *Leo Phocas* with most confidence hatched and carried on his design, trusting much to the power and interest of *Constantine* the Chamberlain, his Wives Brother, for his private Reputation at Court was very great, besides that Eunuchs in general at this time were much respected. He made himself so sure of his projected greatness, that he would not stick openly to own it, and affirm that the Sovereignty of right belonged to him by descent. This *Theodorus* the Emperours School-master taking strict notice of it lest any mischief should thence happen to his Scholar, perswaded him to take *Romanus Lacapenus*, the *Drungarius* of the Fleet to be his Keeper, and if need were his Protector, who had been a dutifull Servant to his Father, an no less faithfull to him. But *Romanus* often, and with some pertinacy refused to accept of the Charge, till at length seeing the Emperours Letters written with his own hand and signed, as the manner was, with Purple Letters, he consented, and promised to frustrate as much as in him lay the Designs of the Chamberlain and his Allies. This could not be so much concealed but that it took air, and began to be talked of openly in the Streets, and all places of Resort, but yet *Constantine* was therewith little moved, contemplating all Reports out of a vain confidence, that no man durst attempt any thing against him, till going to the Fleet to distribute the *Rogae*, or pay the Seamen, he was by *Romanus*, who at their first meeting disguised his Purpose, till he got him into the Snare, seized and secured. Great noise hereof being made in the City, and no less than a Revolt expected, *Zoe* called together the Patriarch and some Senators, and by their Advice sent to *Romanus* to know his meaning, and to require that the Chamberlain should be dismissed; but the Messengers were hindered from delivering their Message by a number of Mariners, who threw Stones and denied them Access. Early in the Morning he went and inquired of her Son and those about him, what their Intentions were, to which, when none else would answer, *Theodore* affirmed this change to have happened by reason of

Leo

his ill management of the Army, and *Constantine's* ill administration of matters relating to the Court.

8. Now did the Emperour take the power from his Mother upon himself, and presently sent for to Court the Patriarch and *Stephen* the Master, and thence commanded the day following his Mother to be removed; but the weeping and wailing and clinging close to him, wrought so upon his good nature as to permit her to stay. Then fearing *Leo Phocas*, he removed him from his Office, and made *John the Magister Domestick* of the Schools. Yet did *Phocas* prevail, as a way of recompence, to have his Son *Simon* and *Theodorus* his Wives Brother made Commanders of the Associates, and then taking an Oath of Fidelity to the Emperour retired to his House. But shortly after hearing that his Kindred were again dismissed from Court, he resolved to see how he could work upon *Romanus*, to whom posting, he laid open his condition, and bewailed the straits to which he was reduced. *Romanus* fearing, it seems, his great Interest and Alliance, was so wrought upon, as secretly to contract Friendship and an Union with him, which was confirmed by Oath, and the designed Inter-Marriage of their Children. After this *Romanus* went to Court to purge himself to the Councillors of any Conspiracy against the Government, affirming his Design, merely to protect the Emperour from any ambitious attempts of *Phocas*, for which purpose his Resolution was to come to Court, with a sufficient Guard. This the Patriarch would not believe, nor accept his Purgation, whereupon *Theodore* the Schoolmaster importuned him to come up with his Fleet into the Dock of *Eucloeon* near to the Palace, which he earnestly refused to do, till vehemently urged by those privy to the Design, who prevailed with him in an Hostile manner to sail up to the place, which happened upon the Feast of the Annunciation. Presently hereupon *Stephen the Magister* departed from Court, and *Nicetas* the Patritian, a great Intimate of *Romanus* went in and thence removed the Patriarch, which done, after an Oath taken from *Romanus*, with most bitter and heavy Curses that he would never entertain any thought against the Emperours Dignity or Person, he received him into the Palace, and going along with him to Prayers to the Church in *Pharus*, after Faith given and received on both sides, made him Great Commander of the Associates. Shortly after to sweeten and take off *Phocas*, Letters were written to him, to bid him be of good courage, and continue in his Allegiance, for he should speedily be considered. To this purpose also *Constantine* the Chamberlain was commanded to write to him. And upon receipt of these Letters he kept himself quiet for some time at his own home in *Cappadocia*.

Leo and Romanus combine together.

Constantine Marries the Daughter of Romanus. Styling him Father of the Emperour.

Upon which he Rebels.

But is taken and punished.

9. But in the fifth Week of Lent the Emperour Married *Helena* the Daughter of *Romanus Lacapenus*, and caused her to be Crowned together with himself by *Nicholas* the Patriarch. To *Romanus* himself he gave the Title and Dignity of his Father, with which no Man ever had been honoured before, as *Glycas* observes, and conferred his former Office upon his Son *Chrispophor*. These things quite turned the Stomach of *Leo Phocas*, who had almost digested former Misfortunes in daily expectation of what was promised him. Now by the advice of his Friends, as well as his own Inclinations, he resolved to rise, and for that purpose got to him *Constantine* the Chamberlain, the two Brothers, *Gonyllii*, and others, endeavouring to persuade all that he took Arms in behalf of the Emperour *Constantine*. But *Romanus* so bestirred himself, that by Letters conveyed to the Camp signed by the Emperour and sealed with his Seal, he convinced many of his Souldiers of their mistake, of whom several great Officers presently revolted from him. And herewith encouraged, he sent *Simon* the Overfeer of the *Cavicles*, to the Army, who by reading to them another Declaration, whereby he owned *Romanus* for his Father, and declared *Leo* to be a Traytour to him and his Family, wholly brought them all off, and *Leo* shifted for himself by flight to a certain Castle *Atcas*, whence he removed to another, which bore the Name of *Goleon*, as much as to say the Lamentation of *Leo*, which was esteemed an ill Omen; for here he was taken. Upon notice thereof were sent to fetch him up to the City *John Tubaces* and *Leo Pagoteles*, who in the passage pulled out his Eyes by private order from *Romanus*, or of their own Accord without his knowledge, as he affirmed, pretending to take the matter much to heart. Thus was suppressed the Insurrection made by *Leo*, but all danger not thereby removed from the Head of *Romanus*, against whom Conspired one *Constantinus Crematennus*, *David Cumulianus*, and *Michael the Curator Mangonorum*, (that is, Overfeer of the Engines) who armed certain young men to kill him as he went out to hunt. But the Plot was timely discovered, and the Conspirators having their Eyes put out were in an ignominious manner led about

Marginal note: *Constantine* *Curator Mangonorum* *id est* *balistarum* *et aliorum id genus tormentorum.*

Simon proceeds towards Constantinople.

But two of his Parties are met and worsted.

Leo designs to assume the Purple.

So doth Romanus.

Who seizes upon the Emperour.

philus his Brother, Grandfather to that John who afterward was Emperor, the Governour of *Mesopotamia*, overpowering the *Saracens* wherever he came. The *Turks* after this made another Invasion, but were the second time bought off by *Theophanes*. To complete these Felicities by a more honourable Alliance, *Romanus* sends *Paschalus*, a Protospatharian and Governour of *Lombardy*, to *Hugh* the King of *France* (of *Italy* our *Greek Writers* mean) to desire his Daughter in Marriage, for *Romanus* his Nephew the Son of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, which was granted, and the Lady *Berta* by Name, his Daughter by a Concubine, being sent with great Pomp lived with *Romanus* five years, and then died. But these serene and prosperous Days were succeeded by tempestuous weather, both in the natural and civil Sense. A Violent wind in *December* did much mischief, and the State and Dignity of *Romanus* was shortly after not shaken only, but quite overturned. Conscious, as our Authors believe, of his Wickedness and Perjury, in that he swore to be a Protector only to *Constantine*, and never to affect the Sovereignty (though he not only did this, but placed himself and Sons before the Right owner) he endeavoured to expiate this Guilt by certain good Actions, and to appease Almighty God. Besides other charitable Deeds, he paid the Debts of such as owed money, to the Value of nineteen Centenaries, and caused the Bonds to be burnt in the middle of the *Forum*: Moreover he paid the Rents of such as hired Houses in the City. "And truly, faith *Zonaras*, herein he gratified such as were in Debt, but thereby he himself received little or no benefit. For what he gave was not his own, it being publick money, and belonging to the Sovereign Power, of which he had seized by force, and defrauded the Right owner. Injoying all the Imperial wealth and substance, out of it he spared a small Pittance, just as if a man having killed his Neighbour's Ox, gives the Feet only to the Poor, and he himself devours the whole Body; or as if one that lies with another Man's Wife, gives some of her Husband's money to those that are in want, to purchase excuse for his Crime.

19. But as Providence (so he farther observes) is usually slow in Revenge to give time and space for Repentance, so is it sure at last to take vengeance of those that will not amend their ways. *Romanus* was now passing the twenty sixth year of his Usurpation, wherein he had made no reckoning of *Constantine* the true Heir of the Empire, who all this while had concealed his Indignation as well as he could, but notwithstanding was so careful as to watch a fit opportunity to cast off the Usurper, and recover his former Place and Dignity, having so much Spirit as to be sensible, that nothing was left him but the Name and Habit. He found at length, that the only means to do his work was to set the Father and Sons at variance. *Christopher* was already dead, *Constantine* was a Man too solid and wife for him to deal withall; but *Stephen* being of the quite contrary disposition was most fit for his purpose, and he got one *Basilus Volucer*, a very crafty man to inveigle him, and bring about his Design. *Basilus* having wound himself into his Acquaintance by Degrees instilled into him such thoughts as these: that he was imprudent, a Man of his Age, Strength and Understanding, to suffer all to hang by a rotten Thread, as he termed the old Man's Life, and not rather take the Government upon himself being so admirably qualified for it, for which he might be assured of the assistance of *Constantine* his Sifters Husband, who could not take it well to be so lessened, and eclipsed as he was by *Romanus*. With these and the like Flatteries he was so tickled, that he resolved to depose his Father, and having felt a little the Pulse of his Brother *Constantine*, and found him averie to any such Attempt, to go through it, with the Help of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* and *Marianus* the Monk, the Son of *Leo Argyrus*, who gladly joined in the Enterprize, though he was very much beloved by *Romanus*. Taking then his opportunity he seized on his Father, on the sixteenth of *December*, and conveying him into the Island *Prota*, forced him to be shaven and made a Monk; which done, he with his Brother and Brother-in-Law managed all things. But long could they not live without suspicions and jealousies, and especially *Stephen* feared the Interest and claim of *Porphyrogenitus*, and therefore resolved to depose him. This *Constantine* was aware of, and having the same Design upon him was more quick, and that through the instigation of his Wife especially. Having communicated his purpose to *Basilus*, we now mentioned, *Marianus* and others whom he made his own, as the two Brothers dined with him; on the twenty seventh of *January* he caused them to be secured and conveyed away, viz. *Stephen* into the Island *Panormus*, and *Constantine* into *Terebinthus*, where they were shaven and made Clerks, *Stephen* was afterwards removed into *Proconnesus*, thence

Romanus endeavours to expiate his unjust Usurpation and Dealings with *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*.

Who sets the Father and Sons at variance.

Thereby depoling *Romanus*.

And shaving *Stephen* and *Constantine*.

thence to *Rhodes*, and at last to *Mitylene*; and *Constantine* into *Samothracia*. *Stephen* bore his Fortune courageously, and lived many years in *Lesbus*; but *Constantine* grew fullen and impatient, and having often endeavoured to escape, in the second year after his depoling killed one of his Keepers, at which the rest were so enraged, that they flew him. As for *Romanus* their Father he outlived the disgrace some three years.

Becomes sole Emperor.

His management of Affairs.

20. Thus *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, having in his thirty third year recovered his former Estate, in his Government answered not the expectation and hope, that had been conceived of him. For he gave himself up to Wine and Sloth, leaving the management of affairs to others, and yet took no care whom he intrusted, promiscuously and without any consideration conferring Offices both military and Civil. He would punish Offenders without any Mercy, though he looked not at home where *Helena* his Wife, and *Basilus* made merchandize of all Preferments, by which means base and unworthy Persons got into the greatest Places of Trust and Revenue. Yet is he much commended for restoring the Sciences and Advancement of Learning, which now had lain much neglected. He encouraged also Artificers, and very much increased Trade. Moreover he was very grateful to such as had assisted him in the Recovery of his Power. On *Bardas Phocas* he conferred the Dignity of *Magister*, and the Office of Domestick of the Schools of the East; and his Sons he preferred to good Commands in the East, *Cappadocia* and *Seleucia*. To *Basilus Volucer* he gave the Command of the Associates, made *Marianus Argyrus* his Comes *Stabuli*, and one *Manuel Curtices* the *Drungarius Bigle*. But to establish his Power which he had now recovered, in the first Place on *Easter-Day* he gave a Diademe to his Son *Romanus*: then caused he to be gelded *Romanus* the Son of *Stephen*, as also *Basilus* begotten by *Romanus* the Elder on a Slave, and *Michael* the Son of *Christopher* to enter into Orders. Now he seemed to himself so fixed as nothing could shake him, all Dangers being removed and prevented, when more ways than one he was in peril to loose all again. For *Theophanes* the Chamberlain, was plotting how to reduce *Romanus* out of the Island *Prota*, and to restore him, many joining with him in the Design: and at the same time several others of great Quality and Interest consulted how they might fetch back *Stephen*, and re-establish him in the Government. The Plots were timely discovered by some of the Parties, and *Theophanes* with his Companions were banished. Those that were for *Stephen* were ignominiously beaten, and loosing both their Estates and Noses were then driven into exile.

21. The Daughter of *Hugh* dying as we said after five years, having some time consulted to whom he should marry his Son *Romanus*, at length he bestowed on him a Maid of very sordid Parentage, her Parents it's said keeping a Victualling House, but of admirable beauty and a miracle of Nature, and her Name being *Anastasia*, he changed it into *Theophano*. As for matters of War, *Bardas Phocas* was as we said made Domestick of the Schools, but did nothing worthy of his Title himself, but managed all by his Deputies, incurring such hatred of the Soldiers by his extreme covetousness, that in an Engagement he was deserted by them, and had been taken or killed but for the pertinacious Valour of his own Attendants, who brought him off alive, but with a great and deep wound he received in his Forehead. But his two Sons *Nicephorus* and *Leo* behaved themselves to Admiration, both in respect of their Valour and Conduct against the Enemy, and the Kindness and Providence for those that were under their Charge. *Leo* took in Battle one *Apolajasma* a very eminent Man, and Kinsman of *Chabdanus* the *Ameras* of *Chalepus*, who with a great multitude had invaded the *Roman* Pale, and after a great slaughter of his Men sent him up Prisoner to *Constantinople*, where the Emperor led him in Triumph, and trode upon his Neck. But *Constantine*, the third Son of *Phocas*, *Chabdanus* took, and carried him away to *Chalepe*, where he stayed by all means to make him abjure his Religion, and when all would not do poisoned him, which so enraged his Father, that all the Kinsmen he took of *Chabdanus* he put to death. This so irritated *Chabdanus* on the other side, that *Paul a Magister* sinned against him, being sent to treat of Peace could do no good with him; and he, with a great Force invaded the Empire, leading with him *Nicetas Chalcintas* a Patriarch, and several other Persons he had taken Prisoners. But *Nicetas* betrayed all his Councils to *Phocas*, who laid an Ambush for him in a very strait place he was to pass, and cut off most of his Men, he himself with a very few escaping. Before his flight, he killed those Prisoners he had in Custody. But *Nicetas* had corrupted his Keepers, and was got away with all such as belonged to him.

The *Saracens* make an Invasion into the Empire.

The Territories of the Saracens invaded but with ill Success.

Constantine like to be Poisoned.

A Little after dies.

Romanus The Boy succeeds.

Why to remain.

22. *Bardas* to prevent any more Inrodes invaded the Territories of the *Saraceni*, where he wafted all in his way, took many strong Holds, and amongst other Places *Adapa* that Noble City as they term it. The Emperor's Success was no way fuitable to his undertaking, who, as became him, did constantly regret the great Losses his Subjects ever and anon sustained from those *Agarens* that inhabited *Crete*, to strike therefore a Terror into them, he prepared a strong Army, and rigged a very considerable Fleet to transport it. And had his choice of a Person to conduct them been as good as his Design was laudable, it could not have miscarried. But General of this whole expedition he made one *Constantine Gongylas* a Patritian one of his Bedchamber, a mere Courtier, an effeminate Man not fit at all for a Camp, of which he never had any Experience. He passed over into *Crete*, but there did nothing worthy of the Place he bore; neither took care for fortifying himself by any Works, nor sending out any Scouts to give him notice of the motion of the Enemy. The *Saracens* then perceiving what a careless and silly Enemy they had to deal with, took their opportunity, and falling upon the *Romans* easily defeated them; some they took, others they killed, and made themselves Masters of the Camp, and the worthy General himself had ran the same Fortune as he deserved, had not his Domesticks nobly defended him, and conveyed him into the Admiral Gally. Yet was it not out of disdain for this miscarriage or for his misgovernment, that *Romanus* the Son of the Emperor now plotted against his Father's Life. But so it was, that impatient to dominiere himself he could not stay his time, but conspiring with his Wife the Victualler's Daughter, they perswaded *Nicetas*, one of the Attendants at his Table, to give him Poison, instead of a purging Potion he was to take. It either happened by chance or was designed, that as he was about to drink it he stumbled, and spilt the greater part of it, so that what remained did not work the effect they wished, though he fell very sick and hardly escaped. In the Month of *September*, he would needs travel to the Mountain *Olympus*, as was pretended to beg the Prayers of the Monks, for a successful expedition he purposed to undertake into *Syria*, but as was thought to confer with *Theodorus* Bishop of *Cyzicus*, how he might out *Polyeuctus* of the Office of Patriarch, which he had obtained after the Death of *Theophylact* Son of *Romanus* the late Emperor. There, either by the farther practice of his Son upon his Body, or otherwise he fell sick, and being brought back to *Constantinople* in his Litter, died on the ninth of *November*, having lived fifty four years and two Months, whereof thirteen he reigned with his Father, Uncle and Mother, and twenty five more (he should have reigned) with *Romanus Lacapenus*, and fifteen after that by himself. *Zonaras* gives him Commendation for his Piety to God, and his Love to Learning which he shewed by many good Deeds, his Writings and Epistles, composed though not according to exact Rules of Oratory, yet so for they wanted not strains of Rhetorick. And there in *Baronius*, * a Fragment still remaining of an Advice to his Son not to marry with any of the Barbarous Northern Nations, a great Reason of which is fetched from a Precept left by *Constantine* the Great. He adds that he was much addicted to all sorts of Verbes as was to be seen in these Writings, wherein he deplored the Death of his Wife, and he subjoins what's fuitable to what we said before concerning his reviving of Philosophy, and the Liberal Arts. But the most memorable thing of these things is, the Collection which he caused to be made out of all Historians.

* Ad An. 96.

23. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* being dead, *Romanus the Boy* (so he was called, not that he was a Boy as to years, but to distinguish him from the Elder *Romanus* his Grandfather) succeeds him in the third Indiction, *A. D. DCCCCLX*. And as to his manners and carriage he might well enough be termed a Boy. For neglecting wholly matters of Government, which he left to the Management of one *Joseph Bring*, as the chief of his Chamber, he himself attended no other weighty Affairs but those of Mirth and Filthiness, his chief Companions being either Whores, or those of the other Sex that could pimp for him and gratify him in such nasty Delights, or tickle his Ears with Ribaldry. One *John* a Clerk, and an Eunuch, whom for his many Villanies *Constantine* had thrust into a Monastery, now he received amongst those of his Bedchamber, the monastical Habit being thrown off, and notwithstanding the earnest Complaints of *Polyeuctus* the Patriarch, yet he excused the matter, and kept him with him as long as he lived; indeed after the Emperor's Death he returned to his Monastery, and changed again his Habit though not his Mind. Yet that it should not be said, but that *Romanus* was careful to keep the Succession in his own Family, on *Easter Day* he caused an Imperial

He crowns his Son Basilus.

The Island of Crete subdued.

The Saracens on all sides beaten by the Romans.

A Conspiracy against him, but discovered and punished.

A great Multitude among Cattel.

Berrhea taken from the Saracens. Romanus the Emperor dies.

Imperial Crown to be set on the Head of his young Son *Basilus*, and shortly after he had another Son born whom he called *Constantine* after his Grandfather, by which Issue he seemed now to be confirmed in what at present he enjoyed, that he needed to take no farther care, especially having so good a Commander as *Nicephorus Phocas* to manage his Wars, whom the late Emperor for his great services, had preferred to be Domestick of the Schools of the East. This *Nicephorus* indeed had done things very extraordinary against the *Saracens*, having at several times engaged and beaten the several *Ameras* of *Tarfus*, *Chalepus* and *Trapolis*, by which having so much testified his Abilities, *Romanus* now made choice of him to go against those of *Crete*. Arriving at the Island with the Fleet, he put such of them to flight as would have hindered his Landing, and then having strongly incamped himself, and his Ships riding safely in Harbour he fell upon the several Towns, and in the space of seven Months took many of them. On the seventh of *March*, he took *Chandace* the most fortified of all others, after which *Curupes* the *Ameras* of the Isle, and *Arcemas* who was his Lieutenant, or next to him in Power fell into his Hands. He had now in a manner brought all *Crete* into obedience, for the settlement whereof when some time required, he was suddenly recalled at the Suggestions of *Joseph* because of an old saying, That he that conquered that Island, should become Master of the whole Roman Empire. While he yet staid in *Crete*, his Brother *Leo Phocas* was sent into the East to restrain the *Saracens*, from making Inrodes, which at this time they might be prone to do, on purpose to divert the *Romans* from *Crete*. He engaged with *Chabdanus* at a Place called *Andraffus*, and gave him such an Overthrow, that an innumerable Multitude of the *Agarens* being slain, the rest were brought away Prisoners to *Constantinople* in such Drove, that all the Houses both in City and Country were filled with Slaves. *Chabdanus* with a very few hardly escaped. *Leo* was graced with a Triumph, and otherwise honoured and rewarded as were all the rest, that had well deserved in the Expedition.

24. But *Romanus* had not passed the second year of his Reign, when a grievous Conspiracy was hatched against him by the Principal of the Nobility. The Head of them was *Basilus Pulcher*, with whom joined *Paschalis* and *Bardas* the Son of *Libis* both Patritians, and *Nicholas Chalcutzas*, who resolved to kill the Emperor on the Day appointed to the Horse-races, as he should come down to see the Sport, and proclaim *Basilus* his Successor. Ere the Day came, one *Joannicus* a *Saracen* and Conspirator discovered the Plot, and they were apprehended by *Joseph*, who put them all to Torture except *Basilus*, and on the Day of the Solemnity were led up and down in Derision, then banished and thaven for Monks, yet the Emperor was so merciful, that after some small time he recalled them, but *Basilus* fell distracted and died in *Proconnesus*, so paying for his several Treasons. *Romanus Saronita*, who was Son-in-Law of *Romanus* the Elder, was so frightened with what had happened to him, and the rest, that left his Eminent Condition should bring him into danger, he distributed his Estate to his Children, and giving largely to the Poor went into a Monastery, where he lived a Monk many years in great esteem with the succeeding Emperours. At this time raised a great Murmur of Cattel, which having begun in the Days of *Romanus Saronita*, continued a long time after. The Emperor at the Intigation of his Wife, now resolved to remove his Mother and Sister from Court, to the Palace of *Antiochus*. The Mother understanding of it, so wrought upon her Son with her Complaints and Curses, that she was permitted to continue; but the Sisters were taken away and made Nuns, though afterwards when there was none left to awe them, they threw off the Habit and fell to Flesh again. But she took their removal for ill, that she shortly after sickened and died on the twentieth of *September*, and was royally interred by her Father.

25. We said ere while, that *Nicephorus Phocas* was called out of *Crete*, to which we must now add, that it was without any Permission to return to *Constantinople*; for he received Orders to pass with all his Forces into the East, where * *Chabdanus* after his defeat had recruited himself, and having now got together a considerable Army was expected every day by the Subjects of the Empire, to renew his wonted Hostilities. *Nicephorus* ere he could do any harm, got up to him as he came into *Syria*, overthrew him in Battle, and drove him farther up into the Country, which done he took *Berrhea* all but the Castle, therein much Wealth, many Prisoners, and set at Liberty many Christian Captives. This was good News to those of *Constantinople*, though *Romanus* the Emperor scarcely lived to receive it, dying on the fifteenth Day of *March*, after he had lived twenty four years, and

* O Kēdōn γενομένης. Δύς Craba nomenclatur.

* Glyce Apostolus.

and thereof Reigned thirteen years four Months and five days, as writes *Europates* and from him *Cedrenus*, (that is with his Father and by himself, for he Reigned about three alone) some thought he died of Poison, and others through his intemperance as to Wine and Women. He was large of stature though less than his Father, very good natur'd and easily reconciled; and is thought to have been able and fit enough for Government, had not those about him intangled him in pleasures and lascivious courses, that they managing his affairs, might have the better opportunity to enrich themselves. The Empire by his death was devolved upon his two young Sons *Basilus* and *Constantine*, and their Mother *Theophano*, who two days before was brought to Bed of a Daughter they called *Anne*. By the command of the Emperors now Regent, though solely against the mind of *Joseph*, *Nicephorus Phocas* came to *Constantinople* in April, and there Triumphed in the Cirque, shewing the Rich spoils taken both in *Crete* and *Berberga*, *Joseph* very jealous that he affected the imperial Dignity, of which he being aware and knowing how much it concerned him to avoid the suspicion of him, who at present was chief Minister, came to his House privately, and desiring to speak with him alone, professed he had had for a long time a desire and purpose to retire out of the vanities of the World, to a Monastical Life, but had been hindered from his purpose by the kindness of his Princes, who had forced employment upon him: and he shewed him a Shirt of hair he had next his Skin. *Joseph* surprized at his carriage, and at the sight of the Shirt, fell down at his Feet, and begged his pardon, professing he would give no Credit to such as accused him for the time to come. And so he was permitted to depart to his own House.

26. They were also jealous of *Stephen* the Son of *Romanus* the Elder, who still lived in confinement, and after much endeavour by stricter Custody, he was made sure of by Poison, at the procurement of *Theophano*. At the same time, *Peter* Prince of the *Bulgarians*, his Wife being dead, renewed the League with the Empire, and giving up his two Sons *Borices* and *Romanus*, shortly after died. Upon report hereof they were sent home to possess themselves of their Father's power, after which the four Sons of a potent Count of that Countrey, gaped and made a great faction amongst the People. But in the mean time *Joseph* sorely repented that he had let *Nicephorus Phocas* escape out of his Hands, and resolved to recover the prey if possible. He wrote Letters to *Tzimisches*, and *Carcas* Commanders in the East, and Men of great interest and abilities, promising to procure to the one the Office of Domestick of the Schools of the East, and the other that of the West, if they would either get him shaven and made a Monk, or by any other means remove him out of the way. They when they had received the Letters out of their good will to *Phocas* gave him notice of it, and advised him to take good Courage, and put those at *Constantinople* out of all doubt by a sudden taking upon him the Dignity of Emperour, and when he excused himself, and either heartily or cunningly shewed himself averse, they drew their Swords and threatened him with death upon refusal. To save then his Life, as some gave out, he consented, and on the second day of July, by procurement of *Tzimisches*, the Towns of the East saluted him Emperour. Others more probably reported that he had for a good while been ambitious this way, but not so much out of love to the Empire as to the Emperors *Theophano*, with whom he was exceedingly in love, having sent his trusty Servant several times to her on Messages, had private conference with her himself, and as some gave out, Communication of closer importance. This *Joseph* *Bringas*'s thought had smelt out, and thereupon increased his jealousy of him.

27. And when the report of his Designment came to *Constantinople*, he was then at his Wits end, the Citizens bearing him no good will, he had born himself to highly, and been difficult for Access. But when he understood that with the Shouts and Acclamations of the Army, he was brought to *Chrysolopolis*, he then considered what other he might set up for Emperour, and avoid the Indignation of the Souldiers. Upon the report of *Phocas* his promotion, his Father *Bardas* had taken Sanctuary in the great Church, but his Brother *Leo*, though narrowly watched yet escaped, and got to him safe. This farther perplexed *Joseph*, who was not of an humour to ingratiate himself with the People, but if he went about it was wont the more to displease and provoke them. And now he could not restrain his Inclination, but as he saw them all flock to the Church, and to be tickled with the Change they apprehended, with haughty and severe words he rebuked them, and threatened to raise Corn to an high rate, than which he could not do nor say any thing more to irage the multitude. This was on Sunday the ninth of August,

when

A Tumult at
Constantinople.

when on the Evening of the same Day *Basilus* the Favourite of *Constantine* the Emperour bearing mortal hate to him, got a Company of his Acquaintance and Servants together, and set them on Work to pull down the Houses of those of his party in several quarters of the City. They levelled *Joseph*'s House with the Ground, and not only his, and divers others of the Nobility, but under this pretence, if any of the Company bore a grudge to another Man, down went his House as well as the rest, and not a few were killed in the Tumult. In the mean time all the Streets rebounded with the Noise of *Nicephorus Callinicus* or the brave Conquerour, and *Bardus* was now so encouraged as to leave the Shelter he had taken up in the Church, and *Joseph* very prudently took his place. *Basilus* took with him the Emperours Pinnace, and with the rest of the Fleet, fell down to *Chrysolopolis*, whence he brought up *Nicephorus* to the *Hebdomus*. Hence all the People of the City accompanying him in a solemn Pomp, with Shouts and Music, he entered the City at the Golden Gate, and going to the great Church was there Crowned on a Scaffold by *Poliuctus* the Patriarch, it being the Lord's day, and the sixteenth of August.

Nicephorus
Crowned
there.

28. *Nicephorus Phocas* thus became Emperour in the sixth Indiction, A. D. 963. The first thing he did, was to remove the Emperess *Theophano* from Court into another Palace. Then did he banish *Joseph* into *Paplagonia*, who after two years ended his Life in a Monastery. He gave to his Father *Bardus* the Title of *Cesar*, and on the twentieth of September throwing off the Vizard, he married *Theophano*, and now fell to Flesh again, of which he had not eaten since the death of his Son, who was killed by his Cousin German *Pelagas*, as they were riding and sporting together. The Marriage being solemnized in the new Chapel of the Palace, as they were to pass into the Chancel, *Poliuctus* having him by the Hand, and he being entered himself stooped him at the Door, and refused to admit him, till he had made satisfaction for Marrying the second time. At the same time a report flew about the Church, and made no little disturbance, which was, you must know, that *Nicephorus* had been Godfather to one of *Theophano*'s Children, by which spiritual Alliance being her Brother could not Marry her, and therefore the Patriarch required him either to quit his Wife, or he must stand Excommunicated, *Nicephorus* chose the latter of the two, and propounded the matter to be debated by such Bishops of the Countrey as were in Town, and certain select Senators, who gave sentence that the constitution which pressed him, was made by *Copronymus*, that it did not bind him, and they all subscribed an Instrument of his Absolution. But the Patriarch for all this persisted in his former opinion, and refused to communicate with him, though *Cesar* affirmed that the Emperour was not Godfather, as was alleged; and *Stilianus* chief of the Court Chaplains, whom they termed *Protopapa*, who was reported first to have raised the Story, before the Council and Senate, swore that he never either saw or said any such thing. Hereupon though *Poliuctus* knew he forswore himself, yet he relinquished the objection of Compaternity, and quitting also his obliquity as to the Crime of second Marriage, after all this fir recovered to Communion *Nicephorus*. But he was sensible of, and never pardoned the affront as long as he lived.

He makes
War upon the
Saracens of
Sicily.

29. In the first year of his Reign, *Nicephorus* undertook a War against the *Saracens* of *Sicily*, because he judged it an Ignominious thing to pay Tribute to the People, which how it came first to be granted, we must discover by fetching matters a little higher. That People having in the Reign of *Basilus Macedo* Conquered *Sicily*, all but *Panormus*, and thence Invaded *Italy*, and all the Islands of the *Mediterranean* as far as *Peloponnesus*, were then repelled and beaten into quiet by *Nicephorus Phocas*, then Domestick of the Schools, and Grandfather to this Emperour, who thereby got exceeding much Honour. From that time *Italy* continued in repose till the Reign of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* and his Mother, when these Barbarians taking advantage, fell upon the Countrey, and the Governors finding themselves unable to grapple with both the Western and Eastern Infidels, especially now that the *Bulgarians* had violated the League, thought fit to conclude a Peace with them of *Sicily*, and the accord was made by *Eustathius*, then Governor of *Calabria*, one of the Emperours Chamber, that a yearly Pension or Tribute, of two and twenty Thousand *Aurei* should be paid to the *Saracens*. The Peace concluded, *John Hucalo* a Patrician was preferred to the Government of *Calabria*, a Man so impetuous that he was killed by the People, who gave up themselves to *Dandulphus* King of *Lombardy*, (here probably is meant *Radulphus* King of *Burgundi* and *Italy* against *Berengarius*) much about the time that *Romanus* the Elder seized on the Government. *Romanus* resolved if need were, to send a Fleet

to recover if possible, these Western Provinces of the Empire, but yet thought fit to send before *Cósmos of Thessalonica*, a Patritian well known to *Dandulphus*, who by many Arguments at length persuaded him to quit the Country, and embrace amity with the Emperor, and our Authours add that besides him, he persuaded those that commanded other revolted Provinces, to return to obedience and acknowledge their subjection to the Empire. In the mean time *Simoon the Bulgarian*, elevated by his many victories and gaping after the Empire it self, sends to *Phaulmus* the Prince of the *Saracens* in *Africk*, propounding Terms of an Alliance with him, and for sharing the Booty of the Conquered *Romans*. But the Messengers in their return with others from *Phaulmus*, fell into the hands of some *Calabrians*, who sent them to *Romans*. He apprehending well the danger that hung over his Head, committed the *Bulgarians* to Custody, but the *Saracens* he nobly treated, and sent them well presented laden with gifts to their Prince, with this message, that *Thus* the *Roman* Emperours were wont to requite their Enemies.

30. This was so kindly taken by *Phaulmus*, that he remitted half of the Tribute, and the rest was paid till this promotion of *Nicephorus*. When the Governours proved good, all things went well, and the *Saracens* were well enough content; but when otherwise, the Subjects would be Tumultuous, and then happened ruptures. Under *Porphyrogenitus*, one *Crenites* who commanded in *Calabria*, when the *Saracens* of *Sicily* and *Africk* had War made upon them by those of *Cirene*, and thereupon were much straitened for provisions, sold them corn at very dear rates, which he had forced the Subjects to let him have at *Robin Hood's* pennyworths, and thereby much enriched himself, the *Saracens* being forc'd to condescend to what price he pleased to set. For this he was put out of command by *Constantine*, his Money was taken from him, and he lived afterward and died in disgrace. During the same War, the *Romans* received and protected the Fugitives of the *Cartaginians*, who all this while durst neither complain of that, nor make any demands of the Tribute, lest they should give them distaste from whence they received their sustenance how dearly soever they paid for it. But when the War was over, they both demanded, the one and the other, and when they received a denial set out a Fleet and Invaded *Calabria*. Now *Constantine* resolv'd to take another course than *Romans* had done, not by palliating the matter but by force of Arms, to clear the reckoning, and for that purpose raised a strong Army which he committed to the Conduct of *Malacorus*, a Patritian, with orders to join himself with *Paschalius* Governour of *Calabria*, and with him jointly to manage the War, and one *Maerorannes*, he appointed to command the Fleet. These Men coming into the Province made it their business to Pill and Harass the People, no otherwise than if it had been an Enemies Country, which being known to *Abulchares*, *Ameras* of the *Saracens* (for *Phaulmus* &c. this was dead) he told his Men there was no fear to be had of such Enemies, that handled their own Friends in so rough a manner: taking his Advantage, he fell upon them, gave them a notable defeat, and misl'd narrowly of taking the Commanders themselves. After this *Constantine* sent one *John Pilate* his Secretary to treat with them, who were no whit difficult to conclude a Truce for a certain time. But this time expir'd they again pass'd the Sea, and infested *Calabria*, as formerly, to divert them from which he sent another Fleet and Army, the one commanded by *Crambeas* and *Moroleon*, the other by *Romanus Argyrus* a Patritian. They had scarcely put to Sea for *Sicily*, when the *Saracens* having News of vast Preparations (as fame is wont to make all greater than they are) in a Panick fear quitted their Camp and hasted away from *Rhegium* into *Sicily*, but coming near to *Panormis*, were by an horrid tempest all call away, upon this a Peace was again concluded and continued till the time of *Nicephorus* whereof we speak.

31. He accounting it a great disgrace to pay them any Tribute sent away a considerable Fleet, and as strong an Army under command of *Manuel* a Patritian, the base Son of his Uncle *Leo*, who having the Title of Domestick of the Schools was deprived of his sight by the Emperor *Romáus*. This *Manuel* was young and after to make a Soldier than a General, was very vicious and so conceited that he would not hearken to good advice, and so cast both himself and his Army away, being shut up in the Craggy and unpassable parts of *Sicily*: and besides this *Nicetas* the Eunuch a Patritian and *Drugarius* of the Fleet was taken and carried away Prisoner into *Africk*. Much about the same time *John Timisces* being created Domestick of the Schools of the East, was sent into *Cilicia*, where he defeated a great number of *Agarens* got together. About five Thousand of them quitted their Horses and betaking themselves to a Craggy hill near at hand by the

But his Army is defeated by the unskillfulness of his Commanders.

Timisces is slain.

the Advantage of the place stoutly defended themselves. *Timisces* seeing their resolution, resolv'd to attack them in their own way, and dismounting, led his Foot on himself, and fell upon them, of whom not a man turn'd his Back, but fighting out to the last were all slain; and from their Bodies issued such Streams of Blood into the Plain, that the Hill got the Name of the *Bloody Hill* upon this occasion. The year following, and the second of his Reign, in the Month of *July*, *Nicephorus* himself taking his Wife and Children along with him led a strong Army, consisting partly of his own Subjects, and partly of the Associates, *Iberians*, and *Armenians*, into *Cilicia*. Having left *Theophano* behind in a Castle called *Drizicup*, he entred the Country, and took three Cities, *Anabazza*, *Roffus*, and *Adana*, besides several Castles; but not daring to venture upon *Tarsus* or *Mopsuestia*, the Season of the Year being almost spent, he left a strong Guard and went into *Cappadocia* to Winter. In Spring he returned and dividing his Forces into two parts, the one he committed to *Leo*, with orders to fall upon *Tarsus*, and he himself led the other against *Mopsuestia*, which attacking with much violence he was therein assisted by the Famine which rag'd among the Inhabitants, so that the River *Sarus* dividing the Town into two parts, of one of them he got possession, though fired by the *Saracens*, and not long after the other with all that had made resistance, fell into his hands. Those of *Tarsus*, affrighted with this success, sent to him and surrendered their City, to the assistance of which, after three days, a Fleet came from *Egypt*, but finding no encouragement to land, it was most of it lost in its return, either by Tempests or taken by *Roman* Ships. Thus prosperous was *Nicephorus* wherefoever he bore his Arms. Besides this, he recovered *Cyprus* to the Dominion of the Empire from the *Saracens*. He invaded *Syria*, made *Tripolis*, a City of *Phenicia*, and *Damascus* Tributaries, and having Conquered all the rest, both situate near the Mountain *Libanus* and upon the Sea, he removed to *Antioch*, which the Inhabitants stoutly defending, his Provisions failing, and the place being very moist, he raised his Siege and returned to *Constantinople*. This was the way of him that he was the most victorious Warriour that of long time had worn the Purple, and enlarged the Dominions of the Empire far and wide.

He leads an Army into Cilicia.

Enlarging the Dominions of the Empire very much.

He is hated at home by his Subjects upon several accounts.

32. But he was not so much admired and feared abroad as hated by his Subjects at home, who rejoiced not in Conquests acquired by great expence of their blood, and especially their Treasure, delighting not at all in such grinning honour. The Story went that he could easily have taken *Antioch*, but forbore upon a Saying there was, That the Emperor *that should conquer that City should not live very long after*, and upon this account he gave charge to *Peter* and *Burtas* whom he left in the Country to secure what he had already got, to make no Attempts upon it. But *Burtas* lying near to the City could not forbear, but having corrupted one of the Townsmen to a Discovery, seized upon two Turrets of the Wall, and then sending for *Peter* easily overpowered the Garrison, and took the City, for which the Emperor instead of other reward, disgraced him and turn'd him out of his Place. This procured him much ill will, but here lay not the hundred part of the burthen. At his very first Promotion when his Soldiers were very insolent and committed many outrageous Acts, he would give no ear to any complaint; nay, though they rifled the Houses of Senators and such as had assisted him in obtaining what he had, alleging, that in such a Multitude it could not be but that some would carry themselves uncivilly. Then upon pretence of his Wars he raised Taxes, and laid unufferable burthens upon the People, not abstaining from Rapine and violence. Part of what was usually given to Senators he stopp'd in the Treasury, as also such Pensions as by his Predecessours had been granted to Monasteries, Churches, and other Pious uses: And by a Law he forbade any more Lands to be given to the Church, a Crime more heinous than all others in the opinion of the Ecclesiastics. They farther laid to his Charge, that taking advantage of a difference betwixt the chief *Pastor* (so *Zonaras* calls the *Patriarch*) and the chief Priests concerning Jurisdiction (he denying that they could approve or Elect without him) he challenged to himself all the right of nominating Bishops, by an Edit commanding that none should be admitted to any Church without his leave. Accordingly when any Bishop died he sent an Officer sparingly to defray Charges, and the rest of the Revenue he took to himself. Nay, during his Government all Countries swarmed with Collectours and Informers, who squeezed, even out of the poorest of the People, all that ever they had; such as had been in publick Service before, were rais'd to more chargeable Employment. As if formerly in the Navy, now they were constrained to

At the
time of
his death
he was
sick and
weak
and
could
not
stand
and
was
carried
to
bed
and
died
there.

serve on Land, and if before as Foot, now as Horsemen at their own Charge.

33. War was his only Element, neither could he think or say any thing but what had relation to it. Therein he placed the Measures of good and evil, inasmuch, that he laboured to introduce a Law which should give to them that lost their Lives in Fight, equal Honours and Veneration with the Martyrs, and but for the vigorous opposition of the Patriarch and Bishops he had published the Edict, they contending, that on the other hand the Canon of *Basil* the Great did bar such of the Communion as had killed, though but an Enemy in Battel, for three years. But what did more provoke the Multitude he debased the Coin, causing some of less intrinsic value to be made, which done, all Payments to himself he exacted in that of the greater, and caused all Issues out of the Treasury to be made of the lesser sort. And whereas all Money stamped with the Images of Emperours, if of the same weight and goodness went at the same Rates, he increased the value of his own Coins above those of his Predecessours. This caused extraordinary difficulty and damage in Commerce, which added to the dearth of all Commodities, made very great disturbance. But that which enraged most, was the fortifying of the Court or Palace, because it was told him, that in it he should die. He pulled down very fair Houses of private Persons adjoining to it, and close to it erected a Cittadell, wherein were built Granaries, Store-houses, Ovens, and Bakehouses, filled with all sorts of Provisions. To these public Grievances there were other particular Accidents, which being ill taken, however designed, farther increased the general hate against him. A great Tumult happening betwixt the Seamen and *Armenians*, wherein many were killed, and *Sisinnius* the Prefect of the City hardly escaped, he to be revenged on the Citizens, whom he concluded to have been Authours of the disorder, was thought to have drawn them into a Snare in this manner. He appointed some Exercises on Horseback, and either to let the People see the manner of fighting or to terrify them, caused the Riders to draw their Swords and skirmish together, which cast the Multitude into such a fright, that all ran headlong down from the Theatre, over the Precipices and Ditches, and treading one upon another many were pressed to Death, many more hurt, and greater had been the mischief but that they observed him to sit on his seat not at all concerned, which made them change their Opinion of him, and to stop their Flight. But the Relations of such as were killed, not long after, as he returned into the City, reviled him, and cast at him Dirt and Stones, and had not some of the more sober sort become his Guard, he had easily miscarried.

34. In the fourth year of his Reign, the tenth Indiction, in June going to visit the Cities of *Thrace*, when he came to *Great Suda*, he wrote to *Peter Prince of Bulgaria*, not to suffer the *Turks*, as they called them, to pass the River *Ister*. This he objected for several Reasons that he could not doe, but especially he insisted on this, that when that People had invaded his Dominions, then the Emperour had refused to give him any assistance: That therefore he was forced by necessity to make a Peace with them, which his Interest would not permit him now to break. To be revenged of him, for this repulse he procured *Sphenodibladus* King of the *Russians* the following year to invade *Bulgaria*, where committing all sorts of Hostility, they destroyed many Towns, and returned with much Booty, acting the same part over again the next year after. In the mean time happened a terrible Earthquake in *Papilagonia*, and elsewhere. And in May following the Corn was so blasted by scorching Winds, that a great Famine followed, at which *Nicephorus* took advantage to fill his own Cofers, and made a Jest of the Calamity of his People, boasting that he had sold his Wheat at a double Rate. Both he and his Brother Rejoiced in the Miseries of the Poor, or their Actions were such, as they could not afford a better Interpretation, and drew free Expressions from the Oppressed, which taxed him with mis-government to his Face. "On a time as he was Muttering his 'Souldiers, an ancient man with a gray head desired to be lifted amongst them, of whom when he demanded why he that was now old and feeble, would desire to go to the Wars, he told him that he found he was much stronger than when he was young; for now, since he was Emperour, he could carry Corn of that value on his own Back, with which then he was wont to load two Asses. So much was he hated abroad, and at home, and in his own House he was as little beloved. *Theophano* his Wife did now loath him, either because he was no good Womans man, or he was jealous that he designed to geld her Sons, and leave the Empire to his Brother. *Glycas* writes expressly that it was because he lived cha-

He engages the
Russians to in-
vade Bulgaria.

In time of
Famine he
raises the price
of Corn, which
adds to his ha-
tred and op-
pression.

ly, abstained from her Bed, and was wont to sleep on the ground, being much delighted in taking his rest in that manner. Following her intemperate humour he had cast her affections upon *Nicephorus*, whom as a suspected Person, the Emperour had confined to his own House.

35. She procured him to be discharged of his Confinement, and when *Nicephorus* refused to let him come presently to *Constantinople*, she not only got him secretly conveyed thither, but by Night to be drawn up into the Palace in a Basket, with five of his Friends, viz. *Michael, Burtzas*, the Patrician, whom *Nicephorus* had disobliterated, *Leo Abalantius*, an Officer in the Army, and one *Azypsotheodorus* (so named from the swarthiness of his Complexion) more intimate with him than all others. Being got in, they went directly to seek the Emperour, and not finding him in his Chamber in the Bed wherein he ordinarily slept, they were going down the way they came, concluding that their Design was discovered. But by a Fellow that belonged to the Womens Apartment, they were brought where he lay asleep on the ground in a Bears skin, as his Custom was, which Skin he much valued because given him by his Uncle *Michael* a Monk. *Zimisces* first gave him a kick with his Foot and awakened him, then as he leaned on his Elbow endeavouring to rise, *Leo Abalantius* with his drawn Sword mortally wounded him in the Head, the Skull being pierced. Then they dragged him before *Zimisces*, who had placed himself in the Emperours Seat, and uled him with all sorts of Indignities, while he only said, *Lord have mercy upon me, and the Mother of God help me*. By this time the Alarm was given to those of the Guard that then watched, and they were halting to his Relief, which the Conspirators perceiving, dispatched him, and cutting off his Head shewed it to them out of the Window, which sight quieted them; the Tragedy being already over and not to be prevented. Some reported that ten days before his death, by a Writing left in his Chamber, warning was given him to beware of *Zimisces*: Nay, that by a certain Clerk that very Night the Conspiracy was revealed the same way. But some reported, that he imagining the Paper to contain some loose Petition, never opened it; others said he did open and read it, but made no reckoning of it, his Fate so vehemently pressing upon him: And there wanted not who affirmed, that he both took notice of the thing, and committed the Inquiry thereof, and the Defence of his own Person to the *Protospatharius*, and also wrote to his Brother *Leo*, then at his own House, to come to him sufficiently armed and accompanied with all speed; but he being busie at Chess, with which Game he was wonderfully delighted, neglected to open the Letter till it was too late, which perceiving, with his Son *Nicephorus* he took Sanctuary in the Great Church. However to such an end came this Emperour, who by his Example abundantly shewed the truth of that old Saying, *That Magistracy, especially in Sovereign Power, discovers the Disposition of a man*. Formerly he had taxed that Vice in his own Father, to which he himself, when he had most ample opportunity of getting Wealth, was enslaved. In how sad and uncertain a condition those that wore the Diadem in those days perpetually were, and how much of that liberty which the old Roman Legions took of disposing of the Empire according to their own Lust and Ambition, was still usurped, the Reader from more than this one Instance cannot but take notice. *Nicephorus* lived fifty seven years, and thereof Reigned six, with as many Months.

Zimisces seizes on the
Empire, making
Basilus and *Constantine* his
Collegues.

36. The Murder committed, *John Zimisces* seized on the Empire in the twelfth Indiction, A. D. DCCCLXIX. *Basilus* and *Constantine*, the Sons of *Romanus*, he made his Collegues, he being in the seventh and this in the fifth year of his Age, as *Cedremus* writes, which could not be, considering how long it was since the death of their Father; so that herein greater credit is to be given to *Panwinius*, who reckons *Basilus* to have been fourteen, and *Constantine* about twelve, at this Alteration. For his prime Minister he made choice of *Basilus* of the Bedchamber, to whom *Nicephorus*, having been advanced in a great measure by his endeavours, had given a new Title of *President*, being a man of great experience, which he gained under *Romanus* his Father, and his Brother-in-Law *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, by his Wars against the *Saracens*, and other Negotiations of greatest Concernment. He as soon as trusted, to discharge his Duty, first removed all such as he knew to have been addicted to *Nicephorus*, from all Commands both Military and Civil, and substituted others in their Rooms, whom he knew to be faithful to him in present power. Such as *Nicephorus* had banished, he recalled, and especially the Ecclesiasticks; whom for opposing him in Matters relating to the Church, he had driven from their places. These things premised for

for the establishing of his Power, *Zimisce* thought he might take the Ensigns of the Dignity, and to the great Church he went to receive the Diadem from the hands of the Patriarch. But here he was stopped at the Door, *Polyeuthus* affirming that it was not lawful for him to enter that Place, whose hands still smok'd with the Blood they had so lately shed, for which he must make satisfaction before he could be admitted. He received the Reprehension in good part, promising to perform all things that could be reasonably injoyned him; but alledged he had laid no violent hands on the late Emperour, who was slain by *Abalantius* and *Arzypheodrus* by Command of the Emper's. The Patriarch then required that the should be banished from Court into some Island, as also the Murderers of *Nicephorus*, and that the Edict made by him concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs should be rescind'd. The Murderers by *Zimisce*'s command were preately removed, and *Theophano* banished into *Proconnesus*, whence afterward escaping and betaking her self to the great Church, she was thrust out by *Basilus*, and carried into the Province of *Armenia*, and there clofe shut up in a Monastery, after many bitter and reproachfull Speeches uttered against the present Emperour and against *Basilus*, to whom she had given a Cuff on the Ear, and loaded him with the Names of *Scythian* and *Barbarian*. Her Mother also was removed from the City, and the Edict of *Nicephorus* against the Privileges of Church-men openly produced and torn in pieces.

Banishes *Theophano* the Emper's.

Zimisce Crowned at Constantinople.

The *Saracens*, &c. in the East endeavour to revolt.

But are reduced to obedience.

37. These things performed, and the Emperour having promised for expiation of his Crime, to give all the Estate he had been Master of when a Private Man to the use of the Poor, he was admitted by *Polyeuthus* into the Church, and on *Christmas* day was there Crowned by his hands. While there was this changing and shifting at Court, Affairs of the Empire both in the Eastern and Western Parts, were but in a ticklish condition. For the Cities taken from the *Saracens* in *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia* and *Cœlœsyria*, were inclining to revolt. And *Nicephorus* his procuring of the *Russians* to invade *Bulgaria*, as it happened, had brought the Territories of the *Romans* into much greater danger. *Zimisce* thought he should provide in some measure for the security of the East, by preferring to the Bishoprick of *Antioch* upon the River *Orontes*, or that near *Daphne*, one *Theodorus* a Monk, a man of very good Desert, who always told him that he should come to be Emperour, but always advis'd him not to be hasty in his Attempts that way. He had also persuaded him that as soon as he should get the opportunity by his preferment to remove the *Manichees* out of the East, which he performed afterward, causing them to be transported to *Philippopolis*. All this while the *Saracens* intermitted no thoughts nor means for recovery of their Cities, especially of *Antioch*, in which their Reputation was most concerned. By the Agitation of those most principally concerned, a strict League and Alliance was enter'd into, not onely by that People in what parts soever they lived, but by all other Nations, professing their Religion, particularly, as *Cedrenus* reckons them, the *Egyptians*, *Persians*, *Elamites*, both the sorts of *Arabians*, (inhabiting the Desert and *Happy Arabia*) and *Sabeans*, vast Forces they gathered together, the Command of which was given to those of *Carthage*, as the most experienc'd in War both by Sea and Land, who transferr'd it upon *Zoebares* a man very fit for the place of General. They laid Siege to that *Antioch* near to *Daphne*, as our Authors call it, to distinguish it from all others of that Name, and omitted nothing proper to take it, but the strength of the place and the Courage of the Besieged held them to it till such time as the Emperour had sent orders to the Governour of *Mesopotamia*, to raise what power he could and relieve them, and dispatched away *Nicholas* an Eunuch most intimate with him to be General of the Expedition. He mustering all the Forces he could possibly get together, though not once to be named with their Multitudes, yet upon them, gave them Batel, rais'd the Siege, forced them to disperse, and betake themselves to their own Countries, such of them as escap'd the Slaughter, and confirmed the Cities of these Quarters in their Obedience.

38. Thus matters in the East very well succeeded; but in *Bulgaria*, which the *Ross* had overrun, things went not according to expectation; for this People having made themselves Masters of the Countrey, and got into their hands *Borises* and *Romanus* the two Sons of *Peter*, finding it much more pleasant and fertile than their own, resolv'd to fix in it, and brake the Covenants they had made with *Nicephorus*. In this their Resolution they were confirm'd by one *Calocyrrus*, who engag'd that if by their means he could come to be Emperour of the *Romans*, he would freely quit to them *Bulgaria*, make a perpetual League with them, and

double

double the Tribute or Pension, which had been promised them. Puffed up with these his O'ers, but especially with present possession, they challenged *Bulgaria* as their own acquired by War, and the Ambassadors of the Emperour, who offered to confirm and make good whatever *Nicephorus* had granted, they rejected with scornfull Language and Deportment. *Zimisce* then finding himself oblig'd by force of Arms to obtain what by good words he could not compass, sent Orders for all his Forces to march Westward, over which he made General, one *Bardas* surnam'd *Sclernus* or *Hard* his Wives Brother, resolving in the Spring in Person, to be at the Head of the Army. The *Russians* hearing of these preparations, to prevent him, rais'd to themselves as many of the lately conquered *Bulgarians* as they thought convenient, and drawing into their Assistance the *Patzinace*, and those our Writers call *Turks*, inhabiting the Western Parts of *Pannonia* (the *Hunnes* or *Hungarians*) made up an Army of three Hundred and eight thousand Men, with which passing *Æmus*, they laid waste all *Thrace*, and fate down before the Walls of *Adrianople*. *Bardas* could scarcely muster above twelve thousand Men, and therefore so very much over-matched in Numbers, resolv'd to try if he could be superiour in skill and stratagem. He contain'd himself within the Walls of that City, and however challeng'd and provoked by the Enemy would not fight, making a shew of great fear and diffidence. This made them secure, so as they kept no order, observ'd no rules, were negligent in their watches, as not doubting but with convenience enough to seize upon the Prey.

He orders his Forces to march Westward.

Who engaging with the Barbarians rout them.

39. He watcht his opportunities, and when he saw his time sent out *John Alacensis* a Patritian, with a Party to skirmish with the Enemy, and by little and little retreating to bring them into an Ambush he had conveniently placed for them. The Barbarians were divided into three Bodies, whereof the *Russians* and *Bulgarians* compos'd one, the other two consist'd singly of the several Nations of *Patzinace* and *Turks*. It happened, that *John* light upon the *Patzinace*, with whom skirmishing and gently retiring till he came to the Place of the Ambush, he then fled as fast as his Horse could carry him, and they breaking all Order, and pursuing fell into the Army of *Bardas*, which compassing them in, cut them all off, or very few escap'd. This encourag'd him to complete his Victory by falling upon the rest, who though discourag'd by what had happen'd to their Friends, yet made stout resistance, and the success continued doubtful a long time, till a *Scythian* taller and bolder than the rest singled out *Bardas*, as he rode up and down encouraging his Men. He gave him a blow on the Head, but his Helmet was of such tried Metal, that his Sword could not enter, though that of *Bardas* was so much better temper'd, that with one stroke he both clav'd his Head-piece and Head in funder. And *Constantine* a Patritian, the Brother of *Bardas*, coming in to his Relief had as good Success. For they write, that grapling with another *Scythian* who assist'd his Countryman, and fetching a stroke at his Head as he declined the blow, he cut off the Head of his Horse, and then cut the Throat of the Master as he lay grovelling on the Ground. These Achievements of the *Roman* General, and his Brother to discourag'd the Barbarians, that they would no more abide it, but shifted for themselves aswell as they could, but had not Night prevented farther pursuit, none had escap'd, most being killed, and the rest in a manner all taken Prisoners, of whom there were very few to be seen, that were not wounded. Yet if we may believe some Writers, of the *Romans* were killed but five and twenty Men. But none escap'd without having received the marks of their Valour upon their Skins.

40. Scarcely was this *Scythian* War brought to an end, when one Intestine which threatn'd more danger if not to the Empire, yet to the Emperour, recalled *Bardas* to *Constantinople*. *Bardas Phocas* who had been banished into *Amasia* had fled from thence, and having held secret Intelligence with his Kindred and Acquaintance, was up in Arms, having seiz'd on *Cæsarea* the City of *Cappadocia*, where he had got together considerable Forces, and several Eminent men being come to him had assum'd the Imperial Title and Ornaments. *Leo Curopalates* his Father had drawn in many, some by Gifts, and others by large Promises, by the means of the Bishop of *Abydus* especially, and had purpos'd with his Son *Nicephorus*, to steal out of the Island *Lesbus*, whither he had been confin'd, into *Thrace*. But the Bishop being apprehended and examin'd reveal'd all the Plot, and both the Father and Son were condemn'd to death. This Sentence of the Judges, was by the Emperour mitigated to the loosing of their Eyes. Yet was he so farther mercifull, as it's said, he gave order to the Executioners to make shew onely of blinding them, and to spare their fight, and give out that it was not by his

Bardas Phocas usurps, seizing on *Cæsarea*.

Command, but proceeded merely from their pity towards them. In the mean time *Bardas* the General was come into *Asia*, as far as *Dorylaus*, having given him in charge from *Zimifces* to shed no more blood than was necessary. By large Offers therefore he first endeavoured to draw *Phocas* and his Complices from what they had undertaken. But finding them so confident, that with scorn and heat they rejected his Proposals, he marched to *Cæsarea*, where he was scarcely arrived, when these Promoters and Followers of the New-made Emperour, upon farther consideration, and weighing of what had been offered, with what their utmost hopes might amount to, found their best Game would be to undoe what they had done, and accordingly one *Diogenes Adralestus* and *Ampelas*, with *Theodorus* and *Nicephorus* the Sons of *Theodulus*, who had been the Authours of the Revolt first came over, whom all the rest followed, so that *Phocas* was left attended only by his own Servants.

But is deterred by those that set him up.

Flying to the Castle Tyropæum, capitulates.

41. Much discontented at the Falseness of those, who had perswaded him to these ambitious Courses, and, as they say, farther discouraged by a Dream, he fled toward a Castle called *Tyropæum*. The General sent a Party if possible to overtake him, and it reached him as he came to the Foot of the Hill, on which the Castle stood. There one *Constantinus Charon*, bolder and more forward than any of the rest came soonest up with him, and giving him other contumelious Language called him Coward, bidding him stay if he durst, and receive the Reward of his Treasons from his Hands. *Phocas* perceiving who it was, stopped his Horse, and turning towards him, put him in mind how idle a thing it was without consideration of the Infallibility of Humane Affairs, to insult over a man that was merely oppressed by the Inconstancy of Fortune, and that he ought rather to commiserate the Condition of one, whose Father was *Cyropalates*, Grandfather *Cæsar*, and Unclean Emperour himself. *Charon* to this returned more outrageous words, calling him Villain, and telling him that he should soon be made up to close him. But *Phocas* being aware of him up with a Club, or Poll-axe, which hung concealed, and his Helmet not being strong enough to keep off the blow knocked him on the Head, whom thus having dispatched, he put Spurs to his Horse again, and recovered the Castle, the Pursuers when they came where *Charon* lay dead, were so astonished at the sight, that they followed him no farther. But not long it was e'er *Bardas* came up, and by Messages urged him to yield, professing his kindness to him as an Allie (for to *Sophia* the Sister of *Phocas*, was married his Brother *Constantine*) and undertook to procure his Pardon from the Emperour. *Phocas* then receiving from him an Oath, that he should not be rigorously proceeded against, yielded himself. And the Emperour made good what *Bardas* had engaged, being satisfied with his entering into Orders, and Confinement to the Island *Chios*. This danger thus happily over, *Bardas* received Command to return into the West. To which our Writers of the *Byzantine* History mean *Constantinople*, and those Parts of *Europe* still subject to it, as by the East the Provinces of *Asia*.

Is shaven and confined to the Island Chios.

Zimifces marries *Theodora* Sister to his Collegue.

Undertakes an expedition into *Bulgaria*.

42. These things happened at the beginning of the Reign of *Zimifces*, who much about the same time his former Wife being lately dead, married *Theodora* the Sister of *Romanus* the Third, and Daughter of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, as our Greek Historians write, though *Parvinius* whomsoever he follows, makes her the Daughter of *Romanus* by *Theophano*, and the Sister of *Basilus* and *Constantine*, the Collegues of the present Emperour. In the second year of his Reign, resolving in Person to make War against the *Rossians*, he used all endeavours possible to make his Designs effectual. By his bounty he made his Souldiers cheerful and courageous. He set over them prudent and valiant Officers, took care that no Ammunition or Provisions should be wanting; and not only set all things in good order at Land, but provided as well for the Sea, setting forth a very considerable Fleet under the Command of *Leo*, the *Drungarius* thereof at present, but afterward preferred to be *Protovestarius*. Having finished his Devotions for good Success, and settled all matters at home, in the beginning of Spring he set forward, and in his Journey at *Radeftus* met with two Persons, who under shew of an Embassy were sent from the Enemy to spy how matters stood with him, making great complaints of great Injuries offered to the Nation of the *Scythians*. He knowing well enough on what errand they were sent, caused them to take a view of all his Forces, and therewith bid them be gone, and tell their Masters with how great and well disciplin'd an Army he was coming against them. With five thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse fit for expedition, he marched away ordering

Dorylaus, quæ sitam Dorylae, Magna Phrygie Civitas, juxta quam oritur Thermus amnis.

Laying siege to *Perfhlaba*.

Which he takes by Storm with *Borice* their King.

Changing the Name to *Joannopolis*.

dering the rest to follow under Conduct of *Basilus* the President, and passing over *Hæmus*, laid siege to *Perfhlaba* the principal City of *Bulgaria*. This struck a great terror into the People, and *Calocyus* being in the Town without any opposition made, secretly withdrew himself into the Camp of the *Rossians*, who upon sight of him, and hearing the Emperour himself was in the Field, were not a little dismayed. But *Spendoffhlabus* their General comforted them, as well as he could by words fit for the present exigence, and caused them to remove nearer the City, where they incamped. A Party of Eight thousand, exercising themselves near the City-Walls *Zimifces* fell upon and did great Execution, whom others issuing out to succour in confusion ran the same Fortune, the ways being intercepted at their Retreat, so that multitudes were slain and as many taken, amongst whom *Sphagellus*, the next in Authority to their General. Animated with this Success the *Romans* fell upon the City, and were forced off more by the Darkness of Night, than the Valour of the Defendants.

43. Early in the Morning appeared *Basilus*, with the rest of the Army to the great Joy of the Emperour, and shewed himself upon an Hill to strike greater Terror into those that kept the Town. Now did *Zimifces* endeavour to perswade them to save themselves by yielding, to which finding them averse, he gave order for the Forces jointly to begirt and attacke the Place. So violent an Onset the *Romans* made, by their showers of Arrows driving the Defendants from the Walls, and then scaling them with their Ladders, encouraged by one of their Fellows who first mounted, and was more pertinacious than the rest, that a sufficient Number got in and opened the Gates, and then the Army entering filled all Places with laughter. The Women and Children were made Prisoners, and *Borice* King of the *Bulgarians* was taken with his Wife and Children, who in his Royal Robes was brought to the Emperour. He used him very courteously, gave him the Title of King, and set at liberty all the *Bulgarians*, professing himself their Friend, and an Enemy only of the *Rossi*. But all this while, when he thought his work was done as to *Perfhlaba*, Eight thousand of the stoutest *Scythians* had seized upon the Castle, and were first discovered by the Mischief they did, making several Sallies and Slaughter of many they surprized. He caused his men to attacke the Place, but they were very faint in the Service, not so much for the Valour of the Defendants, as the natural strength of its Situation, which he perceiving armed himself, and with Sword in his Hand led them on, which fight wrought so much shame upon them, that striving who should put himself forwardst betwixt his Prince and Danger, they broke through all opposition by Fire and Sword, and Master'd the hold; those that resisted, being either killed or driven headlong down the Rocks and Precipices, or intercepted by the Fire and burnt. Thus was this City fully conquered, in the space but of two Days. The Emperour took order for repairing of it, and called it after his own Name *Joannopolis*. He left a strong Garrison in it, and furnished it with all sorts of Provisions. Having therein attended the Devotions of *Easter*-Day, the Day following he departed for *Dorysolus*, which also had the Name of *Distræ*.

44. All this while *Spendoffhlabus*, was incamped in expectation of the coming of the *Romans*, till surpriz'd with the News of the taking of the City. He concealed his grief and exhorted his Men to shew themselves the more courageous, the more opposition they met with, and no longer to expect but to march and find out the Enemy. The Emperour in the mean time ranged about, and took and wasted many Towns and Castles, the plunder whereof he gave to the Souldiers for their Incouragement. But having notice of the approach of some *Rossians*, he ordered one *Theodorus of Mitheta*, with a select Party of three hundred to go before to view them, and give him an account of their Condition, and if occasion were to skirmish with them till he should come up to the main Body. It proved only a Party of some seven thousand men, sent out as it seems upon the same errand with which yet he engaged, and they imagining because of his small Number some Stratagem to be in the case, fled again to the adjoining Woods and Mountains, and so took their way for *Distræ*, not far from which, all but such as fell in the engagement and pursuit, joynd themselves with *Spendoffhlabus*, and his Army. There it was now resolved, that twelve Miles from that Town they should incamp, and stay for the coming of the Emperour; being in all three Hundred and thirty thousand Men, and thofe unanimous, for three Hundred *Bulgarians*, whom they had suspected, they had put to death. The *Romans* animated to a great height by their Victories were presently with them, and then both Armies prepared for a Battel, at the beginning whereof, though the late Victours did

Then meeting
the Army of
the *Rossians*,
in Battle de-
feats them.

Flying to *Doro-
stolus*.

Which upon
the arrival of
his Fleet *Zi-
mifces* begins.

After several
skirmishes.

He resolves to
flout them
out.

Another Re-
bellion at
home.

But success-
ful and in vi-
ctory.

did great Execution, yet the Numbers of their Enemies were equivalent to their Alacrity, and thereby encouraged, they made such resistences, that the success was very doubtful. Twelve times Fortune seemed to change her Face the distressed side still reinforcing it self, till at length Night now coming on, the left Wing of the *Rossians* gave more ground, which as they endeavoured to recruit the Emperor in person led on a Relieve, and with Spear in Hand so bestirred himself, that his Example put new life into all his Souldiers, whereby he carried the day. The *Rossians* fled to *Doroſtolus*, very much lessened in their Numbers, and thither followed the Emperor after he had done his Devoirs to St. George, on whose Day this Victory was obtained.

45. He fate down before the Town, but would make no attempt upon it, till his Fleet arrived, because the Defendants might easily escape by the River. In the mean time *Sphendolhabus* commits to safe Custody in Fetters no fewer than twenty thousand *Bulgarians*, left they should revolt or make any disturbance in the Garrison, and prepared for a Siege. The Fleet being arrived the Emperor buckled himself to his business, and the Enemy making several sallies, he still repelled with good Success. Now the *Rossians* horrid several Companies contrary to their former Custom, and in an Evening when the *Roman* Soldiers were dispersed, at their Supper, made a very brisk Sally out of two several Gates, the one toward the East, where *Peter* the chief Commander of the Camp lay with the *Thracians* and *Macedonians*, and the other to the West, which Post was assigned to *Bardas Sclerus*, with the Eastern Forces. A very sharp Conflict there was, and the Success for some time inclined to neither side, but the *Romans* had the better at last, and killing many, forced the rest back into the City without so much as one of their own Men either killed or hurt as our Authors affirm; only three Horfes perished in the Engagement. The Barbarians much discouraged at this repulse, with great Howlings and hideous Cries, bewailed the Death of their Fellows lately slain, and for the greater security of the place, sent for all their Countreymen that lay in the Garrisons round about. *Zimifces* hereupon drew out his Army into the adjoining plain, and offered them Battle, which they refusing he had time to give Audience to Messengers that came from *Constantia*, and other Forts beyond the River *Iſter*, to beg pardon and yield themselves, whom he graciously received and sent Garrisons into the Places so given up. But the besieged, though they refused a pitched Battle, yet their Number being increased issued out in the Night at all their Gates at once, and furiously assailed the Besiegers when they little expected it. And at the first, as was to be expected, they had the better, till *Spagellus* was slain, which so discouraged them, that they remitted much of their former Alacrity. Yet they kept the Field all the Night, and till Noon the next Day, when perceiving that a Party was sent to get betwixt them and home, they then began to shift for themselves, and finding the ways leading to the Town beset, they straggled through the Countrey, and many of them were slain. The Night following *Sphendolhabus*, began to draw a Trench about the Walls, with which having more strongly fortified the Place, he resolved to hold out till the last.

46. But Provisions failing, and all ways by Land being blocked up, he took along with him two thousand Men, and in a dark and rainy Night passed down the River in Boats, and fetched in Corn and other Necessaries, without the least apprehension of the Besiegers, till at his Return he killed many of their Foragers, and the rest escaped with the News, which arrived not till he was got out of danger. At this the Emperor was very much disturbed, and threatened the Officers of the Fleet with death, if any such thing happened for the time to come; for having spent now forty Days to no purpose in Hostility, he was resolved to starve them out, and having taken care for stopping up of all Avenues, took his ease and expected the Event. In the mean time while he fought after new Conquests, what he had formerly possessed was in great danger, for *Leo Curopalates*, and his Son *Nicephorus* no way obliged by his Clemency, who had caused their Eyes to be spared, when they had been sentenced for their former Treasons to loose their fight, again broke out into Rebellion, and having corrupted many Officers in several Places, left the Island, to which they were confined, and by Night came to *Constantinople*, where they imagined they could do great matters, in the Absence of the Emperor. But *Leo* the *Drungarius* of the Fleet, to whom with *Basilius* the Rectour, the care of the Palace and City was committed, timely before they could get their Complices together, sent a Party of Souldiers to secure them, of which having notice they betook themselves to the great Church; but were

were thence drawn out and sent into the Island *Prota*, where the former Judgement was now executed with effect upon them. To return to the Siege, the Defendants were both forely pinched with Famine, and distressed by Engines of the Enemy, with which among so many stout and young Warriors, some would ever be trying their skill, and attempting something. One *John a Magister* the Son of *Romanus Curcuas* with a Machine he had, did them most mischief, so that they resolved to make a Sally by some of their stoutest men, to break or disable it. *Curcuas* to rescue his Engine rushed in amongst them, was knocked down from his Horse and slain, but his Souldiers though they could not save his Life yet preserved the Ram, and drove back the *Rossians* into the Town.

The besieged
make an un-
iversal Sally.

But retreat
with great
Loss.

After which
they conflict.

Resolving to
leave the City
and try it out
by Battle.

47. On the twentieth day of July, they resolved to make an universal Sally, by the Advice of one *Jernor*, a man who for his desert was the second in Repute amongst them. A fierce contest there happened, till *Anemas* one of the Emperor's Guard singled out *Jernor* and slew him, at which sight in Confusion they retired, and many by reason of the straitsness of the Ways, were either killed by the Pursuers, or trampled down by their own Fellows, *Sphendolhabus* himself with difficulty escaping. When the *Romans* came to strip the slain, they found many Women in Mens Clothes had accompanied their Husbands, and fought stoutly. And courageous enough they were of both Sexes and all Conditions, but what prospect of any hope there was to succeed, the most prudent amongst them could not see. For on all sides, were they surrounded with insuperable Difficulties. Of any relief there was no probability, their Friends and Countreymen being so far off. The Neighbouring Nations refused to meddle, being awed by the Power of the Emperor; who by his Fleet and Army being now Master both at Land and Sea, barred them of all Access, while he and his Souldiers abounded, not only with all things necessary but delightful, and was recruited with perpetual Supplies of Men. Great deliberation being had about their matters, some were for flying away by Night, others moved that they should yield, others propounded other ways and Methods, but all concluded that a Period was to be put to this War. But *Sphendolhabus* affirmed, this was not to be done in any cowardly manner, left they should be derided by all their Neighbours, and Eternal Infamy should stick to their Nation, and therefore he perswaded them once more to try it with the Besiegers, and prefer a glorious Death before an ignominious Life.

48. Unanimously the next day they quit the City, and make fast the Gates that no hope of retreating thither might any more remain. Such a Fight followed as is usual with a resolved and desperate Enemy. The *Romans* less accustomed to hardship were most distressed by the heat of the Weather, whom their Emperor carefully relieved by bottles of Wine and Water mixed, and then caused them thus refreshed to renew the Fight. The narrowness also of the ways was a great hindrance to them, of which he being sensible, commanded that his Officers should by degrees retire, and when they were come into the open plain, then to fall on again with their former violence. The *Rossians* imagining they fled, made after them with great earnestness, till the *Romans* being arrived at the appointed place, furiously charged them a-fresh. Now the service being hot on both sides, *Theodorus of Misheia* his Horse was killed under him, and a sharp contention followed, while the Enemy endeavoured to kill, and his Friends laboured as hard to preserve him. He clearing himself of his Horse as well as he could, caught one of the *Rossians* fast by the Girdle, and bestirring himself, thrust the Man on this side and that side of him, where he saw the danger was, and used him as a Target to receive the Strokes or Darts that were designed against him, and this he did till he was rescued and brought off. But *Zimifces* seeing the Enemy fight rather more courageously than ever, the success doubtful, and pitying the dangerous condition his Men were in, to prevent greater effusion of blood sent to *Sphendolhabus*, and challenged him to decide the quarrel by the single Combat of them two. The Barbarian refused it, proudly answering that he understood himself better than did the *Roman* Emperor, who if he was weary of his Life, might find ways enough to be rid of it, while he should mind what he had to do. The Emperor resolving with all his force and dexterity, to drive the Affair in that manner, which alone remained and by this one days action, to finish both this War, and Siege, sent *Bardas Sclerus*, with his Troops to hinder them all Access to the Town, *Romanus* the Patrician, the Son of *Constantine Caesar*, and Grandson of *Romanus* the Elder, together with *Peter*, another great Commander in the Army, he ordered with their forces to give a fresh charge, which was so warmly both given and received, that still the success remained absolutely uncertain: but *Anemas* lately mentioned, Son of the

In which
Sphendofthla-
bus is dif-
mounted and
the Roffian
overthrown.

Ameras of Crete, with a blow given upon the fide on the Head, beat Sphendofthlabus from his Horfe, and while he endeavour'd in vain to kill him, by reason of the ftrength of his Armour, was himfelf cut in pieces. At length the faint and flarved Roffians gave way to the stout and vigorous Romans, who put them to flight, and in the Purfuit through the Plains killed an innumerable Multitude of them, all the reft being alfo laid to be wounded. The Victours not afcribing the Victory all to themfelves, took notice that Heaven fought for them, by a Storm of Rain which blew fo violently upon the Faces of their Enemies, that they could not with their wonted Alacrity and Conduct manage the Fight. And much was afcribed to Theodorus the Martyr, on whose day the Battel happened, whom fome faid they faw fighting at the Head of the Army. And the Emperours Faith was herein fo ftrong and operative, that he repaired a Church dedicated to him, and the Name of the Town wherein it flood he changed from *Euchanea*, to *Theodoropolis*.

Which obliges
them to
fend to the
Emperour.

49. "Now Sphendofthlabus having herein fatisfied himfelf, that he had done all things becoming a prudent Man, for the maintenance of his caufe and Countrey, and that nothing fucceeded, betook himfelf to the laft refuge, of fending to the Emperour. But greater things he required, than one would judge to have been fuitable to his condition; as that on the publick Faith he might be received as a Friend and Ally of the Empire, that fuch Conduct fhould be granted to him and his Countreymen, to their own Homes, and that free Commerce fhould be eftablifhed betwixt the Nations. Thefe things he thought it prudence to ask, though not to ftand by them, but govern himfelf according to the humour and answer of Zimifces, who either weary of the War, or afraid farther to provoke a desperate Enemy, of whose courage he had had fufficient experience, granted what he ask'd, excufing it with this old faying, that *It was the Cuftome of Romans, to overcome more by kindnefs than force of Arms*. The Accord being made, he defired to come to an interview and difcource with the Emperour, which was alfo granted. It was covenanted that the *Patzinnace* fhould be comprized in the League, and for that purpofe the Emperour fhould fend to them, to fignifie that he would accept of them as Friends and Allies, and to defire free paffage for the *Roffi*, through their Territories to their own Countrey. The *Patzinnace* agreed to all except the free Paffage, but the *Roffi* in the cafe they were in, muft needs put them to the Trial. After their departure Zimifces fortified all the Towns and Caftles upon the River, and then returned to *Conftantinople*, where the Patriarch with his Clergy, the Senate and People received him with all expreffions of Joy imaginable. They met him with Crowns, and a Chariot drawn with four Horses fplendidly furnifhed, in which they would have him enter in folemn Triumph. But he would not admit of any of this, but bore himfelf very modeftly entering upon a white Horfe, and putting into the Chariot the Veftements of the *Bulgarian* Princes, and over them the Image of our Lady, as the Protectrefs of the City, which he ordered fhould go before him. Having in the Forum received the Acclamations of the Multitude, and finifhed his Devotions, in the fight of them all, he develt the *Borifes* of the Enfigns of Majefty which were a Golden Crown, a Silken Vefment and Purple Shoes, and then going to the Great Church offered the Crown, and there left it. Which done, he promoted *Borifes* to the Dignity of a *Magifter*, and fo departed to the Palace. In the mean time Sphendofthlabus, in his Return, paffing through the Countrey of the *Patzinnace* fell into the Ambufhes, laid by them for him, and was cut off with all his men; they objecting it as a Crime, that he had entered into League with the *Romans*.

Where he receives his Subjects from Heath-money.

A dreadful
fpectacle
appears.

50. But the Emperour farther to teftifie his Gratitude for his late Succels, re-edified the Church which flood upon the Arch of *Chalce*, fparing no Coft in the Workmanfhip. He eafed all his Subjects of the Smoke or Chimney-money, and gave order, that as well in the Golden Coins, as in the *Obolus*, the Image of our Saviour fhould be ftamped (which formerly had not been done) with this Infcription, *Iefus Chrift the King of Kings*, and this was afterward obferved by his Succellours. But to put him as well as other Mortals in mind, what Accidents and Inconftancy threaten humane Life, in the Month of *Auguft*, and the third Indiction appeared a Comet, which becaufe of its fhape of a Beard, and they were wont to call *Pogonia*, and it continued till the Eighth Month of the fourth Indiction, forebiewing as was afterward believed, the Death of the Emperour, and thofe Diftempers never to be cured, wherein the State by reason of Civil Wars was thenceforth involved. After this, Zimifces undertook an expedition againft

Zimifces
makes an expedition
as far as
Damasfus.

againft thofe Cities which having been Conquered by *Nicephorus*, had afterward revolted, and Travelling as far as *Damasfus*, fome by fair words, others by rough deeds he recovered, and having fetled all things according to his will, returned home. In his Journey as he paffed by *Anazarbabe*, *Podandus*, and other places, feeing there molt pleafant and fruitful grounds, he asked to whom they belonged. It was answered that they all belonged to *Bafilus*, the Prefident, who had obtained the poffeffion of them all, though part got by *Nicephorus*, other portions by this or that Domeltick of the Schools, and fome fhare by the Arms of Zimifces himfelf. Hereat he grew very fad, and perceiving the publick had got little by the Acceffion of thofe Territories, broke out into this expreffion; "My Companions, it's a very odd thing that the publick Treafure muft be wafted, and the Roman Armies undergo fuch difficulties, and yet whatfoever has been gained by fo much labour and expence, muft be ingrofled by one Eunuch. This was not fo well meant as ill taken by *Bafilus*, from whom confidering his place, it could not be hid, and thenceforth he refolved by fome means or other to make away the Emperour. This e'rlong he effected by procuring his Cupbearer for fome reward in prefent, and more in promife to give him Poifon, not fuch as fhould fpeedily kill, but by degrees in a Languifhing manner difpatch him, which carried him off yet e'er he reached *Conftantinople*, with the Symptoms of Carbuncles upon his Shoulders, and avoidance of much Bloud by his Eyes, after he had Reigned fix years fix Months and fomething more. An excellent Prince, who is onely guilty upon Record, for the Murder of his Predeceffour (however the Patriarch abfolved him) although as we may fee by frequent examples, fuch ambitious feeling after Sovereignty and Dominion, was fcarcely counted a Crime in thofe days.

But in his return
is Poifoned
by the procurement
of
Bafilus the
Prefident.

Bafilus and
Conftantine
fo. fucced.

Bardas Solerus
breaks out
into Rebellion
and ufurps.

51. *Bafilus* and *Conftantine* the Sons of *Romanus*, according to his own Deftination, fucceeded him in the month of *December*, the fourth Indiction, *A. D. DCCCCLXXXVI*. Now our Authours fpeak more probably of their Age than formerly, that the one was about twenty, and the other three years younger. They bore the Name, but all the Power ftill refided in *Bafilus* the Prefident, who prefently to ingratiate himfelf with them and their Mother, fent a Pinnace and fetcch her out of Banifhment. To provide againft the Ufurpations of others, he had greateft caufe to fufpect *Bardas Solerus*, who had already been guilty that way, and had narrowly efaped the lofing of his eyes, but at prefent Commanded all the Forces of the Eaft, by which advantage he might eafily perfwade the Souldiers to any thing he pleafed. The Command of the Eaft therefore he took from him, and gave him the Government of *Mefopotamia*, with orders to refrain the Incursions of the *Saracens*. In like manner he dealt with *Michael Burtzas* for the fame reason; and to draw him from the company and Neighbourhood of *Bardas*, made him Governour of *Antioch* upon *Orontes*; and the Command of all the Forces in the Eaft was given to one *Peter*, formerly the Servant of *Phocas*, an Eunuch, but a Man of much valour and experience. Hereat *Bardas* was exceedingly enraged, foas he could not refrain himfelf, but fell into grievous invectives and reproachfull words againft *Bafilus*, who for all that was not moved, but admonifhed him to quiet himfelf, and fettle to the bufinefs enjoined, or elfe expect to be deprived of all Command whatfoever, and confined to his Houfe. Hereupon he departed into his Province, and having broken his Defign to fome Officers of the Army, refolved to break into Rebellion, knowing all the Souldiers to be at his Devotion. But his Son *Romanus* was at *Conftantinople*, and therefore he durft not attempt any thing till he had got him thence, which he effected by the Induftry and Diffimulation of one *Anthes*, who coming to the City, fpake all bitter things againft him, and fo paffing for his Enemy, had opportunity to ftal away the Youth. Then did he openly affume the Title and Habit, and was faluted Emperour by his whole Army, the *Armenians* herein giving example to the reft.

Joining with
the Saracens
proceeds to-
wards Con-
ftantinople.

52. For maintaining what he had now done, and going through with his Enterprize, he feized upon all Collectours of the publick Revenue he could, and conftained them to pay it to his Officers. Such as were rich he forced to contribute, and many there were who in hope of receiving it back with good Advantage, voluntarily fent him in large fums of Money, all which he laid up for a Referve in a certain Caftle of *Mefopotamia*, called *Charpote*, where he placed as ftrong a Garrifon as the concern required. With his Neighbours the *Saracens* he contracted Friendfhip, which was ftrengthened by clofer Alliances and Marriage, by virtue of which he received from the two *Ameras* of **Amida* met.

* Saracens
met.

and * *Mityropolis* much money, besides three hundred *Arabian* Horses for a supply. Thus furnished in the beginning of Spring, and farther encouraged by a Dream of a certain Monk, he set forward for *Constantinople*, whither the Report flying disturbed both the Emperours and all men that were not delighted with change, and loved to fish in troubled waters. Orders are dispatched to *Peter* to have the Army in a readiness, to Rendezvous at *Cæsarea*, and *Stephen Synellus* the Bishop of *Nicomedia* is sent to *Bardas*, by his Eloquence, if possible, to persuade him to desist. But all he could say not in the least shook the Determination of the Usurper, who to make a short Answer to his long Oration, thrust out his right Foot, and shewing him his Purple shoe, told him, that "He that had once worn that colour abroad, and in the sight of People, could not be easily induced to put it off, and bid him tell those that "snt him, that if they would not freely admit him for Emperour, he would endeavour to establish himself as such whether they would or no. This Answer returned, command was sent to *Peter*, that he should not begin the War, but watch and observe *Bardas*, secure the Passages, and make resistance if Attacked. Accordingly he stopped up the ways, and after some bickering of small Parties, they came to Encamp one against the other. *Bardas* now shewed himself backward to Fight, till some convinced him that he injured himself by delays, which would most certainly bring him into contempt, and cause his Friends to fall off from him.

53. Convinced by this Reason he dislodged, and in the space of three days marched into *Lapara*, called afterwards *Lycandus*, a Part of *Cappadocia*; and *Peter*, lest he should be prevented, followed after night and day, and thither came up close to him. Yet neither of them had any mind to fight, but endeavoured by wiles to circumvent each other, in which craft, *Bardas* was superior after this manner. He caused meat to be prepared as if all the Army was to take Refreshment, but yet commanded every Man to be ready to Fight. This perceived by the Enemies they also fell to Eating, as concluding that for that day they might take their ease, and there would not be any Engagement. In this posture he fell upon them, and though they flew to their Arms and made stout resistance yet perceiving they should be compassed about by his two Wings, and the Mercenaries he had ordered to fall on their Backs, they ran away, and with the first *Bartzas* the Governour of *Antioch*, whether for fear or out of design is uncertain. Many were killed, and *Bardas* took their Baggage wherein was much treasure found. Thence he removed, and took in a City called *Tsamandus*, and by this success got such reputation that many came over to him, and took his part, as *Bartzas* we now mentioned, *Andronicus* a Patritian, *Lydus* an Officer in the Army, and the inhabitants of *Attala* laid hands on *Michael Curtices*, the Commander of the Emperour's Fleet, which they carried all to *Bardas*, and from him received orders under his command, to make War against the *Cibyrræotæ*. These things being reported at Court, it was there resolved, that some of the Emperour's Friends should be invested with absolute or imperial power to give, grant and act whatsoever he should think convenient for the suppression of this Usurper. Against him then was created, *Dilator* (as we may Term him) *Leo* the *Protovestriarius* and one *John* a Patritian a very eloquent and eminent man was sent with him as an assistant or Councillour. Joining with *Peter* at *Cotyacius* a place of *Phrygia* he first essayed secretly by great promises to draw the most considerable Persons from *Bardas*, but all his Art this way was so far from doing any good, that it confirmed them in an Opinion of his weakness and of his Inability to proceed any other way.

54. Finding this project to fail him, by the night time he gave *Bardas* the go-by, and held on his course toward the East, which marvellously perplexed those about the Usurper, both in that they feared their Treasure, and also were solicitous for their Relations, left behind them in those parts. And this consideration fo wrought with them, that many departed and fled to *Leo*; *Bardas* his affairs were brought into that posture, that he had just cause to fear that all his Forces would speedily fall away and disperse themselves. There was no way therefore but one; to send *Bartzas* and *Romanus Taronita* a Patritian, two that he could trust to stop the course of *Leo*, by continual Allarms, sudden on-sets and intercepting his Provisions, yet so as to be sure not to venture a set Battle. But they were forced to break their orders. For News was brought that betwixt the two Armies were shortly to pass some *Saracens* who were carrying the Annual

Tribut.

Tribute, due from the Eastern *Berræa* to *Constantinople*, which would fall as a certain Prize to those that could compass it, and therefore the Souldiers were not to be restrained. It occasion'd an Engagement, wherein *Bartzas* was beaten, and many of his Men were slain, especially the *Armenians*, to whom no Quarter would be given, because they first revolted to *Bardas*. He having notice how matters went, halted with the Body of his Army, and incamped, as conveniently as he could against *Leo*, expecting a fit opportunity to engage. But *Leo* was wary and drew out the time in length, which he was encouraged to do, finding that his strength increased by the daily coming over of some or other to him. And the opinion of the Elder and Wiser about him was, that by delay he should still manage his Matters; but those of the younger and hotter sort were all for fighting, and as we are apt to yield to the worst, he suffered himself to be overruled, and to give Battle. *Bardas* divided his Forces into three Parts, whereof he himself led the middle Battel, to his Brother *Constantine* he assigned the right, and to *Constantine* the Son of *Gabras* the left Wing. They had not long engaged when *Leo*'s Souldiers, not able to sustain the violence of his Horse, placed at each Wing, gave ground and occasion to a total Defeat, which immediately followed. *John* the Patritian was killed, and *Peter* the Master of the Camp, with many other persons of great Quality. *Leo*, with several other men of Office and Dignity was taken Prisoner. He was committed to Custody; but the Eyes of *Theodorus* and *Nicetas Hagiozacharita*, two Brothers, at the Head of the Army were digged out, because they had broken their Oaths and fallen off to *Leo*.

55. This Victory so exceedingly advanced the Interest of *Bardas*, that the whole Empire seemed now at his Devotion. But *Basilus* the President, was all this while very intent upon his business, and though he neglected no means for increasing the Land Forces, yet his especial care was for setting out a strong Fleet; for *Michael Curtices* the General of *Bardas*, had wasted almost all the Islands, and was shortly expected at *Abydus* in the *Hellepont*, which must needs cause *Constantinople* itself to tremble. Having made all preparations the time would give him leave, he sent out the Navy under Command of *Theodorus Caratenus*, a Patritian, who finding out *Curtices* at *Phocæa*, fought with and defeated him, by which means the Seas were all cleared. Then *Basilus* applying himself wholly to the War by Land, sent away *Manuel Eroticus* to command the City of *Nice*, the *Metropolis* of *Bithynia*, against which in a short time after *Bardas* shewed himself and fell upon it with all violence. But not able to Master it, so vigorous and successful was the resistance which *Manuel* made, he resolved to starve him out, and from his hands forced him to betake himself to his Wits, so much were the Inhabitants pressed with want. He caused the Granaries therefore of the City to be filled with Sand, and Corn to be strowed so thick upon it, that the Sand could not be discovered by the Eye. Then did he shew to some Prisoners he had the said Granaries, and bragged how able he was by that means to hold out; but withall signified, that if he and those with him might have leave honourably to depart, he would quit the place. This was not unwelcome News to *Bardas*, who upon report of the full Granaries, granted them such Conditions as they desired, and so with Bag and Baggage they marched out, and went to *Constantinople*. Thus *Bardas* became Master of *Nice*, but in such a way, and by such means, as he was ashamed to own. However, he put a strong Garrison into the Town, under Command of one *Pegasius*, and then attended his other Affairs.

56. *Basilus* the President perceiving his matters now desperate, *Bardas* being shortly expected at *Constantinople*, betook himself to his last refuge in making use of a Person to which Necessity alone could oblige him. This was *Bardas Phocas* whom for this purpose he speedily recalled out of Exile, and judging him the only Person he could oppose to his Nameake, received of him an Oath of Fidelity to the Emperours, and conferring on him the Dignity of a *Magister*, made him Domestick of the Schools, and committed the War to his management. *Phocas* having received Power and Instructions, indeavoured to pass over to *Abydus*; but finding *Romanus* the Son of *Sclerus* to command the *Hellepont*, returned to *Constantinople*, and there light of a Vessel which waited him over to the opposite Shore, whence travelling by Night, he came to *Cæsarea*, and there joining himself with *Eustathius Maleinus* and *Michael Bartzas*, who had again turned to the Emperour's side, and gathering what Forces he could together, went on to *Amorium*. *Sclerus* having notice of his Arrival, now concluded, that he was to deal with his Match, not with Eunuchs and Effeminate Persons, and to *Amorium* he

Ggg

marched,

But in a Battle is also overthrown.

The Sea cleared of the Usurper's force.

But by Land he obtains the City of Nice.

Which causes Bardas Phocas to be recalled and made General.

Meeting the Emperour's Army by Stratagem they overcome them.

Upon which Leo as Dictator is appointed to supersede him.

Who is twice
worried by
Sclerus.

marched, where coming to an Engagement, the Forces of *Phocas* being disheartened by the Defeats they had lately received, failed of Courage and Success, and were driven out of the Field, yet so as the Retreat was very fair and leisurely, *Phocas* himself bringing up the Rere and facing about and charging the Pursuers as he had advantage. He got away to the Castle of *Charfianus*, and there refreshed his men, and received many that came to him upon the Emperor's Account, whom he promoted according to their Qualifications. *Sclerus* was not long behind him, but coming and incamping not far off provoked him to fight, who as readily consenting, they joined Battel again, wherein *Phocas* had the worst, not being able to make his men stand their ground, though with his Poll-axe in his Hand he rode about to the several Ranks, and killed many of the Enemies, discharging all Offices both of an expert Commander and valiant Souldier.

But in the
third Engage-
ment obtains
the Victory.

57. After this Defeat he went into *Iberia*, where he desired and obtained a supply from *David* the Prince of that Countrey, with whom he had contracted a particular Friendship when formerly he commanded *Chaldia*. Joyning these Forces with the remainders of his own, which he had rallied, he marched to *Pancalea*, a large Plain lying upon the River *Halys*, to seek out his Enemy, who there lay incamped. Another bloody Contention followed, wherein *Phocas* perceiving his men again to give ground resolved to endure no longer the ignominy of being beaten, but elyping *Sclerus*, ran violently at him with purpose to kill or be killed. But *Sclerus* was so aware of him that he fetch'd the first stroke, some say with his Poll-axe, and others with his Sword, which missing him, cut off one of the Ears of his Horse, and his Bridle in sunder. *Phocas* his hand was more steady, who gave the other such a blow upon his Helmet as struck him down upon the Neck of his Horse, which done he galloped up to an Hill and retrained the flight of his Souldiers. *Sclerus* dazed with the stroke, and fainting, was by his Followers carried to a Fountain to have his wound cleansed, who concluded that *Phocas* and his Cause were both now lost, and therefore were the more careless. Not taking heed to their Master's Horse when they had taken him off, he got loose and with his Main all bloody ran amongst the Souldiers, who thereupon concluding that the Rider their General was slain, instead of pursuing, ran away themselves, and that with such fear and haste, that some tumbled down Precipices, and others took the River and therein were drowned, while *Phocas* to his great amazement beholding what happened and looking upon it as an extraordinary mercy from Heaven, took the Advantage offered him of giving the Chace and obtaining an unexpected Victory. *Sclerus* with a few escaped and got to *Martyropolis*, whence he sent his Brother *Constantine* to *Chosroes* the Prince of *Babylon*, to desire his Friendship and Assistance. *Chosroes* making delay, and neither granting his Request nor returning a denial, when his Brother came not back with any answer, he himself went thither with all his men. The Emperor *Basilus* being informed by *Phocas* of his late success, and how *Sclerus* was gone to *Babylon*, sent an Ambassadour to *Chosroes* the *Amerrummes*, desiring him to consider, as he was a Prince, of what ill example and consequence it might prove to harbour and protect Rebels, and Letters were written also to *Sclerus* and those about him, offering them free pardon for what was past, if they would return to obedience, and every man to his own Home, which when *Chosroes* understood, not thinking himself fairly dealt with, he committed both the Ambassadour and *Sclerus* to Custody. Such of his Party as did not accompany *Sclerus* to *Babylon*, seized upon one or two strong Castles in the Province of *Thrace*, whence for some considerable time they made excursions into the neighbouring Territories, and did much mischief, till by *Nicephorus Parsacutinus* a Patritian, upon promise of Indemnity from the Emperor, they were persuaded to desist, and were brought in.

Sclerus flying
to *Babylon*,

Is there com-
mitted into
Custody.

The *Bulgari-
ans* invade the
Western parts
of the Empire.

58. Such was the Issue hitherto of the Rebellion of *Bardas Sclerus*; how matters went in the mean time in the Western Parts of the Empire, we must now discover. The *Bulgarians*, notwithstanding all the pains of *Zimisce*, in that Countrey continued no longer in obedience than he in life. Not long after his Death, resolving to be governed by those of their own blood, they committed the supreme Power to four Brothers, *David*, *Moses*, *Aaron* and *Samuel*, called common-ly *Comeropoli*, because they were the Sons of an eminent Count amongst them. For of the stock of *Peter* none was left whom they could prefer. His two Sons *Borises* and *Romanus*, that were, as we said, brought to *Constantinople*, had thence upon the death of *Zimisce* made their escape back into *Bulgaria*. But *Borises* passing through a Wood in a Roman Habit, was killed by a certain *Bulgarian*, who took him for one of that Nation: *Romanus* indeed was alive, and returned home

time

Upon which
Basilus the
Emperor en-
ters *Bulgaria*.

But in his re-
turn looses his
Baggage, &c.

A great Earth-
quake.

Bardas Phocas
saluted Empe-
rour.

time after to *Constantinople*, but he was an Eunuch, having been gelt by *Joseph*, that eminent Bedchamber man, formerly mentioned. Now of all these four Brothers *David* died presently after. *Moses* in the Siege of a place called *Serræ* was killed by a blow given with a Stone, and *Aaron* being suspected to favour the *Romans*, was by *Samuel* murdered with all his Children, one *Blackstibius* excepted, called also *John*, who was preserved by *Kadomer* (otherwise also named *Romanus*) the Son of *Samuel*. This *Samuel* was a man of a restless disposition, a very good Souldier, and while the Empire was sufficiently intangled with the War against *Sclerus*, plagued all the West with his Incurfions, not only *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, with the Parts near to *Thessalonica*, but *Thessaly* also, *Greece*, and *Poloponnesus*, and took many strong Holds, the chief whereof was *Larissa*, the Inhabitants of which with their whole Families he transported into *Bulgaria*, inrolled them amongst his Souldiers, and used them against the *Romans*.

59. Matters thus standing with the *Bulgarians*, the Emperor *Basilus*, as soon as the business with *Sclerus* was over, began to reflect upon his own Power, and resolved now he was of years sufficient to undertake the War against them upon his own score, to shew he was in a condition to be out of Pupillage. Without acquainting *Phocas*, though the Domestick of the Schools, or any other of the Capitans of the East, he invaded *Bulgaria*, through the Countries, lying near *Rhodope* and the River *Eurus*, leaving *Leo Melissenus* behind him to secure the Straits, whilst he coming about by the difficult Passages and Woods, lying near to *Triadiza*, or as it was in old time called *Sardica*, came into a place known by the Name of *Stoeponium*, resolving to lay Siege immediately to *Sardica*, being the more encouraged so to doe because *Samuel* was reported, out of fear, to keep himself in the mountainous Parts of the Countrey, not daring to come down, but when he saw he had an Advantage by Stratagem or Ambush to effect something considerable. But while he prepared for this Siege, *Stephen* the Domestick of the Schools of the West, for the smallness of his Stature called *Contosephanus*, but a very great Enemy to *Leo Melissenus*, came to him by Night, and with most vehement words persuaded him to set all other Considerations aside, and return with speed to *Constantinople*, because *Melissenus* had a Design to usurp, and for that purpose was hastening toward the City. The Emperor easily frightened with such a Story gave orders for the Army to march, and then *Samuel* seeing his time, fell upon them as a flying Enemy, and put them to flight indeed, taking all their Baggage, and therein the Emperor's Ensigns of Majesty, who with much ado got through the Straits, and escaped to *Philippopolis*. There he found *Leo* at his Station intending diligently what had been injoy'n'd him, whereupon sensible how they had both been abused, he reviled *Contosephanus* as a Liar and Authour of 'o great Infamy as this ridiculous Expedition must needs procure, and *Stephen* demeaning himself very arrogantly, and endeavouring to defend what he had done, he leapt down from his Seat, and catching fast hold of him by his Locks and Beard pulled him down to the ground.

60. A great Earthquake happened after this in the Month of *October*, and the twelfth year of the Emperor *Basilus*, and *Constantine*, of whom we hear little or nothing, being wholly given up to Idleness and Pleasure, and willingly leaving all to the management of his Brother, who now casting off his former Neglect, took matters into his own Hands, and seriously applied himself to business. By the Earthquake were not only many Churches and private Buildings overturned, but also part of the Globe of the Great Church, which he magnificently repaired with so great expence, that the very Scaffolding stood him in ten Centenaries of Gold. But his late Expedition into *Bulgaria* had that operation upon several of the Nobility, especially *Bardas Phocas*, that thinking themselves exceedingly neglected in that he would not consult with them, and thence taking a measure of what they must expect from him in time to come. Some two Months before the Earthquake in the Month of *October*, meeting at the House of *Eustathius Malenusius*, who had been ignominiously dismissed the Service, at *Charfianum* they proclaimed the said *Phocas* Emperor, giving him a Diadem, and investing him with the other Imperial Ornaments. At the same time word was brought that *Sclerus* (whom *Baronius* strangely makes the same with *Phocas*, writing that *Sclerus Bardas*, firnamed *Phocas*, was this year Proclaimed and Crowned Emperor) was *Roged ad rei* coming out of *Syria* being delivered out of his Prison at *Babylon* upon this occasion *periret Ori-*
entis, invoca-
lescente bello

Civili, Sclerus Baida Cognomento Phocas Tyrannus, Imperator ac coronatur. Basilus ad A. D. 907. num. 4.

The Persians endeavour to call off the Yoke of the Saracens.

The Nation of the Persians being subdued and enslaved by the Saracens, endured the Yoke with much Reluctancy and Repining, and the most Noble and Potent of them were watching but for a fit opportunity to shake it off. Of these one *Inargus* more concerned himself than all others, being of a great Family, very Eloquent, and a Complete Souldier, who observing *Chofroes* very imprudently and negligently to manage his Affairs, resolved not to let slip such an Advantage, but drew to revolt all the *Achæmonides* or *Achæmenides*, a Part of *Perfia*, and hired twenty thousand of the Eastern Turks (so they term them, as the *Hunni* or *Hungarians* the Western) and then openly makes War, killing all the Saracens wherever he could light on them. *Chofroes* often in Person, and as often by his Officers engaged with him in Fight, but still came off with loss, which struck such terror into his Souldiers, that they could not endure to hear a Persian named. This made him think of his Romans now in durance, and to consider, that were not *Sclerus* a man very considerable, as well for skill in War and Courage as other Matters, he could never have waged war with the Emperor, nor brought him to such Straits as he did, nor would so many Noblemen have sided with him, and given him the Title. Communicating his thoughts with his Council, he delivered him out of Prison, and after much Carefing of him, desired that he would undertake the War against the Persians.

61. *Sclerus* at first pretended an Averseness, affirming that He and his Fellows being kept so long in Prison, were thereby rendered unfit for Employment of that Nature. But *Chofroes* promising him ample recompence for the Injury that had been done him, with much Treasure and great Force for carrying on the War, he undertook it, yet so as he would not meddle with the Arabians, Saracens or other Subjects of *Chofroes*, but desired that the Prisons of Syria might be opened, and all Roman Captives set at Liberty, with whom and no other Army he would do his work. By this means, getting together about three thousand Men, he caused them by bathing and other ways to recover their former strength, and new clothing and arming them, led them against the Persians, whom by a manner of fighting unusual to them, and especially by the Violence and Courage of his Souldiers he totally defeated, so that scarcely remained any to carry away the News, and *Inargus* himself fell in the Crowd. Now the Romans enriched with great booty, and many Horses would by no means return to *Chofroes*, but taking the Road that led into the Territories of the Empire, by great Journeys without the Knowledge of the Saracens, they escaped thither. Thus some reported. Others affirmed that they went back to *Chofroes*, were courteously received by him, and that dying not long after he gave Order to his Son to conduct them with Honour and Safety, into their own Country. And a third story they were getting away without his Knowledge, he sent after them a great Multitude to bring them back, with which they fought, and reducing them to a smaller Number than themselves, such slaughter they made, then without any opposition prosecuted their Journey.

62. However it was, *Sclerus* with his Followers got safe into the Territories of the Empire, where understanding how *Bardas Phocas* had also assumed the Title, he found himself much at a Loss what to do. To make himself sole Emperor, he was not sufficiently provided, and to join himself either to *Basilus* or the other he esteemed a mean thing, and below him, and should he take the Part of one and make the other his Enemy, it might prove a matter of great danger, therefore he resolved to give words to both, and so ingratiate himself with the one, that he should not disoblige the other. To *Phocas* he sent and offered to suppress *Basilus*, and share the Empire with him, but secretly at the same time he caused his Son *Romanus* to go to the Emperor at Constantinople, under pretence of running away and revolting, with this Design, that if *Phocas* got the better, the Father should intercede for and bring off his Son, and if *Basilus* overcame, his Son should make the Father's Peace. *Romanus* was kindly received, preferred to the Dignity of a *Magister*, became a great Favourite and a Counsellor to *Basilus* in his Wars, who had now taken all matters out of the Hands of *Basilus* the President, and fearful that for his so doing, he might as he had done to others practise something against him, had removed him from Court to his own House. There perceiving that he was very unsatisfied, and turbulent, and was hatching some Design for recovery of his Power, he banished him, and seized upon most of his vast Estate both to enrich himself, and hinder him from attempting any new matters. The Monastery lately built by him, he rifled, and seized on all his Curiosities, which so afflicted the old Man, that he pin'd away and died.

Basilus

Upon which *Sclerus* and the Romans in Syria are out of Prison.

Who engage and defeat the Persians.

And return into the Empire.

Cajoling *Phocas*, and sending his Son to *Basilus* the Emperor.

Achæmonia pars Persidis
pars *Achæmonie*
sive *Ægypti* sic
dicta, ut ait
Stephanus. *Achæmones* autem erat Rex *Perfarum*, nomen regis *Ammari*, Rex *Regium* imperatoris finis.

Sclerus and *Phocas* make an Agreement.

But when joyed *Phocas* repents him and commits him to custody putting in for the whole

But is possessed by Procurement of *Basilus*.

Who in effect is sole Emperor. *Constantine* indulging himself in ease and pleasure.

Sclerus is set at Liberty.

But by Agreement with *Basilus* quits his pretensions.

Basilus being rid of him, and wanting some to assist and advise him, the more welcome received *Romanus*, knowing him to be both a prudent Man, and an excellent Souldier.

63. In the mean time an Agreement was made between *Sclerus* and *Phocas*, on these terms, that their Designs succeeding, *Sclerus* should for his share have *Antioch*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, *Caloglyria*, *Mesopotamia* and *Egypt*; and *Phocas* obtain *Constantinople*, with the rest of the Provinces. This was confirmed by oath on both sides, and *Sclerus* joined himself with *Phocas* in *Cappadocia*, for the better carrying on of the War. But *Phocas* watching his Advantage, spoiled him of the Imperial Ensigns and then committed him to Custody, which done he prevailed with his Souldiers to fight under him, and now seeming to himself to have sufficiently provided for his Interest, sent one *Calocyrus Delphinus* a Patritian, with part of his Army to *Chrysopolis*, over against *Constantinople*, on the shore of *Afia*, and with the rest of the Forces he himself removed to *Abydus*, by this means to block up *Constantinople*. *Basilus* by this time had received some Succours from the *Rossians*, to the Prince of whom, *Bladimere*, he had married his Sister *Anne*. With these *Rossians* by Night having waited over, he fell unexpectedly upon *Delphinus*, easily overpowered and took him Prisoner, whom he caused instantly to be nailed to a Post and having animadverted as he thought fit upon the rest, that he there took, then returned to *Constantinople*. In the mean while *Phocas*, with might and main endeavoured to get into *Abydus*, but the Inhabitants made stout resistance, being encouraged by *Cyriacus* the *Drungarius* of the Fleet, who was sent thither for that purpose. But presently *Constantine* the Emperor passed over, and was soon followed by his Brother *Basilus*, whom *Phocas* with part of his Forces speedily encountered, leaving the rest to continue the Siege of *Abydus*. Before the Armies joined doubtful of the Event, and perceiving *Basilus* to ride up and down, to view the Troops, give directions and animate his Men, he resolved to single him out and kill him, by which Act seeming not at all difficult, their years and experience considered, he should put an end to the Quarrel, and secure the Empire to himself. Accordingly with all his Force he made towards him, but stopped in his Carrière, before he came near to the Emperor. Some reported his Horse threw him: the Emperor *Constantine* gave out that he fell by his Hand, but the general and most received opinion was that making toward an Hill near at hand, finding himself surprized he laid him down and died of Poison, which by procurement of *Basilus*, one *Simeon* a Servant whom he most trusted had given him, although it was also given out, that in his Passage from the Hand of some Enemy he received a mortal wound. At first it was only imagined that he there rested himself, but when he was found to be dead, and the Rumour was thereof spread into the Army, his Men then fled in disorder, and the Emperor's giving the Chace obtained a Victory at a very easy rate. Amongst the Prisoners were *Leo*, and *Theognostus Melissen*, *Theodosius Melanctylus* and many others whom *Basilus* led in Triumph, being set upon Asses. Only *Leo Melissen* he exempted from this Ignominy, because when the Armies were preparing for Bartel, he rebuked with Tears his Brother *Theognostus* for reviling the Emperours, and beat him when he would not cease his contumelious Language.

64. *Basilus* finding himself now Emperor indeed, upon the removal of such a Competitor, with his Fortune quite changed his Humour, scarcely thinking or doing what he had been accustomed to before. Considering what solicitude and pains his place required, he quitted all his former pleasures, left off all his brave apparel, renounced his wonted Intemperance both as to Wine and Women, and applied his mind wholly to the Art and Practice of Government, wherein he left nothing to his Brother but the mere Name and Lustre, assigning him a Guard, but that very small, and not answering the Dignity, which he did not at all take in evil Part, contenting himself with his Freedom and Ease, and prizing his Hunting and Conversation with his Friends, above whatever Domination and troublesome Command could afford. But *Phocas* being dead in the Month of April, the second Indiction, and the fourteenth year of *Basilus* and *Constantine*, *Sclerus* was thereupon set at Liberty, by such as kept him in the Castle of *Tyropæum*, and continued in the same mind of assuming the Title as formerly. *Basilus* laboured to take him off, expoliating with him for embroiling the Empire, and being the cause of so much Blood-shed contrary to his Christian Profession; and herewith he was so much moved, or rather by consideration of his great Age, and the little means he had to compass his ends, that having received security for his Indemnity, and the Dignity of *Cæsar*, he made an Agreement,

and

Basilus puts out the Eyes of 1500, sending them to Samuel, who then dies.

Gabriel kills Lucius him.

But is killed by John.

Basilus pursues his Victory.

At length comes to Thessalonica.

Another invasion into Bulgaria.

Taking several of the Noblemen of the Country.

Upon which they pretend to submit to the Emperor.

and renewed skirmishes, horfed his Father and carried him off into the Castle of *Philaps*. Of all the Prisoners to the Number, it's said, of fifteen thousand the Emperor caused the Eyes to be put out, and to every Hundred assigned a man that had one Eye left, under conduct of which Leaders he sent them away to *Samuel*, who beholding such a Spectacle coming to him in such Rank and Order was not able to bear up against so great a Calamity, but instantly fell down in a swoon. Those that were by with Spirits, and other things at hand, did what they could to recover him, and he came to himself again, and asked for some cold Water. Which having drunk, he fell into a *Cardiognus*, or Pain and Faintness at his Stomach, and died of it two Days after.

74. *Gabriel* who was also surnamed *Romanus* his Son, by a Captive Woman of *Larissa*, succeeded him, one superiour to him in strength of Body, but in that of mind far inferiour. When he had not reigned all-out a year, he was as he went out to hunt, killed by *John Bladisiblabus* the Son of *Aaron*, whose Life he had once preserved. But before this happened, one *Nestoritzas* was sent by *Samuel*, with a considerable Force into *Thessalonica*, in the Government of which City, one *Theophylast Botaniata* had succeeded *David Arianita*. This *Theophylast* with his Son *Michael*, sallied out against him, put him to flight, and having got much Plunder in his Camp, then went to the Emperor as he lay in the Straits. Having passed the Straits and followed the Chace after *Samuel*, as far as he thought convenient, *Basilus* took in a Castle called *Matzucius*, and then passed on toward *Strumpitza*, from which place desirous to have a way cleared to *Thessalonica*, he put *Theophylast* upon that task, to clear the Hills of Fortresses, and open the ways through the Woods, and he undertook the work with all Alacrity, and prosecuted it with diligence, but was intrapped and compassed by the Enemy, in a place where there was neither means of escaping, nor good opportunity to fight, and cut off with most of his Men. The Emperor much troubled at the News durst not proceed but retreated, and in his way had a very strong Castle called *Melenicus*, through the powerful Oratory of *Sergius* an Eunuch, whom he employed to the Garrison Souldiers, delivered up into his Hands. Having kindly entertained those that gave it up, and therein put a strong Party of his own Men, he removed to *Molympolis*, where on the four and twentieth Day of *October*, he heard of *Samuel's* death. Thence marching to *Thessalonica*, he moved into *Pelagonia* without doing any harm to the Countrey, save that he burnt *Buteliana* the Palace of *Gabriel*, and took in the Castles of *Prilaps* and *Stypeius*. Then passed he the River *Tzerna*, with Boats and Bladders as he could and came to *Budena*, whence on the Ninth day of *January*, he arrived at *Thessalonica*.

75. At the beginning of Spring he again invaded *Bulgaria*, where having recovered the Castle of *Budena* which had revolted, he caused two Castles to be built in the middle of the Straits, one by the Name of *Cardia*, and another by that of *St. Elias*, and returned to *Thessalonica*. As he here lay, one *Romanus Cheirotmetus* brought him Letters from *Gabriel*, wherein he promised to turn his Subject and Vassal; but he giving no credit to them, sent *Xiphias* and *Constantine Diogenes* at present the Governour of *Thessalonica*, with an Army into the Countrey of the *Moglenians*, which having wasted and laid Siege to the City, he himself came up with the rest of the Forces, and by a Ditch caused the River to be drained from the Walls, the Foundations whereof when he had undermined the Inhabitants with Lamentations and Prayers, gave up what they could not keep. Therein were taken *Domitianus Caucasus*, the principal Counsellor of *Gabriel*, with *Elitzes* the chief Man of the Countrey, besides many other Noblemen, and a multitude of the inferiour sort of Souldiers, of which such as were fit for service he transported to *Aspracania*, and caused to be burnt a Neighbouring Castle called *Natia*. On the fifth day after came *Cheirotmetus*, bringing with him some of the Servants of *John Bladisiblabus*, the Son of *Aaron*, with Letters to the Emperor, wherein he signified that he had taken away the Life of *Gabriel*, and that the Kingdom of *Bulgaria*, now was reverted to him who should own himself his Subject and Vassal. *Basilus* returned him an Answer in Golden Characters, after which within a little time, *Cheirotmetus* returned and brought with him not only Letters from *John*, but from the *Bulgarians* who owned themselves the Emperor's Subjects. And to him came *Caucasus*, the Brother of *Domitian Caucasus* lately mentioned, and was honourably entertained.

Another Expedition into Bulgaria.

The Region of Chazaria subdued.

Upper Media put into the Emperor's Hands.

Bulgaria once more invaded by the Emperor.

76. But for all this the Emperor being assured, that *John* dealt deceitfully with him, and was practising matters quite contrary to his engagements returned into *Bulgaria*, and wasting the Countrey of *Ofrobis*, *Gosens* and *Pelagonia*, put out the Eyes of as many of the Inhabitants as he took. He proceeded to *Acbris*, the Seat of the *Bulgarian* Princes, which having taken and settled all things there, he resolved to go to *Dyrrachium*, where matters very much required his Presence. So long as *Trymalia*, and the nearer Parts of *Servia* continued under the Government of *Bladimere* the Son-in-Law of *Samuel*, all things were there in repose, for he was a man very just, and a great lover of Peace and Vertue, but he being (through the Treachery of *David* the Archbishop) perfidiously murdered by his Command, after *Gabriel's* Death all were in great confusion and disorder, *John* sometimes by his Officers, and otherwhiles in his own Person falling upon the City. The Emperor purposed to visit them again, but for this time was prevented of his Journey upon this unpleasing occasion. He had left behind him a strong Party to harass all the Parts of *Pelagonia*, all which the *Bulgarians* having drawn into an Ambush, cut them off with their Commanders, being headed by *Ibatzes* a man of great Nobility, and as great Valour amongst them. *Basilus* much concerned for this ignominious loss, returns into *Pelagonia* in pursuit of this *Ibatzes*, and from *Thessalonica* proceeds to *Molympolis*. He sends *David Arianita*, with a sufficient Power to attack *Strumpitza*, who in room of it takes another Castle called *Thermitza*. Another Party he dispatches away under command of *Xiphias*, to take in the several Forts of *Triaditza*, and all those in the plain he took together with a Fort which they called *Boion*.

77. In *January* the Emperor returned to *Constantinople*, and thence sent a Fleet into *Chazaria* commanded by *Mongus* the Son of *Andronicus* Ducas the *Lydian*, who by the assistance of *Spengus* the Brother of *Bladimer*, who married *Basilus* his Sister, subdued that Region, having taken *Tzulus* the Prince thereof in the first Conflict. At the same time *Senacherrimus* the Prince of the upper *Media* (afterward called *Aspracavia*) not able to resist the *Saracens* who pressed sorely upon him, gave up himself, his Family and Countrey into the Emperor's Hands. Hereupon for a reward he was made a Patritian, and in lieu of his quitted Dominion received the Cities of *Sebastea*, *Larissa* and *Abara*, with other large Revenues. Of *Aspracavia* was made Governour, *Basilus* *Argyus* the Patritian, who for his ill administration or bad success was not long after put out of Command, and *Nicephorus Comnenus* was sent his Successor, who partly by force and partly by persuasion brought the Countrey to submit. But all other Designs, Expeditions and Accessions seemed to the Emperor of no value, so long as *Bulgaria* remained unconquered, which having invaded so often in his own Person, he was much concerned in honour to have the work perfected, and for that purpose could give himself but little rest. This same year being the fourteenth Indiction, he marched again into *Triaditza*, where he laid siege to the Castle of *Pernicus*, which he lay before and violently attacked for eighty days together, but those within as earnestly and pertinaciously making resistance after much loss of his men, he was forced to rise, and departed to *Molympolis*. Here having wintred and refreshed his Army, in Spring again he breaks into *Bulgaria*, where he takes a Castle and gets great booty out of *Pelagonia*, but having in vain attacked the City of *Castoria*, he retreats. That which moved him so to do, was the Intelligence he had receiv'd, that *Cracas* was joyned with *John* having a vast Army, and that being assisted by the *Patzinaca*, they were resolved to make an Inroad into the Territories of the Empire. Disturbed at this report he retired, but in his way took and burnt the Castle of *Bosograda*, relieved *Berac*, and having demolished several other Forts, then made an Halt, having now received more welcome News, how that the designed Expedition of *John* and *Cracas* was come to nothing, the *Patzinaca* refusing to join with them.

78. However proceeding in his Return, after this little Pause he took by storm the Castle *Setena*, where had been laid up much Corn, which being removed he commanded Fire to be set to the Place. Now hearing that *John* was not far off, he sent against him the Cohorts of the Schools (so they termed them) of the East, and of the *Thessalonians* under Command of *Constantine Diogenes*, who was either not so wary, or had not so good intelligence as the Emperor. For, *John* had placed an Ambush for them, which *Basilus* understanding and solicitous for his men rode on fast before, bidding all such as were Souldiers to follow him, which being perceived by those that *John* had sent out, they fled in great fear to their Camp, making much Noise with these words *Bezeite Tjesar*, by which we

John, Prince
of the Bulgari-
ans routed.

Is afterward
slain.

And the Count-
rey delivered
up to Basilus
the Emperor.

Who receives
his new Sub-
jects with-
great kindness.

Ishatzes once
standing out.

suppose was meant *Ronne*, here's *Cesar*, (as most Nations termed him) or the Em-
perour. *John* and all his Army thus putting themselves to the Rout, *Digenes* and
his Men pursued them, did great Execution, and took the Horses and Baggage of
John with one of his Kinfmen, which done the Emperour returned to *Bodena* and so
home to *Constantinople* on the ninth of *January*, the fifteenth Indiction, and the
two and fortieth year of his Reign. *John* being by his retreat eased much of his
fears, in confidence of his good fortune goes against *Dyrachium*, where engaging in
fight he is slain, uncertain by whom, after he had born the Title of Prince or King
of the *Bulgarians* two years and five Months. The Emperour was no sooner cer-
tified of his death by the Governour of that City but rather flew than went to *Bul-
garia* in hope that the long looked for Prey would now fall into his Hands. And
so far good fortune complied with his Wishes, that when he was come on his way
no farther than *Constantinople* the Brother and Son of the famous *Cracras*, so often
mentioned, there met him to give up *Pernicus* and five and thirty Castles more,
whom he courteously received, and having admitted *Cracras* to the Dignity of a
Patritian, then held on his way to *Molynopolis*. Thither came Ambassadors both
from *Pelagoma*, *Morobisdus* and *Lipenus* to give up other Cities; and when he
had reached *Serræ* there *Cracras* himself met him with the Deputies of those that
yielded up the five and thirty Castles, and were kindly entertained. And hither
came also *Dragomazus* to surrender *Strumpitza*, and was also made a Patritian, be-
cause he brought along with him *John* the Governour of *Chaldia*, who being taken
Prisoner by *Samuel* had continued in Prison two and twenty years.

79. When the Emperour drew near to *Strumpitza*, *David* the Archbishop of *Bul-
garia* met him with Letters from *Mary* the Widow of *John* which hinted that on
certain conditions she was willing to quit all pretences to *Bulgaria*. Here also
met him *Bogdanus* the Lord of the Castles that stood farther within the Countrey,
who also received the Dignity of a Patritian having formerly held with the Em-
perour, and killed for this purpose his own Father-in-Law. He proceeded now as
far as *Scopia*, in which leaving a strong Garrison, he returned by the Castles of
Stripeus and *Proscus* being every where welcom'd with the Prayers and well-wish-
es of his new Subjects. Then he went to *Achris* where he was received with
the lucky Acclamations of the People. This *Achris* was situate upon an high Hill
near to a vast Lake out of which the River *Drinus* issuing toward the North, after
no long space turneth Westward and entrencheth *Ionium* (by which the Historian
seems to mean the Countrey lying upon the Adriatick Sea) near the Castle *Ilis-
sus*. The Emperour now seized on the Treasure of the *Bulgarian* Princes which
was very great, as besides other things several Rich Crowns adorned with Pearl,
and an hundred Centenaries of Gold which he bestowed as a Donative upon his
Soldiers. Returning to his Camp he there received the Widow of *John Bla-
disthlabus* with three Sons and six Daughters: and she brought along with her a
Bastard Son of *Samuel*, and two Daughters of *Radomere* besides six Sons one of
which had his Eyes put out by *John* at such time as he slew *Radomere* with his
Wife and his Son-in-Law. She had other three Sons by *John*; but they were
slain into the Hill *Thorus*, one of the Tops of the *Ceraunick* Mountains, where
much pressed with difficulties by reason that the Emperour had given order to be-
siege the Mountain they sent to him to yield, and within a while came to him as
he lay at *Diabolis* in his Journey from the Lake *Prefpa*, where on a Tribunal
erected for this purpose he kindly received them, and comforting them with most
gentle words honoured *Profranus*, who seems to have been the Eldest, with the
Dignity of *Magister*, and the rest with that of Patritians. And hither was brought,
whom it most concerned him to see, *Ishatzes* deprived of his sight; how and by
whom, it's not an unpleasant Story to relate.

80. *Bladisthlabus* being dead, and his Wife and Children with all the Nobility
having yielded themselves and Countrey into the Emperour's hands, he alone re-
fused to comply with the time and present posture of Affairs, and seized upon a
Mountain most difficult of access. (Some called it *Brochetus*, others *Pronifsa*)
where was a neat Castle of the *Bulgarian* Princes, with Gardens and other things of
folace and divertisement. This in no little measure perplexed the Emperour,
who had sufficient cause, by reason of the Man's Qualifications, to suspect the
consequence of this unexpected Usurpation. "He omitted his Journey as he had
intended, and turning Southward, spent some time in soliciting him by Letters
to consider what he did, and not to expose himself to certain destruction by enter-
prizing so impossible a thing on his own Head without any advice or assistance,
"to which he answered ambiguously, drawing out the time in length and in ex-
pectation,

But is reduced
by the valour
and cunning
of Basilus
Diplomatus.

"expectation, he held *Basilus* against his will five and fifty days at *Diabolis*. The
care and anxiety the Emperour was in being taken notice of by *Eustathius*
Daphnomelus a Patritian, whom he had lately preferred to the Government of
Achris, he resolved upon a strange course, to rid him of this trouble, which he
communicated to none but two of his Servants whom he could trust, and he
knew would stand by him in any undertaking. The Feast of the Assumption
of our Lady was solemnly observed by *Ishatzes*, and to it were invited as well
strangers as Neighbours, and to it though not invited *Daphnomelus* would go, and
being discovered by the Sentinels, he openly declared who he was, and sent to
let *Ishatzes* know that he was come to be merry with him. He wended to hear
that one should come of his own accord, and put himself into an Enemies
Hands, but he had them bring him in and very kindly entertained him. Morn-
ing Prayer being over, and all others gone to their Apartments, he went to him
and desired that they two might discourse in some convenient and freer place, for
he had a matter of great importance, and which was for his own good to Commu-
nicate to him.

81. *Ishatzes* suspecting nothing but that he would join with him in his Rebellion,
led him into an Orchard very thick beset with Trees, so that they could scarcely
either be seen or heard, whither being come *Eustathius* being strong and nimble,
and watching an advantage struck up his Heels, let his Knee upon his Breast, stop-
ped his Mouth, and called his two Men who watched their motions constantly for
this purpose. They thrusting their Cloths into his Mouth, forced both his Eyes out
of his Head, which done they let him go, and all three with their drawn Swords,
got up into one of the highest Chambers in the House, expecting what instantly
followed. For as soon as the fact was divulged, a great multitude came running to-
gether, some with Swords, some with Spears, others with Bows, not a few with Stones,
some with Wood, others with Fire, and others with other Combustible matter,
Crying out cut their Throats, Burn them, Tear them Limb from Limb, Stone
them, let no Body spare the Villains. *Eustathius* seeing and hearing this could
have small hope to escape their fury, yet advised his Men not to let fall their
Courage, nor by any means to resign themselves into their hands who would
most certainly tear them in pieces in this Rage. "Putting his Head out of a Win-
dow by the motion of his hand he procured silence, and then told them that
"for his part there had not been the least enmity or grudge betwixt *Ishatzes* and
"him, the one being a *Bulgarian* and the other a *Roman*, as they should judge,
"being born not in *Thrace* or *Macedonia*, neighbouring Countries, but in *Asia* the
"left at a very great distance from *Bulgaria*. Therefore all that were wise-
"mongers, must needs conclude that it must needs be some extraordinary
"thing that had put him upon such an enterprize, and that nothing but Necessi-
"ty it self could have engaged him in so dangerous an Attempt. He told them
"that what was done, was done by the Command of the Emperour, who had
"only made use therein of his hands; and therefore if they were resolved to kill
"him, kill him they might, he was in their power, yet resolved with his Ser-
"vants to sell his life at as dear a rate as he could, and fight it out to the last
"Breath. If they killed them, as it was no Mastery being so many to so few,
"they should not be unhappy in their death leaving behind them so powerfull
"an Avenger, against whom as it seemed they were resolved to struggle as long as
"possibly they could. This Speech especially the dread they had of the Emperour
therein mentioned produced such an Alteration in their minds, that they all
shrank away by degrees, and the wiser sort wished him Prosperity, and promised
obedience. *Eustathius*, then without any opposition carried away *Ishatzes* to the
Emperour. He rewarded this notable service with the Government of *Dyrachium*
and all the movable goods of *Ishatzes*, who was committed unto Custody.

82. At the same time *Nicolitzas* who had been so often taken and so often dis-
missed, having lurked in the Mountains, and been forsaken of well-nigh all his Men
(who were frightened by a Company, sent on purpose to hunt him out) of his own
accord came to the Camp, and declared it was with Resolution to yield himself
to the Emperour, who would not see him but gave order that he should be kept
Prisoner at *Thessalonica*. *Basilus* having all things according to his Wish in those
Parts, and given leave to as many *Romans* as he had found in Captivity either here
to remain or to follow him, removed to *Castoria*. Here were brought to his pre-
sence two Daughters of *Samuel*; which beholding *Mary*, the Widow of *John*,
standing by him, presently flew in her Face, and had made an end of her, if the Em-
perour himself had not interposed, and by good words mitigated their wrath, pro-
mising

Basilus hav-
ing visited
most places of
Bulgaria,

ming them also to provide well for them. On *Mary* he conferred the Honour of *Zofte*, and sent her with her Sons to *Constantinople*. Then by the Industry of *Xiphias*, did he demolish all the Castles in *Servia* and *Sofcus*, and came to the Castle of *Stages*, where *Elamagus* Prince of the *Belegradi* presented himself to him in a servile Habit with his assistants. Thence proceeding towards *Athens*, in his passage thorough *Zetunium*, he beheld with Admiration the Bones of those *Bulgarians*, that were slain in the Defeat given to *Samuel* by *Nicephorus*, and much more the Wall called *Scelos* built on *Thermopylae*, at a Place called *Rupena* to restrain the *Bulgarians*. Arriving at *Athens*, he gave Thanks to our Lady for his good Success, and offered very largely in the Church. And thence returned to *Constantinople*, which he entered in Triumph through the great Doors of the Golden Gate, with a Golden crested Crown called *Tiaphus* (from the pride, faith *Zonaras*, of those that wore this kind) *Mary* with the Daughters of *Samuel*, and the rest of the *Bulgarians* going before him. With the Shouts and Acclamations of the People he went to the Great Church, and there having given thanks to Almighty God, went and reposed himself in the Palace. This Conquest of *Bulgaria* happened in the second Indiction, the forty fourth year of *Basilus* and *Constantine*. A. D. 1019.

83. After his Return *Sergius* the Patriarch was very earnest with him, to make good what he had promised in case of this Conquest, that he would remit the *Allotengyum*, but could not prevail. His mind was wholly bent upon Covetousness and Dominion, to gratifie which immediately after his Success in *Bulgaria*, the Neighbouring Nation of the *Chorbati*, by the Hands of their two Princes, Brothers, gave up themselves. There only remained *Sermo* the Lord of *Sermium*, who refused to row by this great stream, and therefore speedily made shipwreck of his life and all. *Constantine Diogenes* Governour of the Neighbouring Province, sent to him to desire Conference, and if he feared any deceit or Ambush, he desired that each should come onely with three Servants in his Company to the Rivers side that ran by them. *Sermo* agreed and met him, but when he expected a Discourse, *Diogenes* prevented it by thrusting a Dagger into his side, which he had hid in his Coat, and instantly slew him, which his Servants seeing fled as fast as they could, left they should be serv'd in the same manner. Then gathering together such Forces as he commanded, he went to *Sermium*, which partly by threats and partly by promises he brought the Widow to surrender, which done she was sent away and married to one of the Principal Citizens of *Constantinople*; and *Diogenes* was made Governour of the newly (however) gained Territory for his pains. In the mean time, to make himself acceptable by something how little soever, *Basilus* supplies the City abundantly with water, by cleansing and repairing the Aqueduct of *Valentinian*. But his thoughts were quickly diverted from Employments of this Nature by a message brought, that *George* the Prince of the *Abasgians* had broken the League betwixt them, and invaded in hostile manner the adjacent Territories of the Empire. He presently marched against him with a complete Army, leaving behind him *Xiphias* and *Nicephorus* the Son of *Bardas Phocas* both Patritians.

84. Now whether they took it ill that they were left behind, or for other more tempting reasons, they got together a power of men, and broke out into Rebellion. This much disordered the Army, and the Emperor more out of fear that they should be betwixt the Rebels on one side, and on the other by the *Abasgians*, with whom it was reported, that they held secret Intelligence. *Basilus* in this strait wrote Letters both to *Xiphias* and *Phocas*, but gave order to the messenger so to deliver them, that the one should not know of any the other received. However upon the receipt of them, *Phocas* was so free as to reade his to *Xiphias*, who denying that he received any, on a certain day sent for the other to speak with him, and when he came, having before hand laid his snares, took away his Life. Which the Emperor having understood, sent against *Xiphias Theophilact*, the Son of *Damianus Delassenus* who took him Prisoner, and sent him to *Constantinople*, to *John* the Prothonotary who shaved him, and made him a Monk in the Island of *Antigonus*. In this manner, *Basilus* freed from all danger of this Rebellion gave battel to the *Abasgians*, but with no Success at first; but in a second Conflict which happened on the eleventh of September, and the sixth Indiction, *Lipartes* their General fell, and with him the greatest part of their Army. *George* fled into the more distant Mountains of *Iberia*, whence shortly after he sent and made his Peace, submitting to what Terms the Emperor pleased to impose, and gave up for an Hostage his Son *Pamcratus*, whom *Basilus* honoured with the Dignity of *Magister*, and so departed home.

85. There

He animadverted upon the Accomplices of the Arch-rebels.

Preparing for an expedition into Sicily Basilus dies.

Constantine X sole Emperor.

His Management of Affairs.

85. There did he animadvert upon the Accomplices of *Phocas* and *Xiphias*, by confiscating their Estates, and condemning them to Prison; none he put to death but *Pherfa* a Patritian, who had first of all sided with the Rebels, had killed four Officers of the Neighbouring Princes, and beheaded one of the Emperor's Eunuchs with his own Hands. There was also one of the Emperor's Chamber cast to the Lions, for attempting to poison him for the sake of *Xiphias*. A little before this, *Anne* the Sister of *Basilus*, and a Widow of *Bladimer* the *Rossian* Prince died, after whose decease *Chrysochir* a Kinsman of her Husband, put Eight hundred men on board, and with them came to *Constantinople*, pretending he would serve the Emperor. But he requiring that he should lay down his Arms, and then to ask what he pleased, he refused to do it, and passing over the *Propontis* went to *Alydus*, where he defeated easily him that lay there for defence of the Coasts, and then went to *Lemnus*, where he and all his Men were cut off deceitfully by the Fleet of the *Cityraotes*, *David* of *Acheria* the Governour of *Samus*, and *Nicephorus Cabasila* the Commander at *Thebalonica*. After this *Basilus* prepared for an Expedition into *Sicily*, and for that purpose sent before *Orestes* one of his most faithfull Eunuchs, with great Forces. But he was prevented by his Destiny from following, dying in the Month of December, and the Ninth Indiction, after he had lived Seventy faith *Cedrenus*, Seventy two years faith *Zonaras*, and born the Title of Emperor as many, but reigned alone in effect, though his Brother also had the Name the space of fifty. He left his Brother his Successor, and desired him to see him buried in the Church of St. *John* the Evangelist and Divine at the *Hebdomus*, who therein fulfilled his will.

86. *Constantine* the Tenth of that Name, came to the management of the Empire in the Ninth Indiction, A. D. 1026, and therein did little or no good to it, but much mischief. Being a man of most depraved manners, he neither acted, nor thought any thing worthy of his Place and Dignity. His Delight was in running Races, jesting with loose and silly drolling Persons, and drinking whole Nights together, and thus was willing to spend his time, while his Brother (who was content it should be so) attended Affairs of State, and increased both the Reputation and Bounds of the Empire. In chusing of his Officers (the great Tryal and Indication of a Prince) he had onely respect to those of his own humour, such virtuous Persons as himself, drunken Slaves and the most profligate Wretches, no Man either for his Birth, Abilities or Education, being at all considered. *Nicholas*, the chief Man of his Chamberlains, he made Domestick of the Schools, and of his Bedchamber. *Nicephorus* the next after him *Provestiarius*, and *Simon* who was in the third Place his *Drungarius Biglae*. One *Eustathius* far inferior to these, he created Captain of the Associates. To one *Spondyles* he gave the Government of *Antioch*, and that of *Iberia* to one *Nicetas*, both Persons very infamous. These Ministers under such a Prince undid all, bringing all things into disorder, and almost ruined the Empire, which since the time of *Romanus*, had so exceedingly flourished under *Nicephorus Zimisces* and *Basilus*. And not onely did he preter unworthy, and scandalous Persons, but every man eminent for any worth or goodness, as much as in him lay, he laboured to disgrace and undoe, especially the most Noble or Illustrious Persons. He pulled out the Eyes of *Constantine* a Patritian, Son of the *Magister Michael Burtzas*, having born him malice, for discovering his naughty Courses to his Brother. And other most excellent Persons he blinded, as we shall see; for as he began so, he proceeded, the same Causes ever producing the same effects, when not hindered by Incapacity of the Subjects, or the Intervention of more powerful Accidents.

87. At this time *Nicephorus Comnanus* governed *Aspracania* (*Baspracania* or *Basprania* as it is variously written) a Man very wife, and as valiant as any of his time, with such Success, that he forced all his Neighbours to live quietly about him. But after some time finding his Souldiers begin to fail in their Courage against the *Saracens*, by all the means he could use, he endeavoured to resuscitate in them their wonted Courage, and upbraiding them much with the Alteration, procured them not onely to promise but to take a formal Oath, that they would not forsake, but stand by him to the last extremity against the Enemy. This being reported at *Constantinople*, *Constantine* and his effeminate Ministers, incompetent Judges of matters relating to War or Fortitude, put him presently out of command, and being sent for up to the City he was condemned of Treason, or a designed Usurpation, and had his Eyes put out, to the regret of all good men: and in the same sort he dealt with *Bardas* a Patritian, descended from *Bardas Phocas*

Returns in Triumph to Constantinople.

The Chorbati give up themselves.

Sermium taken.

The Abasgians breaking the League, Basilus marches against them.

A Rebellion at home but suppressed.

The Abasgians forced to submit.

Flavia the Magister, whom he procured some of his Creatures to accuse of a Conspiracy against his Person. About the same time, *George* the Governour of *Nicomedia*, for his Folly commonly call'd *Morogorgius*, by his perpetual Exactions and other Injuries to the Townsmen, that they broke out into a publick Rage against him, kill'd him and rifled his House, for which Deed the Emperor not only us'd great Cruelty in punishing the Authours of the Riot, but caus'd the Eyes of the Bishop of the Place to be put out. There happened a Quarrel, and this was followed by a Combat betwixt *Basilus* a Patritian, the Son of *Romanus Sclerus*, and *Prufianus* the Bulgarian a *Magister*, and Captain of the *Excubarii*, which judging to be a Crime no less than Treason, he banish'd them both. Being told that *Basilus* endeavour'd to escape, he commanded his Men to let him out; and *Basilus* when he expected the like measure, he most mercifully discharged. But he pull'd out the Eyes of *Romanus Curcuas*, who had married *Prufianus* his Sister, of *Bogdanus*, *Gleba* and *Gudeles*, and to give himself some diversion by variety, cut out the Tongue of one *Zacharias* (possibly out of his wit to make him like the Priest of that Name, who was struck dumb) pretending that they all had designs against him.

His kindness
and Justice at
first.

88. But to leave this odious Subject, let us see if we can find any other thing of publick Consequence, and worthy the mentioning, in his Reign. In his first year the *Patzinaca* broke into *Bulgaria*, and there did much mischief, killing many of the People with several Officers and their Companies. Against them he created *Diogenes* the Governour of *Sirmium*, General of *Bulgaria*, who falling on them as they straggled, after much slaughter forced them to return beyond the *Isler*. During his whole Reign there was a great Drought, which dried up both Fountains and Rivers. His Brother *Basilus*, how hard and difficult soever in the case of the *Allelengum*, yet herein was wont to gratifie the poorer sort, that he did not exact Payments just when they were due, but bore with them till they could better do it, so that at his death, the Tribute of two years was behind. But *Constantine* notwithstanding the Drought, not only when he came to the Government exacted all the Arrears, but forced the Payment also of three years to come, which not only undid the Poor but much distressed the Rich, and these that were not wont formerly to complain. And now did a Fleet of *Saracens* infect the Islands *Cyclades*, which was happily defeated and dissipated by *George Theodorocranus*, the Governour of *Samus*, and *Periboras*, who commanded *Chius*, twelve Ships being taken. On the Ninth day of *November* in the twelfth Indiction, the Emperor fell suddenly sick, and being given over by Physicians, then thought upon a Successeur. A messenger was sent to fetch *Constantine Delassenus*, living then in *Armenia*, whom he designed to create *Cesar*, and marry him to one of his Daughters. But *Simoon* so wrought out of his Love to *Romanus Argyrus*, that he altered his purpose, and another was sent to bid *Delassenus* stay where he was. *Romanus* then was brought to Court, and leave given to chuse whether he would loose his Eyes or part with his Wife, and marrying the Daughter of the Emperor he declared *Cesar*. He paused at it, but his Wife fearing what might happen to him, voluntarily shaved her self and renounced the secular Life for the saving of his Eyes; and procuring him the Empire. *Constantine* had by *Helena* the Daughter of *Alynius*, an Eminent Patritian, three Daughters; of which *Eudocia* the Eldest being disfigured by the Plague was turned Nun, and *Theodora* the youngest refused to marry *Romanus*, either because they were too near a Kin, as the pretence, or for that his lawfull Wife was yet living: but *Zoe* the second was very well content to accept him for her Husband, and the matter of Kindred being difficult, and dispensed with by the Patriarch and Ecclesiasticks, to her he was joynd in Marriage, and declared Emperor. The third day after the Wedding, *Constantine* died, when he had lived Seventy years and upward, and Reigned three wanting one Month.

He resolves
upon an Ex-
pedition into
Syria.

The League
with the *Ab-
surgians* renewed

89. *Romanus* the Fourth of that Name, beyond all his expectation, together with *Zoe*, took Possession of the Empire in the twelfth Indiction, A.D. 1028. and at his Beginning was very acceptable to his Subjects, though he had not come after such a Predecessour. For he not only took away the *Allelengum*, so much complained of, which *Cedrenus* tells us (I know not what ground there is to believe him) *Constantine* would have done, had he not by death been prevented, but he increased the Salaries wont to be paid out of the publick Treasury to those of the Quire of *St. Sophia*, discharged out of Prison such as were guilty of slighter Faults, and not only paid the publick Debts, but those of private Men, and redeemed the Captives out of *Patzinacia*. He did many good things relating

relating to the Church not here to be discours'd of, relieved many that were in great poverty, or otherwise distressed, for the health of his Father-in-Law's Soul they tell us expended a great Sum of Money, and made reparation to such as he had injured either in way of Honour or Fortune. *Romanus Sclerus* who had Married his Sister and had lost his Eyes by Command of *Constantine*, he promoted to the Dignity of a *Magister*, and recalled out of Banishment *Nicephorus Xiphias*, who was turned Monk: And now as reconciled again, God gave convenient Rain, and abundance of all fruits followed, especially of Oil. But these Acts of mercy *Romanus* mixed with others of severity, which being accompanied with Justice and publick safety, did not eclipse but more set off the other. *Prufianus* the Bulgarian for conspiring with *Theodora* the Sister of the Emperress, and affecting the Sovereignty was deprived of his sight, and his Mother *Zoslica* expelled the City. *Constantine Diogenes* who had Married the Emperour's Brother's Daughter, and was Governour of *Sirmium* being removed to the Command of *Thessalonica*, was accused by *Orestes*, one that had served *Basilus*, of a purpose to rebel, and for that was sent to govern the *Thracians*, where his Crime being clearly discovered, he was brought bound to *Constantinople*, and cast into the Tower, and his Complices six or seven men of eminency were beaten, and then carried in disgrace through the City into Banishment. *Theodora* was also banished from Court to *Patrium*.

90. On the last day of *October* a Comet appeared, seeming to move from West to East, and on the same day the Roman Interest suffered much damage, under Command of *Michael Spondyles* the Governour of *Antioch*. Great Rains also fell and continued to fall till *March*, which caus'd mighty Floods every where, by which, and the rottenness of Grains, most Cattel perished, and because that the Seed corrupted in the ground, great scarcity happened the following year. The Emperour to redeem much loss and disgrace, by this time suffered in *Syria*, resolved upon an Expedition to *Berrea*, sending before his Sisters Husband *Constantine Carentenus* a Patritian, with a flying Company, to discover the Passages, and infect the Enemy, but not to hazard a Battel till his Arrival. While he prepares for his Journey it happens, that *George* the Prince of *Abasgia* dies, whose Widow sends away her Ambassadors to desire he would renew the League made formerly with her Husband, and assign a Wife to her Son *Pancratius*, to which he willingly assenting, both renewed the League, and sent *Helena* his Brother *Basilus* his Daughter into *Abasgia* to be Married to *Pancratius*, whom he honoured with the Title of *Curepalates*. Now *Romanus* hastens his Preparation for *Syria*, the state of which Countrey we must declare before we bring him thither by fetching matters a little higher. The Reader is to remember, that the Emperour *Nicephorus* very much enlarged the Bounds of the Empire, in *Syria* and *Phoenicia*, where he recovered most of the Cities, and that *Zimisces* following on what was begun, extended its Dominion as far as *Damascus*. *Basilus* after them, being at first employed in Civil Broils, and afterward wholly taken up with the Bulgarian War, neglected the Eastern Parts, which gave the *Saracens* opportunity to lay their Heads together: did consult, yet they openly attempted nothing during his Reign. But under the dissolute Government of his Brother *Constantine*, they neglected not their Advantage, the most potent Cities of the East now casting off the Roman Yoke, and asserting their liberty, and the *Saracens* openly set upon many places, took them, and put the Garrison Soldiers to the Sword. Above all, the Governour of *Berrea* (or *Chalep* as they call'd it) paid his Pranks, by his frequent Incurious forly distressing *Antioch*, and the adjoining *Roman* Pale. *Spondyles* the Governour of *Antioch*, endeavour'd to restrain him but came off with loss and disgrace. And he suffered himself to be overreached by one *Asarapius* an Arabian a Prisoner in that City. This man perceiving his sickle humour vaulted of great matters he both could and would perform for the Emperour against the *Saracens*, if he were but set at Liberty; and particularly shewed him a Platt of ground, on which if a Fort were built and committed to his keeping, he doubted not but to doe wonderfull things. *Spondyles* not only believed what he said, but set him at Liberty, built a Fort in the place, and therein putting a thousand men, gave him the Command of it, who now being where he would, entertained Intelligence with the *Ameras* of *Tripolis*, and with *Tubere* the Prince of *Aegypt* his General, who sent a Body of men, which he having received into the Castle, they put all the Garrison to the Sword, and then received it from his Hands. After this the *Saracens* ranged up and down without controll. *Romanus* removed *Spondyles*, and put his Brother-in-Law *Constantine Carentenus*, lately said to be sent

thitherward with an Army, into his place, resolving to follow in Perfon and prosecute the War.

The Saracens of Berræa offer Peace, which is refused by the Emperour.

Who marches on with his Army.

Which is consumed with Thirst.

And endeavouring to reach Antioch is shamefully beaten.

But the Baggage is retaken by one George, who for a Reward is made Captain of the lower Media.

Theoëtistus with an Army of his most trusty Servants, and the Captain of the Associates, having raised him to take the Castle Menicus.

91. He was scarcely got on his way as far as *Philomilium*, when Messengers were sent to him from *Berræa* with Presents, to ask pardon for what was past, to promise him to return to their former obedience, and pay all the Tribute that was due. There were several excellent Warriours now with him in the Army, who earnestly advised him to hearken to them, and accept their Submission, and that for very weighty Reasons, alledging, that in the Summer time Water was much wanting in *Syria*, that the *Saracens* were accustom'd to them, and could very well endure both Heat and Thirst, but the *Roman* Souldiers could not, especially being burthened with their heavy Armour. But *Romanus*, what his Predecessor had done in the like kind, was so tickled with a fancy of the great honour he should obtain, that he would not listen to them, but held on in his Expedition, and entering *Syria*, incamped before a Castle called *Acazium*, two days journey distant from *Berræa*. Now intent upon his business, he sent out *Leo Chorocephates* a Patritian, Captain of the *Excubitores*, to scout about, to watch the motions of the Enemy, and find out some fitter place whereon to fix; but he fell into the Ambush laid for him in the Plain, and his Party was all defeated. Encouraged herewith, the *Saracens* hindered his men from foraging, and knowing well enough their greatest want, from fetching in any Water, which caused them out of mere necessity, and for vehement thirst, to trudge up and down, though with manifest danger of their lives, which usually they lost before they returned. To restrain and chastize their boldness *Constantine Delassens* was sent with a convenient Power of men; but very fillily and cowardly managed the business, and ran back in great terror to the Camp, which struck all the rest of the Army with such Consternation, that now no mention was made of any Battle, but every man considered how he might save one. And a Council of War being called, it was resolved, that the next day they should dislodge and march to *Antioch*.

92. Accordingly when the day came, being the tenth of *August*, in the thirteenth Indiction, and the second year of *Romanus*, all the Gates of the Camp were open'd, and they set forward for *Antioch*, most of them being sick of the Gripes, and vexed with a violent Thirst. They were no sooner come into a place convenient, but the *Arabians* set upon them, against whom they never turned Head, nor made any resistance, but the grofs of the Army running away most shamefully, some were taken, others killed, and more destroyed by being born down and trodden on by their Fellows, yet one Eunuch of the Emperours is said very stoutly to have demeaned himself in fetching off both his Servants and Waggon which had been taken, and as for the Emperour himself he escap'd, but that with great difficulty, by the Courage of his Guards, to *Antioch*, as he had designed. At the same time was one *George Maniaces* Governour of a Province in these Parts, called *Telucha*. To him came about eight hundred of the *Saracens*, after this flight of the Emperour and his Army, told him the Emperour was taken, his Army utterly defeated, and used what Rhetorick they were able, to persuade him like a wife man to quit that Town, which he was not able to hold; if not, by Break of day he would be surrounded and miserably destroyed. He seem'd to take their Advice in good part, and sent them out a great quantity of Meat and Drink praying them therewith to refresh themselves that Night, and promising in the Morning to come forth and deliver up *Telucha* and whatever was the Emperour's into their hands. They gave credit to his words, and setting their hearts at rest, made use of what he had lent them to excess, which being his Design, at Midnight he issued out and killed them all Drunk and asleep as they lay. Two hundred and eighty Camels he took loaded with the rich Plunder of the late Encounter, and causing the Ears and Noses of the slain to be cut off, he went and presented them to the Emperour, who then in his Retreat was come as far as to the House of *Phocas* in *Cappadocia*. He for a Reward made *George* Captain of the Lower Media. When he left *Syria* he made *Simon* the Servant of *Constantine* his Father-in-Law Domestick of the Schools, and the Command of *Antioch* he gave to *Nicetas a Mithleia*, giving it in charge to these two, that by all means they should reduce the Castle *Menicus*, which *Musaraph* had built. They attempted what he had enjoyned them, but *Musaraph* breaking out upon them by Night, forced them to be gone, and burnt their Engines. This *Romanus* took in so evil part, that he created General with full power one *Theoëtistus* the *Protospatharian*, one of his most trusty Servants, and the Captain of the Associates, having raised him a great Army of *Romans* and other Nations together, gave him instructions to join

with *Pinzarach* the *Ameras* of *Tripolis*, who had lately revolted from the *Amermunes* of *Egypt*, and fled to his protection, and to take in the Castle *Menicus*, which most of all did discontent him.

93. One *Tusfer a Turk*, the General of *Egypt*, did much distress *Pinzarach*, till hearing of the coming of *Theoëtistus* he then returned home. And *Musaraph* durst not trust to his new Castle, but deserted it, and flying to the Mountains about *Tripolis*, was there found out and slain. The Castle was by his Brother's Son delivered up to *Theoëtistus* with another called *Argyrolastrum* seated on a craggy Mountain, which done he returned back to *Constantinople*. At the same time one of his Brethren, a *Protospatharian*, *Orestes*, sent formerly by *Basilus* into *Sicily*, having no skill in matters of that Nature, for which he was sent, managed them with very ill success. His Army he suffered to be idle and Luxurious, and when their Intemperance had cast most of them into Diseases of their Bowels, then did the *Saracens* (who had watched but for a convenient opportunity) set upon them and made great slaughter of them, to repair which loss the Emperour raised a great Army out of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and sent it into *Italy*, the greatest part of which also miscarried, through the unskillfulness of the General. This same year in the fifteenth Indiction to make his Estate more secure, he caused *Praxianus* to be shaven for a Monk, and removed his Mother out of the Monastery where she was into *Thrace*, and *Constantine Diogenes* being taken out of the Town, he also constrained to take the Religious Tonsure and Habit. A great Alteration indeed was now observed, if not in the Humour yet in the Actions of *Romanus*, which were changed much for the worse after his return out of *Syria*. To repair his Disgrace there sustained, instead of an Emperour, to use the Expressions of *Zonaras*, he turn'd an Exactour and bitter Inquisition, requiring old and out-worn Debts of the Fathers from the Children, which the length of time, it was expected, had utterly buried in Oblivion, upon which account many were driven from their Inheritances, and from having good Estates were forced to beg their Bread. Yet did he not bring any of this Money thus gotten into the Treasury, but this and much more taken out of the publick Revenue he consumed, building a stately Monastery and a Church to the Honour of our Lady, thus chopping and changing, pulling down and building up again. To Monks also he was very profuse, aligning them whole Provinces and Cities, and these the most fat and fertile of all the Empire, which was not suitable to that sort of life which these men ought to lead, but more fit for Delicate, Effeminate, and Voluptuous Persons, as *Zonaras* observes.

Romanus much altered for the worse.

The League renewed with the *Ameras* of *Chalepe*.

A Conspiracy discovered.

The Roman Pale inhibited by the *Arabians*, *Pazginaces*, and *Saracens*, which last came short home.

94. In the fifteenth Indiction and the Month of *September*, came *Amer* the Son of the *Ameras* or Governour of *Chalepe*, with great Presents to renew the Peace for that place, with promise to pay the accustomed Tribute; which Accord to ascertain and ratify, was sent *Theophylact an Athenian* and *Protospatharian*, who renewed the League with that People. Zoe the Empress now went suddenly into *Petrium*, and there shaved her Sister *Theodora*, and made her a Nun; there being no other way, as it was said, to put an end to her Plots and Discontents. *Romanus* Married his Brothers Daughter to the *Regulus* of *Armenia*, with a great Portion, and prepared for another Expedition into *Syria*. As he was on his way at *Mesene*, *Theophanes* the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, discovered a Plot to the Empress of *Constantine Diogenes* and *Theodora* her Sister, to fly into *Ilyricum* and there to Usurp the Imperial Dignity, to which two Bishops were privy, the Metropolitan of *Dyrrachium* and the Bishop of *Peritheorium*. Hereupon both *Diogenes* and the Bishops were suddenly apprehended. *Diogenes* when in the Palace of *Blachernæ* he was examined, threw himself down headlong from the Wall, rather than he would discover his Friends, and was cast out unburied amongst such as laid violent hands on themselves: The Bishops were sent away to the Emperour, and by him were dismissed. On the eight and twentieth of *July*, being *Friday*, a blazing Star was seen to traverse the Heavens from South to North so big and shining, that it illustrated all the horizon. And a little after came News, that the *Arabians* had made an Inroad into *Mesopotamia* as far as *Melitene*, that the *Patzinacas* had passed *Ister* and invaded *Myfia*, and the *Saracens*, *Arabians* they are also called, these Names being used promiscuously, had wasted all the Coasts of *Ilyricum* with Fire and Sword, and were got as far as *Corycra*. The Issue of these Disturbances was, that the two former sorts of these Enemies having done what they came for, returned home unhurt, but the *Saracens* were sorely beaten by the Inhabitants of *Ragafium*, and *Nicephorus* the Son of *Carantenus* then Governour of *Nauplium*, and

and having lost the greater part of their Ships, as they returned, perished by Shipwreck in the Sicilian Sea.

95. This very year so great a Famine and a Plague both raged through *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Armenia* and *Honorias* that the Inhabitants left their dwellings and fought out other Habitations, whom the Emperor meeting as he returned from *Mesana* composed them to go Home again furnishing them with Money and other necessities; and they were much relieved by *Michael* the Bishop of *Ancyra* who omitted nothing in his power for their support. On the thirteenth of *August* happened a terrible Earthquake. On *February* the twenty eighth in the same year another Comet appeared passing from the North toward the South with a Noise and cracking, and was seen till the fiftenth of *March*, having as it were a Bow above it, in which Month also another Earthquake fell out. At the same time the *Saracens* of *Africk* with a Thousand Vessels and an infinite Number of Seamen and Souldiers aboard them fell upon the Islands. With part of which *Nicephorus Carantenus* engaged, defeated them and sent five hundred bound in Fetters to the Emperor.

This same year *George Maniaces* the *Protospatharian*, who commanded the Coasts upon *Euphrates*, by corrupting *Salamenes* a Turk the Governour of *Edessa* the City of *Osioena*, got it into his Hands, from which he sent a yearly Tribute of fifty pounds to *Constantinople*. So prosperous were the Affairs of *Romanus* abroad, whilst at Home *Basilus Dursus* his Sisters Husband who had been deprived of his sight by *Constantine* now Plotted against his Life, though since his coming to the Government he had conferred on him the Dignity of *Magister*, and otherwise been very kind to him; for which he and his Wife were expelled the City. Not long after the Emperor incouraged by the Revolt of the *Ameras* of *Tripolis* whom he sent with a considerable Army into *Syria*, gave order to *Tecneas* a *Protospatharian* to make War upon *Egypt* with his Fleet and invade the parts about *Alexandria* which he did with such success that he sunk and burnt many Vessels and returned laden with very great Booty. In all other Quarters the Arms or fortune of *Romanus* was as prosperous though in one particular accompanied with a disaster. One *Alimus* a *Saracen*, Governour of a Fort called *Percis* near to *Babylon*, delivered the place up to the Emperor, but sent his Son to him expecting he should besides other gifts be sent back dignified by the Title of a Patritian. But it so happened by reason of the Indisposition of the Emperor that the young Man coming to *Constantinople* was wholly neglected, and no notice taken of him, which so incensed him that he returned to his Father and persuaded him, if possible to recover the Fort into his own Hands. This, by entering into a confederacy with the Neighbouring *Persians*, and through the carelessness of *Nicolas Chryselius* a *Bulgarian* to whom the Custody of it had been committed, he easily did, and put to the Sword fix Thousand *Roman* Souldiers that then lay in Garrison. Now *Alimus* thought himself sufficiently revenged, when shortly after *Nicetas Pegonites* a Patritian being sent into these Parts with an Army of *Romans* and *Rossians* lays Siege to the Place, and with such earnestness and constancy enforces it, that he carries it by strength, and therein kills both *Alimus* and his Son. The News hereof was the more welcome at Court because there it met with an address made by *Alda* the Widow of *George* sometime *Regulus* of the *Abassians*, whereby he delivered up a very strong Castle call'd *Anacuphe*, for which *Romanus* invested her Son *Demetrius* with the Dignity of a *Magister*. And much about the same time *Carantenus* got another Victory over the *Saracens* fix hundred of whom he sent bound to the Emperor.

96. But the joy conceived for all this good success was not long after allayed by the Terror of an Earthquake which on the seventeenth day of *February* sorely afflicted the Cities of *Syria*. And so great a famine followed throughout the East, by reason of multitudes of Locusts which devoured all the Fruits of the Earth, especially in *Cappadocia*, *Armenia* and *Paphlagonia* that many of the inhabitants were forced to sell their Children and to seek out new Habitations, of whom multitudes came into *Thrace*. The Emperor distributed three *Nomismas* to every man, and commanded them to return home, which by this time they might the better do because a vehement Wind had driven most of the Locusts into the *Hellespont*, the shores of which were all covered with them. Now in a manner he wholly employed himself in Works of mercy and compassion towards his People. Such Hospitals as had been erected for Poor and diseased People about *Constantinople*

Constantinople and had been demolished by Earthquakes or other ways he reedified for the same uses. He repaired the Aqueeducts by which Water was brought into the City; his Wife sent him to another World in such cares and employments being buckled, after this manner. When he first arrived at the imperial Dignity, as *Mentick* led with Honour are wont to do, he flattered himself with hopes of many years, though he had then arrived at sixty, and of Children therein to succeed him, though his Wife was nothing less than fifty. So desirous he was of having a Son, that at the first he very earnestly used all endeavours that way, omitting no Ointments nor other means to render himself lusty and her fit for conception. He caused her to wear certain Gems about her as made to believe them very efficacious for fecundity, the refusing nothing of this Nature but farther using Charms and Incantments; though all proved ineffectual: which he perceiving, afterwards scarcely ever cohabited with her, or ever made her a kind Visit, being both by Nature and Age in himself little prone to carnal Imbracements. Some years the bore this humour though with much Regrets, but at length her lust and hatred of him arose to such violence as to practise against his Life, being exasperated by a violent passion she had conceived for another Person. *Romanus* had about him a certain Eunuch called *John* who had served him while he was yet a private Man, and after his coming to the Empire had been preferred to great Employments. This *John* had four Brothers; *Michael*, *Nicetas*, *Constantine* and *George*, whereof the two later were Eunuchs as well as himself: *Nicetas* was a stripling; but *Michael* was come to Man's Estate, and a most beautiful Person. Both of them dealt in Silver and Adulterated the Coin, as the other three had formerly used a Circulatory or rambing kind of Trade.

97. *John* by degrees procured for his Brothers access to the Emperor who preferred them all, and in particular made *Michael* Oversee of the *Pantebon*, and took him into his Bedchamber. With him *Zoe* the Empress fell most desperately in love, and her lust being more and more inflamed by the daily sight of him, though the extremely hated *John*, yet could she not forbear to talk with him, and in her discourse still seek occasion to ask questions and speak of his Brother. *John* being a crafty Man perceived by the great delight the took in talking of him, how matters stood, and giving him notice thereof charged him that if he applied her self any way familiarly to him, not to be shie and bashful but entertain her with all the Careless that Lovers are wont to do, to the very last point, which instructions he so observed that from looks they proceeded to dalliance, and lay frequently together. As Courtiers are quick to Elpy, and the Women especially curious to pry and enquire into love matters, their entertainments how private soever could not be concealed, but from the Court to the City became the discourse of all, and in every place; the good old Emperor being the only Man that was ignorant of it. At length from his Sister *Pulcheria*, and some others he received hints, which he only made use of so far as to ask *Michael* the question, whether there was any such matter, and, when he denied it, to make him swear, which he having done, he thought he would not forswear himself, and thence concluded it a Calumny. Now for this perjury *Michael* was reported struck with a dreadful disease, being at certain times seized with a Frenzy, a trembling and staring with his Eyes, which *Romanus* beholding pitied the Man and was the more confirmed in his incredulity, concluding his Wife could take no pleasure in the conversation of so miserable a Creature, who was not capable either of loving or being beloved. Others said that he knew very well what course of Life he led, but knowing her to be a most lascivious and insatiable Woman winked at what she practised with *Michael*, left being hindered from his imbracements he should prostitute her self to more. However it was, she resolved to be rid of him, that what the now enjoyed by stealth and in fear the might openly and securely own, and for that purpose is said to have given him a slow working Poison which by degrees made an end of him. The Symptoms were a face much swollen, and discoloured, short and quick Respiration, and the falling off of all his Hair, signs pregnant enough and of a violent suspicion. Yet he continued Languishng till the fiftenth day of *April*, on which having according to the Custome made the *Roga*, or paid Penions to the Senators, he went into a Bath and there by some thereto appointed to make more speedy work of it was stifled by holding his Head a sufficient time under Water, which done he was pulled thence and laid upon his Bed. He was speechless now but not quite dead, and the Rumour being spread that he was dying his Wife ran for haste amongst the rest and made great Lamentation for her dear Husband, who casting out of his Mouth some black matter

A great Famine and Plague.

A terrible Earthquake.

The *Saracens* of *Africk* invaded the Islands but are beaten.

Egypt invaded by the *Romans* who return with great Booty.

Percis near *Babylon* taken by them.

Another Victory over the *Saracens*.

A terrible Earthquake and Famine which caused *Romanus* to be very merciful and kind to his Subjects.

Romanus made away by his Wife *Zoe*.

Who falls in love with *Michael*.

Being very close together.

Yet suspected by *Romanus*.

Who in a short time after is Poisoned by them.

matter presently departed the World, after he had Reigned five years and six Months in the second Indiction. A. D. 1034. In his Youth he applied himself to learning, and was well seen in Greek Authours and the knowledge of the Civil Laws, although he boasted himself much more knowing than he was.

98. The same Night when the office of Christ's Passion was Sung, or the Service belonging to Good Friday, *Alexius* the Patriarch was sent for to Court, as it were by Command of *Romanus*, whither being come he found the Emperor Dead, and *Zoe* in the Golden Room Royally furnished for so worthy an occasion, produced *Michael*, and required him to Marry them together. The Patriarch amazed at the suddenness of the thing, was very backward, till *John* and she Bribed him by a present of fifty pounds to himself, and as much to his Clergy; by which overcome, he solemnized the Marriage. *Zoe* having thus introduced *Michael* the Paphlagonian (as for distinction he is styled from his Country) both into her Bed and Throne, therein purposed to use him but as a Drudge and Servant, and resolving to Govern her self, took into the Court such Eunuchs as had served her Father. But she was much deceived through the industry and craft of *John* her Husband's Brother, who sufficiently understanding her, and mindful of *Romanus* his Fate, turned out all these Eunuchs, and removing from her all her most trusty Women, put into their places his own Friends and Acquaintance, by which and other means he so hampered her, that to her great grief she could neither do nor act any thing, not so much as go into the Bath without his knowledge and permission. Having thus secured all in the Palace, he wrote Letters into all Provinces which signified the Death of *Romanus*, and how by his Will and Determination *Michael* had succeeded in the Empire and Marriage of *Zoe*. All Men seemed to be sufficiently pleased with the change, and wished prosperity to them, except *Constantine Delassenus* the Patritian, who took it in most high disdain that so obscure and ignoble a Fellow should be so preferred before Persons of most high Rank and Quality, of which at this time there were very many, *John* was much disturbed to hear how much he concerned himself, and resolved to draw him to their Party if possible, employing one *Ergodotes* an Eunuch, a Man very able to insinuate any thing, to him for this purpose, who offering him Oath for his Security, and requiring one from him for his Loyal deportment, was to bring him to the Emperor, where things should be concluded and made up betwixt them, to their mutual satisfaction. In the mean time he made the Senate his own by promoting all the chiefest of them and the leading men to places of Dignity and Revenue. And amongst the multitude as any be perceived to be in Capacity to do mischief by preferences he took off, and obliging such as were fit to do service, made all the People satisfied and at his Devotion.

99. But all this notwithstanding our Writers observe, that such things happened at the very first beginning as manifestly shewed these devices how ever yet prosperous to have much displeased Almighty God. For on Easter day fell such a terrible storm of Hail that it brake down Trees, Houses and Churches in great numbers, and so destroyed the standing Corn that a great scarcity thereupon followed. And on the Lord's day following appeared so great a Comet that with the light it cast it obscured all the Stars, and some imagined the Sun was returning, though it was but the third hour of the night. And the Emperor was in a grievous manner tormented with his distemper, which would not be overcome by any either spiritual or temporal means that could be used: some affirming he was possessed, and those that judged most favourably accounting it no better than a Frenzy or Lunatick Disease. *Delassenus* was not so easily to be brought off by *Ergodotes* as they imagined, requiring greater caution than his bare Oath for his security, which given he signified by a Messenger of his own that he should not refuse to come to *Constantinople*. To him then was sent one *Constantine Phagitzes* an Eunuch, the Emperor's Countreyman, and confident with the wood said to belong to the Cross of Christ, the Linen Cloth that had his Image upon it and the Epistle which they believed he wrote to *Angarus*, with the Picture of the Blessed Virgin; by the Religious Opinion of which he was induced to accept of the Faith given him, and went with *Delassenus* to the Court, where being honourably received, and dignified with the Title of Proconsul, he was richly presented and ordered to live at his ease in his own House near at hand. Now we are told a strange Story, how the Locusts which by the Wind were cast upon the Shore of the *Hellepont*, revived and did great mischief to the adjacent Countries, especially in the Province of *Thrace* for three years, which ended, they perished about *Pergamus*.

100. But,

100. But, *Michael* bearing only the name, his Brother *John* exercised all the power of an Emperor, by virtue whereof he made his other Brother *Nicetas* Governour of *Antioch*. *Nicetas* going thither to enter upon his Charge the Townsmen refused to admit him, fearful that he would with severity punish them for having lately in a Tumult killed one *Salibus* who with too much rigour had gathered the publick Revenue. At length upon promise of pardon and oblivion they opened their Gates and received him, but when he had got possession without any regard to his promise he caused about an hundred Persons to be beheaded and fastened upon Poles, and sent eleven of the principal Citizens all of great Nobility (of whom *Elpidius* a Patritian was the chief) bound to *Constantinople*, having confiscated their Estates: and he wrote to his Brother *John* that the Gates had been shut against him not because of the Murder of *Salibus* but out of their Inclinations to *Delassenus*. He being formerly in suspicion, Credit was easily given to this suggestion and being brought before the Emperor on the third day of August, in the second indiction, he was condemned to Banishment in the Island *Prota*, against which breach of Faith, *Constantinus Ducas* his Son-in-Law proclaiming and protesting, was for his Pains cast Prisoner into a Tower. The Estates of three very eminent and rich Men in *Afia* the less were upon this pretence seized and assigned over to *Constantine* the Emperor's Brother. And *Simeon* the *Protospatharius* one of *Constantine* the Emperor's Ministers for disapproving these proceedings as injurious and Breaches of Faith was expelled both from Court and City, and made a Monk at *Olympus* in a Monastery of his own founding. This same year for forty days together the Eastern parts were terrified with an Earthquake by which many Men perished at *Jerusalem*, besides the ruine of Houses and Churches. In the Indiction following and the Month of September a Pillar of Fire appeared toward the East with its Head inclining Southward. And at the same time the *Saracens* took *Myra* and those of *Berræ* cast out the Governour whom the Emperor had sent to them: *Pancratius* the *Abbasian* to revenge the cause of *Romanus* his Wives Uncle broke the League and recovered such Castles and Forts as had formerly been in the hands of the Emperours: moreover the *Patzinacæ* having passed *Ister* wasted all *Myfia* as far as *Thessalonica*; and the *Saracens* of *Africk* by their Fleets, not a little damaged the Islands *Cyclades*.

101. These matters were of very great consequence, but seemed nothing to *John* *Oppanopolis* the Governour of *Orphans*, as he is styled, who ruled all, in comparison of the dangers which at home threatened them from *Delassenus*, whom imagining he would never securely enough keep, from the Island he removed him to a Tower, and that kept with a very strong Guard: and *George Maniaces* he removed from *Edessa*, and made him Governour of the upper *Media* or *Aspracania*, to prevent the growth of interest by favour and intelligence, sending to succeed him one *Leo Lependrenus*. *Nicetas* shortly after dying in his Government of *Antioch*, he would intrust none with it but *Constantine* the other Brother, and now did he promote to the place of *Protospatharius* him that only remained of the rest, for *Simeon* as we said had taken upon him the monastical course of Life. To make the Government of *Constantine* more acceptable to those of *Antioch*, their fellow Citizens were released out of Prison, and the Emperor farther to establish the interest of his Family or rather to gratifie the solicitude of his Brother, who seeing him so sickly was afraid if he died both he and his Family should be destroyed by the Emperors, promoted *Michael* the Son of his Sister *Mary* to the Dignity of *Cæsar*. He attended now little but matters of Devotion bawling to his last hour the Murder of *Romanus*, for which he thought to appease Almighty God by good Works and Liberality to the Poor, the building of Monasteries and other things which that Age esteemed the most valuable. But as our writers observe they profited him nothing. Indeed had he made Renovation of his ill gotten Empire which occasioned his Sin, had he put the Adulterers away which had provoked him, and in a private condition deplored his Crimes, they might have been Testimonies of his Repentance. But he still used the Company of *Zoe* and thought of parting with his Soul as much as the Empire. Out of ill gotten goods he made a shew of Liberality and yet vainly imagined he thereby expiated his former faults, and purchased pardon by the purges of other Men, the publick Revenue.

102. This same year in the Month of May did the *Saracens* of *Africk* and *Sicily* infect the *Cyclades* and the maritime Coasts of *Thrace* with their Incursions, but the Governours so attended their motions that most of them came short home, five hundred being sent alive to the Emperor and were fastened upon Poles all

Zoe and *Michael* Marry and are Crowned, *Gregorius Romanus* in the Empire.

A terrible storm of Hail.

A vast Comet appears.

The Locusts revived.

An Earthquake in the East and a Pillar of Fire seen in the Air at which time the Roman Territories on all sides are infected.

Michael promoted to the Dignity of *Cæsar* the Emperor being very Sickly.

The *Saracens* of *Africk* and *Sicily* infecting the *Cyclades* are forced to make Peace.

all along the Coast from *Atranytium* to *Strobelus*. This so fumbled the *Ameras* of *Sicily*, that he easily admitted of Peace which *John* offered him by one *George Probatius*, who was sent Ambassador for this purpose. The *Ameras* whose Name was *Apolaphar Muchumet*, was honoured with the Title of *Magister*, and being attached by his Brother *Apochapfus*, sent to the Emperor for assistance, according to the Conditions of the League made betwixt them. To repress *Apochapfus* therefore *George Maniaces* was sent into *Lombardy*, together with *Stephen* a Patriarch the Husband of the Emperor's Sister, and Commander of the Fleet, and *Constantine Chages*, who governed the *Cilicyreote*, gave the *Saracens* a notable defeat at Sea. In Winter happened a mighty Frost, which encouraged the *Patzinace* to pass the River *Ister*, and to harass *Mysia* and *Thrace*, as far as to *Macedonia*, and in Summer following vast quantities of Locusts did much damage to the fruits of these Countries. No fewer times than thrice in one year, did that People make Inroads into the Territories of the Empire, where they destroyed all things in their way, and tortured all Persons to death they took without any respect had to Sex or Age, amongst whom were five Officers of Eminence. But it fell out well for the Empire, that much about the same time, *Nestiblabus* and *Hierostiblabus*, two Princes of the *Rossians* died; and *Servia*, which after the Death of *Romanus* had cast off the Yoke, was now again in the third year of *Michael* recover'd to it. And the publick satisfaction for these things was no whit lessened by what happened in *Aegypt*, the *Amerummes* whereof being dead, his Wife embracing Christian Religion, together with her Son offered to make a Peace with the *Romans*, with whose desires *Michael* so far complied as to grant a Truce for thirty years.

The Patri-
arche harass
Mysia and
Thrace.

A Truce for
thirty years
betwixt *Aegypt*
and the *Ro-
mans*.

Three several
Earthquakes.
The *Saracens*
of *Mesopota-
mia* lay Siege
to *Edessa*,
which is relie-
ved.
A Drought.

103. The year following happened three several Earthquakes, whereof one was very terrible. The *Saracens* of *Mesopotamia*, uniting themselves laid siege to *Edessa*, which could not possibly have escaped their Hands, but that *Constantine* the Emperor's Brother, sent timely Succours from *Antioch*, for which Care and Industry he was rewarded with the Office of Domestic of the Schools of the East. The Summer was so dry, that no Rain fell for six Months together, for removal of which Judgment, Processions and Supplications were made, but nothing fell from Heaven but a great storm of Hail which did great mischief to Trees, and damage to the Tiles of Houses. A Great scarcity hereupon following at *Constantinople*, *John* procured Corn out of *Peloponnesus* and *Greece*, much to the Relief of the Citizens. In the mean while the two *Saracen* Brothers in *Sicily*, whom we lately mentioned, making War upon each other, *Apochapfus* who seemed to decline, craved assistance of the *Ameras* of *Africk*, who sent it on this Condition to have part of the Island assigned him, and jointly they defeated *Apolaphar*, *Maniaces* not yet being arrived with his Auxiliaries. *Apolaphar* hereupon betook himself to *Leo Opus* the Governour of *Lombardy*, who with such force as the shortness of the time would give him leave to raise, passed over into *Sicily*, where he grappled with the *Ameras* of *Africk*, and repressed him, but the two Brothers beginning to look towards an Agreement, left strangers should deprive them of what they strugled for, and to plot against the *Romans*, he returned into *Italy*, and gave Scope to the *Ameras* to renew his Hostilities, which he did with all freedom, much to the loss of the Islanders. In the following year on the second of *November*, another Earthquake happened which lasted till *January*. And a great Famine followed throughout *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and all these Quarters as far as *Thessaly*, whereat the Bishop of *Thessalonica* taking advantage, and refusing to pay to his Clerks, both what he ought and what he was able to discharge, was caught, notwithstanding all his cunning by the Emperor. Being convict of Perjury (in swearing he had but thirty Pounds, though he was found to have three and thirty Centenaries of Gold in ready money) all this Wealth was seized to the use of his Creditors and the Poor, and he was turned out of his Bishoprick, of the Revenues whereof so much only was assigned him, as was convenient for his maintenance.

Another
Earthquake.
And a Famine
in *Thrace*, *Ma-
cedonia*, and
Thessaly.

104. Now did *Pamcratius* Prince of *Abasgia*, make War upon *Jasfas* Prince of the upper *Iberia*, whom the Emperor being obliged to succour, *John* sent against the Aggressor his Brother *Constantine*, Domestic of the Schools with all the Forces belonging to the East, yet supported by a promise, that *Delassenus* should with him be sent as Counsellour and Assistant, which being not performed (so great a Jealousie was had of the Man) his Courage and Conduct failed him, and he returned home without having any thing performed. At this time *Zoe* the Empress endeavoured to poison *John*, which was discovered, and he pu-

nishing

nothing sufficiently, the Conspirators had a nearer regard both to her, and his own preservation, we must not forget (though our Authors seem to have done it all this while) that *George Maniaces* arriving in *Sicily*, to answer the request of the *Ameras* of that Island, the two Brothers made Peace betwixt themselves, and jointly made War against him, procuring out of *Africk* a great Power of Men for this purpose. Against these *Africans* he had such success, that a Brook is reported to have received a Tincture from their Blood, and animated if not strengthened by this Success, he presently brought under thirteen Towns, and by Degrees conquered the whole Island. At the same time in the East matters were in a different posture, where *Edessa* escaped narrowly of being taken by the *Saracens*, in this manner. *Parasbarzes* an *Iberian* was Governour there; to whom came twelve Men of the Principal of their Nation with five hundred Horses, and as many Camels carrying Boxes on their Backs, wherein were bestowed no fewer than twelve thousand of armed Men. The pretence was that the Camels bore Presents sent to the Emperor, but the Design was to get the armed Men into the Castle, and so to make lure of the Sentinels, as to master both it and the City. *Parasbarzes* the Governour kindly entertained the twelve Persons at a Feast, yet would not admit the Horsemen or Camels into the City; which refusal proved so fortunate, that the Conspiracy was discovered by an *Armenian* Beggar, who overheard one of those in the Boxes, discoursing and asking his Fellow where they were. The Governour secretly admonished by him to look to himself, left his Guests at their Feast, and with a sufficient Number of Men going out of the Town, pull'd the *Saracens* out of their Nests; and killed them in the Place. This done he returned to his Company, the last course of whose entertainment was of the same sort; for he kill'd them all, except one of the chief, whom having deprived of Hands, Ears and Nose, in that Condition he sent him to make relation of their Success to his Countrymen.

Edessa like to
be taken by
the *Saracens*,
but the De-
sign is disco-
vered and they
are cut off.

105. In the mean time *John* who managed all things, was so in love with his Power and Domination, that his Jealousie and Fear to loose it, gave him but little quiet and contentment. His fear of *Delassenus* was grown to so great a suspicion, that he not only broke his promise with his Brother, in sending him his Assistant against the *Abasgian*, left he improve any advantage put into his Hands; but thinking him too dangerous in the private Condition, as he was, resolved to deprive him of all Helpers and Abettors, and for that purpose sent into Banishment his two Brothers, and all his other Relations, being very desirous to rid himself of his whole Family. He was very cunning in his Contrivances, and not wanting to exercise his Wits for the hoarding up of Treasure, the usual Humour of Men of his Condition. No means he omitted, how indirect and unjust soever to accomplish this end. He raised the publick Revenue by greater Impositions upon Land, and other Courses unworthy as our Authors tell us to be related. In the mean time his Brother the Emperor, was vexed more than ever with his Disease, which notwithstanding all his Alms and Acts of Charity increased, and was more exasperated by accession of a Dropie. At the same time his People were disturbed by almost continual Earthquakes, by one of which *Smirna* was made a miserable spectacle, and in some provinces the Quinzy raged so much, that the living scarcely sufficed to bury the Dead. In *Sicily*, the War renewed by the *Ameras* of *Carthage* against *Maniaces*, who watching his opportunity fell upon him with such violence and execution, that few of his Men escaped with their Lives, and he himself got away in a little boat into *Africk*. *Maniaces* to prevent his flight, in case he should be defeated, had before the engagement given order to *Stephen* the Commander of the Fleet, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperor, to hover about the Coasts and intercept him; but through his Carelessness he escaped. This so far enraged *Maniaces*, and transported him, that as soon as he saw him he reviled him, and to severe words added as fowle blows, which he gave him on the Head with a Cudgel. This *Stephen* received with so great Indignation, that to be revenged he wrote to *John*, and accused him of plotting against the Emperor, to which his jealous Pate so far gave credit, that he ordered him to be sent Prisoner to *Constantinople*, where he was cast into close Prison, together with *Basilus Theodoranus* a Patriarch. The command of *Sicily* was given to *Stephen*, jointly with *Basilus Pedradites* an Eunuch, who so ordered their matters, that in a short space by their Rapacity, and negligence they brought all to nothing. It was *Maniaces* his course when he took any considerable Place, there to build a Fort to keep the People in obedience. Now the People perceiving the Careless humour of the two new Commanders, and provoked by their Exactions, privacy

The Empe-
rour's Disease
increased by
accession of a
Dropie.

The War re-
newed in *Sicily*,
which is
wholly over-
run by the *A-
meras* of *Car-
thage* *Maniaces*
excepted.

all k

pro-

procured some Men to be sent over from *Carthage*, and falling upon these Forts, took them all with all the considerable Towns in the Island, *Messana* excepted, which was held by *Catacalo Ambulius a Protospatharian*, and Captain of the *Armenian* Legion, with three hundred Horse and five hundred Foot. To *Messana* now they lay siege, all that are capable of bearing Arms, being forced into the Field; *Stephen* and *Pedates* being fled into *Lombardy*.

To which the
Saracens lay
siege are
by a sudden
Sally cut off.

106. For three days together *Catacalo* shut himself close up, and thereby caused the *Saracens* to believe him fearful, and to despair of any way escaping the danger. They as fully secure and judging no otherwise, than that they had him as sure as a Bird in a Net, neglected all Discipline, straggling up and down, making merry, and giving up themselves to all Jollity and Drunkenness. On the fourth day which was *Whitsunday*, he having finished his Devotions, took the advantage offered him, and about Dinner time made a brisk Sally upon them, wherein first making to the Tent of *Apolaphar* their Commander, he killed him as he was drunk, and then made vast Slaughter of the ordinary sort, so as all the Country was overpread with dead Bodies, so unexpected was the Onset: And incredible Wealth the Souldiers got in the rifling of the Camp. To leave all *Sicily* now in the Hands of the *Saracens*, *Messana* excepted, and to return into the East, we find

Michael the
Emperor fixed
at the Tomb
of *Demetrius*.
John his Brother
there executing
great Cruelties.

Michael the Emperor at *Theffalonica*, fixed at the Tomb of *Demetrius* the Martyr, by whose means he hoped to be freed from his Disease, and thence would he not stir without absolute necessity compelled him, neglecting all Affairs of State which were cast upon the Shoulders of *John* his Brother. And never did man oppress them more to the disquiet and discontent of the Subject, whom he oppressed by all ways and Methods he could, with whose cruel Actions other sad Accidents joining, made them very miserable. For Earthquakes and violent Storms of Wind and Rain forely distressed them, yet with this little comfort, that together with the Comets which frequently appeared, they seemed to predict the impending Fate of the Tyrants. Their Sister *Mary* the Mother of *Cæsar* as sensible of what was coming, having in a Journey to *Ephesus* observed several Acts of Injustice and Oppression, thereof certified *John*, and was earnest with him to prevent such things for the time to come, for which she was much derided, he calling her Fool, telling her she talk'd like a Woman, and understood not what belonged to Government. But while he thus pleased himself in his Craft of governing, a thing fell out which much disturbed both his Brother and him. To defray his Expenses at *Theffalonica*, *John* put ten Centenaries of Gold aboard a Vessel, which by a Tempest was split upon the Coast of *Illyricum*, and *Stephen Boisthiabus* Prince of *Serbia* (or *Servia*) who had lately made his escape from *Constantinople*, and turning out thence *Theophilus Eroticus*, had made himself Master of that Country, seized the Money to his own use.

The Bulgarians
revolt
chasing
Deleanus
for King.

107. The Emperor when he understood that he had his Money, sent and made demand of it, threatening to recover it by force if fair words would not prevail, *Stephen* slighted the Threats, whereupon to make them good, *George Probatas* an Eunuch was sent with an Army, but by his Indiscretion and want of Conduct the Design miscarried, and having lost well nigh all his men in Straits and impassable places, he himself escaped with great difficulty. In the very same year the *Bulgarians* revolted upon this occasion. One *Petrus Deleanus* a *Bulgarian*, the Servant of a Citizen of *Constantinople* running away from his Master, in all places as far as *Morabus* and *Belegarde* (Castles of *Pannonia*, faith our Authour, beyond *Ister*, and bordering upon the Territories of the *Turks*) gave out that he was the natural Son of *Romans* and Nephew of *Samuel*, by which he so moved the *Bulgarian* Nation, which having lately submitted unto the Yoke, was now again impatient of Servitude, that in *Naissus* and *Scupia*, the principal Towns, as well as elsewhere, he was with lucky Acclamations proclaimed and owned as King; and as a Sacrifice to this new Idol the *Romans* were butchered wherever they were met with. As soon as this was known to *Basilius Synadenus* the Governour of *Dyrrachium*, he judging it was the best way to suppress the mischief in the beginning, marched out with all the Forces of the Garrison against *Deleanus*, but coming to a place called *Debra*, a Quarrel fell out betwixt him and a certain Tribune in the Army, who taking the effectual way to ruin powerfull and popular men, accused him to the Emperor of Treason, whereupon he was turn'd out of Command, and clapt up close Prisoner at *Theffalonica*. The Tribune by Name *Michael Dermocaitas* could not for his good Service and Zeal receive a lesser Reward than the Command of the Malefactor, which he managed so extremely ill, that the People enraged by his Cruel Exactions, rose up against him as one

Cedreno
said
Zeno
re
said
Zeno

So do the Inhabitants of
Dyrrachium
chasing
Teichomere.

man, and having driven him out of Town, and knowing how the matter would be reſented by the Emperor, openly revolted, making choice for their King one *Teichomere* a Souldier amongst them of good note both for Valour and Prudence.

Teichomere re-
moved and
slain by the
Wiles of De-
leanus who
alone governs
Bulgaria.

Leading an
Army towards
Theffalonica.

Takes Dyrra-
chium, and
most part of
the Province
of Nicopolis.

A Conspiracy
discovered and
punished.

Alaufianus run
to the Bulgar-
ians.

Is admitted
Colleague
with Deleanus.

Besieges Theffalonica.

But is beaten
and his Army
routed.

108. Now were there two Kings, and consequently two great Factions in *Bulgaria*, whereof when neither seemed able to prevail against the other by force, by cunning and slight the matter was easily effected. *Deleanus* wrote kind Letters to the other, inviting him to partake of the Sovereignty, and so counterfeited a contented and self-denying Person, that he prevailed with *Teichomere*, to come to him and join their Forces together. Having now gotten a convenient opportunity, he calls all the Souldiers together, and desired them that if they believed him to be defended from *Samuel*, and were satisfied in their Election of him to be their King, that they would remove *Teichomere*, or if such was their pleasure he would willingly surrender his Interest to him, so much as it was not to be thought, that *Bulgaria* could bear two Kings together. This produced at first a great contest amongst the Souldiers, which ended yet in the choice of *Deleanus* to be their King, and the stoning to death of the unhappy *Teichomere*. *Deleanus* being now possessed of the Kingdom without a Rival, led an Army presently towards *Theffalonica* against the Emperor, who would not stay his coming, but in a confused manner ran away to *Constantinople*, leaving all his baggage and Treasury behind to be brought after him by *Manuel Ibatas* one of his Domesticks, who carried it over to *Deleanus*. This Uplift so diligently managed his matters, that by Forces sent under Conduct of one *Caucanus*, he took *Dyrrachium*, and into *Greece* dispatched another Army under Command of one *Anthimus*. So much he prospered in his Enterprize, that the Province of *Nicopolis*, all except *Naupactus* gave up it self into his Hands, being impatient of the Domination of *John*, whose most cruel and exacting Officer they cut into pieces, and cast off the Yoke of Obedience. When *Basilius* conquered *Bulgaria*, he made no alteration as to Taxes, but contented himself with what had been paid to *Samuel* in kind, in this proportion, that whoever had a Yoke of Oxen paid a Measure of Wheat, another of *Milium*, and a Vessel of Wine to the publick. This *John* had changed into ready money, which they of *Nicopolis* took so very ill, that taking their opportunity they revolted from the Emperor, and joined themselves with their Countreymen. At this time a great Conspiracy was hatched against the Emperor by *Michael Cerularius*, *John Macremopolita*, and many others, which being detected they were banished, and their Estates seized. And against *Constantine* the great Domesticck, a Mutiny was raised at *Melanidia*, for which *Michael Gabras*, *Theodofius Mesanytes*, and other Centurions lost their Eyes. And *Gregory Taronitis* a Patriar, the Principal contriver was covered with a raw Hide all over, but where space was left for breath and sight, and in that manner sent up to *John* to *Constantinople*.

109. In the Ninth Indiction, the Month of September, *Alaufianus* the Patriar, the second Son of *Aaron* so often mentioned, and Governour of *Theodopole*, fled secretly and betook himself to *Deleanus* upon this occasion. Being accused of some unjust proceedings, the Emperor or rather his Brother was so incensed against him, that before his Cause could be heard, he was forbidden the Court or to come to *Constantinople* without leave, and more than this *John* cried out of him Fifty pounds of Gold, and which vexed him most took from him a very beautiful Woman, which he kept in the Country. Being not able by all his solicitation to procure a redress of these grievances, he took the *Armenian* Habit, and passing for a Servant of *Basilius Theodorocranus*, got undiscovered to *Ostrobro*, where *Deleanus* then lying with an Army, very joyfully received him in appearance. He was sufficiently sensible how despicable both his counterfeit Person and Interest was in danger to prove at the appearance of one of the true Family, but perceiving all the Souldiers out of respect to his Eintage to bear him hearty affection, he saw there was no other way, but to offer him to share in the Sovereignty of the Country. *Alaufianus* was wiser than to neglect so fair a beginning, and being admitted his Colleague was presently sent with forty thousand Men against *Theffalonica*, which then was held by *Constantine* the Patriar, the Emperor's Kinsman, who so manfully defended himself, that *Alaufianus* having with all sorts of Engines attacked it for six Days together, perceived there was no other Course to be taken, but to starve them out. But the Defendants resolving to frustrate his expectations, made a General and unexpected Sally, and forced him to raise his Siege with such loss, that fifteen thousand of his Men are

said to be slain, and the rest ran away with him to *Deleanus*, the Victory being ascribed to *Saint Demetrius* the Martyr, whom some of the *Bulgarians* swore they saw fighting, like a young Man at the Head of the *Roman* Troops, and destroying those against whom he fought by Fire which proceeded from him, so powerful had been the Prayers of the besieged at his Sepulchre, and efficacious the Ointment proceeding from his Tomb.

Alufianus circumvents *Deleanus* and returns to the Emperour.

110. This defeat of *Alufianus*, increased the Jealousies already conceived betwixt him and *Deleanus*, and ripened their Hatred and Designs; for *Deleanus* would not be convinced but it was out of Treachery, and the other was rendered more peevish and out of humour by the apprehension of his Malice, and of the disgrace he had received by the overthrow. Now they thought of nothing, but how to circumvent and destroy each other, nor plotted any thing but how to get advantages to do it. But *Alufianus* was before-hand with his Colleague, whom having invited to a Feast, when he was drunk he caused his Eyes to be put out, and not trusting to his own Interest or the Humour of the *Bulgarians*, then sent to the Emperour and offered to return to his obedience, provided he might be accepted, and receive rewards due to his Loyalty, which was granted, and he repaired to *Michael*, then lying at *Mosynopolis*, who conferred on him the Dignity of *Magister*, and to make sure of him sent him to his Brother *John* to *Constantinople*. *Michael* was before this resolved in Person, to make an expedition into *Bulgaria*, upon hearing that that Province had revolted, having this saying frequently in his Mouth, that it was a shame for him who had added nothing to the Empire, to lose any Portion of it. The Droptide had already so far prevailed, that he was advised by those about him to altar his purpose, which was farther urged by the Principal Senators, but he by this opposition was the more quickened to undertake the Journey. And when on a certain Night he seemed overpowered by his Disease, and no hope there was, that he could proceed in his March the following day, to the great wonder of all Men he was in the Morning seen at the Head of his Men, and very stoutly led on into *Bulgaria*, where designing to fall upon the Revolters, and reduce them by force, this opportunity was presented of getting the Victory without fighting. For of their two Princes, the one being deposed, and the other revolted, the *Bulgarians* without an Head, and here and there dispersed, very easily returned to obedience. *Deleanus* having got into his Hands, he sent to *Theffalonica*. Then piercing into the more Inner Parts of the Country, he came to the wooden Rampart made formerly by *Manuel Ibatzes* at *Prilapus*, to restrain the Emperour's Incursions, but this he broke down, and having dispersed some *Bulgarians* who began to unite themselves, he took *Ibatzes*, with whom and *Deleanus* he returned in Triumph to *Constantinople*. Having done this work, and perceiving his time to be but short by the prevalence of his Disease, he cast off all Cares of State, and forsaking the Palace betook himself to a Monastery of his own building, and there putting off the Purple and all Ensigns of Majesty, was shaven for a Monk. He gave himself up to Religious Exercises, wholly refusing to admit the Emperess to his presence, and perpetually bewailed his Sins, especially the Murder of *Romanus* the Emperour, till such time as his Droptide oppressed his Vitals, which was on the tenth Day of December, in the tenth Indiction, after he had Reigned seven years and eight Months, or thereabouts. He of himself was mild enough in his Government, though the contrary Humour of his Brothers made his Reign be ill spoken of. The only Crime laid to his Charge is, that about *Romanus* his death; which yet most ascribe more to his Brother *John* than him.

The Empire devolved upon *Zoe*.

111. By the death of *Michael*, the Empire was again devolved upon *Zoe*, as by hereditary right. *Michael* surnamed *Calaphates* his Nephew by his Sister, the Wife of *Stephen*, who ordered matters to ill in *Sicily*, was as we said promoted by him to the Dignity of *Cæsar*. Yet afterward, as if he repented of what he had done, he was ordered to live out of *Constantinople*, and forbidden to come to Court without licence first obtained. But when *Michael* was gone into the Monastery, his Brothers wrote Letters as in the Emperour's Name, whereby he was recalled into the Palace, but his Uncle *John* gave him his Lesson, which was by all means to please *Zoe*, and do nothing without her approbation. Thus instructed, they bring him into her Presence, where he falls down at her Feet, and putting her in mind how he had adopted him for her Son, at the time of his Advancement to the Title of *Cæsar*, and engage most solemnly to her, that upon the Death of his Uncle he should only enjoy the Name of Emperour; but

Who makes *Michael Calaphates* Emperour.

but she all the Power, whom as a Slave bought with money is wont to do his Lady and Patroness, he would observe and obey to the utmost. She being of her self very easy, and finding the business of Government more troublesome than he had imagined, after three days deliberation complied with them, and (adopting him for her Son, saith *Cedrenus*, though others write that this was done before) caused him to be adorned with the Imperial Diadem, of which he was unworthy, not so much in respect to his obscure Birth and Family (his Father's Trade having been to pitch Ships) but to his disposition and manners, though before the Trial he was reputed active and industrious. As an ill Omen, of what a giddy humour he would prove, at his Coronation he was taken with such a Vertigo and Mist before his Eyes, that he had like to have fallen into a swoon, and with Ointments and Perfumes, could hardly be recovered. But thus did *Michael Calaphates*, the fifth of that Name, become Emperour of the Romans in the Tenth Indiction, A.D. M.XXL Before his Admission, *Zoe* would secure some matters her self. First *John* his Uncle, she removed into a Monastery. Then *Constantine* the Domestick of the Schools, she deprived of his Command, and confined him to his House, as she did also *George the Protovestiarus*.

His Character.

112. It's observed of the Reign of *Michael*, that during its continuance, there was still an Earthquake in one part or other of the Empire. Such were his Actions, that they quickly produced an Alteration in his Fortune. He was deceitful and highly ingratul, having no regard either to the obligations of Nature or Friendship, of so lavish a Tongue, that never regarded what he said, his Heart and Lips never agreeing: In adversity most base and servile, and born to punish the Crimes of his Uncle *John*, and to procure the Ruine of all his Family. For some time however his Uncle had been outed by the Emperess, yet he used his advice, gave him great Titles and most fair words; but either to please the Emperess, or rather to gratify his own Humour by degrees, bore himself to him after a quite contrary Fashion; being so far from giving him any respect, that he took all occasions to cross and to affront him. The only Person of his Kindred to whom he bore any respect was his Uncle *Constantine*, whom he prevailed with *Zoe* to have recalled from his Confinement: on him he conferred the Title of *Nobilissimus*, and would have him near him, suffering him to affront his Brother *John* in his Presence without any reprehension, which caused *John* to depart at a good distance from the City. Hereupon *Michael* broke out into open Enmity against him. He had formerly sent for him to Court, but when he was to come, on purpose absented himself at the Theatre, to behold the *Circenian Games*. Now again he sent a Gally for him to give an account of his proud Carriage, and when he was come near the Palace, ordered him to be carried away into Banishment: And thus he rewarded him, by whose Craft and Design he had both received the Dignity of *Cæsar*, and the Imperial Power. Having thus removed him, he dealt no better with his other Relations, many of whom not only men in Size, but bearded by reason of their Age, nay both Husbands and Fathers he caused to be gelded, and made Eunuchs. He had now obtained the Conquest over his own Kindred, but another Triumph remained, which required more than Herculean pains. This was to reduce the Emperess *Zoe* to a private Life, and this he resolved upon by the advice and assistance of his Uncle *Constantine*, and first attempted it by these means.

And deposing *Zoe* the Emperess.

113. This most Ignoble (adoptive) Son causes odd rumours to be spread (say our Authors) against his most Noble Mother, reporting her guilty of many Crimes, particularly of witchcraft and sorcery, and that he Plotted to take away his Life. Having thus made his way he casts her out of the Court, banishes her into the Princes Island, causes one who had so well deserved of him to be shaven, and instead of the Purple which had descended to her from her many Ancestours, to put on the Habit of a Nun. *Cedrenus* writes that before he did this he resolved to try how the affections of the Citizens of *Constantinople* stood, after this manner: The next Lord's day after *Easter* he ordered a solemn Procession to be made to the Church of the *Apollon*; in which he appeared with his Diadem on his Head, and waited on by all the Senate. All the People ran to the show, and those that lived in the Streets through which he passed from the Palace adorned the Walls and Windows of their Houses, as is usual, with the best and richest Hangings; they had to Grace the Solemnity, and were not wanting to follow him with usual Acclamations. This the vain and miserable Man concluded to proceed from their intense af-

Zonaras Tom. 2. in *Michael Calaphates*.

fection

fection to him, and in the night following put his device in practice in the manner formerly related. "The day following he caused a writing publickly to be read by the Prefect of the City to this purpose, that he had banished *Zoe* because she was an Enemy to his Government, and removed *Alexius* from the Patriarchate for consenting to her Designs, promising his People all protection and all good things if they remained firm in their Duty and Allegiance to him. As the Prefect was concluding, some one amongst the multitude was heard to say, *We will not have Staurapta Calaphates for our Emperour, but we will obey Zoe our Mother to whom the Empire is justly defended by hereditary right*, to which presently all the People acclaimed as with one voice. *Let Calaphates his Eyes be pulled out.* Then with stones and all other things that came to hand they fell upon the Prefect (this was *Anastasi*, a Patritian, formerly one of the Ministers of *Zoe's* Father) and had certainly kill'd him had he not speedily got away.

114. *Zonaras* writes that *Michael*, after his deposing of *Zoe* accounting himself secure, fell to his pleasures and former delights, and therein was suddenly surprized. For at what had happened to the Emperess all the People was affected no otherwise than each one is wont to be at his own Calamity and misfortune: the Men bethought themselves of what her Ancestours had performed, and the Women concerned for her Sex as well as Birth failed not to contribute their passions for making up a publick discontent. The whole City out of a discontent broke out into a publick Rage and sedition, and every Man resolved to venture his Life in vindication of her to whom the right belonged. The Patriarch out of fear of being deposed had taken *Cedrenus*, up his residence in the great Church, where hearing the joyfull News of those commotions he expected to hear of the deposition of *Michael*. Thither repaired all the Eunuchs that had belonged to the Father of *Zoe*, with *Constantine Cabasilas* the Patritian, and now they durst shew themselves to all the rest of the Senatours, who with Unanimous consent sent for *Theodora* out of *Petrium* and in the Church saluted her Emperess together with her Sister *Zoe*. Then with all the multitude they made to the Court, thence to expell *Michael*, who at first was little sensible of the danger wherein he stood, till seeing the People so much bandy together and his Guards out of conscience incline to the side of the Women, he was then very much affrighted. His Uncle the *Nobilissimus* to provide both for his own security, and his Estate, sent and fetcht back *Zoe* into the Palace, and against the Nobility opposed some Companies of Souldiers who restrained their violence a little though with the loss of many Lives, till they brought her to the Theatre and there shewed to them their Lady and Mistress, having devided her of her veil and restored to her all the imperial Ornaments. They imagined this would quiet the People, but so far was it from it that the sight of two together, so divers as to their Birth and Education, the more enraged them, which they testified not only by most reproachfull words but by casting of Stones and all other expressions of Fury and Indignation.

115. *Michael* now despairing to doe any good resolved to depart into a Monastery, and there take the Religious Habit, but his Uncle would not permit him, telling him an Empire was not so easily to be parted with, that it was manfully to be defended, and to be parted with by a generous and resolute death worthy of so great a Prince. Resolution being taken accordingly, all that were in the Court were Armed, and it was esteemed very good fortune that *Catacalo Ambustus* was lately arrived out of *Sicily* with the welcome News of what had happened at *Messana*, whose presence and Assistance not a little encouraged the Emperour. The multitude Attacking the Court in three several Parties, the defendants were also divided into so many, who being well Armed killed many of the unarmed People, who with Stones, peices of Wood or any thing they could light on engaged with the Souldiers and three Thousand Men are said to have perished in this Attempt. But however the Citizens at length by their Numbers prevailed, and breaking into the Palace made Booty all the Treasure, and what else they could there find, tore in pieces the Rolls of the Tributes and sought diligently how to take *Michael*, who seeing that there was no more contending nor striving against so great a stream, took a Pinace, and with the *Nobilissimus* fled to the Monastery of *Studium* where they both took the Religious Habit, and so this content ended after three days and as many nights. *Zoe* who was left in the

Upon which a tumult arises in the City of Constantinople.

Theodora sent for and saluted Emperess together with her Sister *Zoe* who is brought back into the Palace.

The Citizens Attacking the Court.

And force the Emperour to fly in his Pinace to *Studium* where he takes the Religious Habit.

the Palace having now recovered the Sovereign power disdained to think that her Sister should Reign with her, but the Senate and People would needs have it so, and she was forced to acquiesce in their Resolution and admit *Theodora* into the Palace. Then from an high Place did she make a speech, first to the Senate, and then to the People, giving them thanks for their great kindness expressed to her and her Family, wishing and promising them all returns of kindness, and she desired to know their opinions what should be done with the Emperour, for such he was, and according to the Rules of the Government for such he could not be denied.

116. The Universal Cry was that the wicked wretch as they termed him, should be made away; some named the nailing him to a Pole, others to a Cross, and others more mercifull, propounded the saving of his Life by the loss of his Eyes. *Zoe* pitied the Man (as a Creature it's likely of her own making, for we naturally love those to whom we have been in the place of Parents or Benefactors) and was for sparing him; but *Theodora* full of Animosity for her long confinement, and desirous to vent her Anger against any one, gave order to *Capanares*, one who was lately made Prefect of the City, to goe speedily and pull out the Eyes of him and the *Nobilissimus*. His Errand and Voyage being known, the multitude followed him to the Monastery, where the two Princes upon notice of their coming betook themselves into the most secret recesses of the Church of St. *John Baptist*, but the People the more incensed for the death of so many of their Relations and Neighbours dragged them out by the Heels through the Forum to the place called *Signa* above the Monastery of *Peribleptus* and there pulled out their Eyes, *Constantine* bearing it very patiently, but *Michael* with Reluctancy and Lamentation desiring them to doe it to his Uncle first who had been the Author and cause of all the Evils of which they complained, and he had the favour to close his Eyes with the sight of that Spectacle. After the blinding of them they were both banished, *Constantine* and others of his kindred to several places and *Michael* to *Elegius* on the twenty first day of April the tenth Indiction after he had Reigned four Months and five days. The two Emperesses (or rather *Zoe* alone) being thus made sure of began to settle the Commonwealth and their own Estate by bestowing Honours upon the Senatours, and distributing Money amongst the People as the case required: and commands were sent into all the Provinces that no Offices of Magistracy should be fold which before had been the ordinary course, and all Acts of Injustice and Oppression were severely forbidden. There being great occasion for Money, the *Nobilissimus* was fetch'd back to the Court, and being questioned concerning the publick Treasure, was by threats brought to discover three and fifty Centenaries of Gold hid at his House, which being found he was returned to the former place of his confinement. Then was *Nicholas* the President made Domestick of the Schools of the East having been the Eunuch of their Father, and of the West, *Constantine Cabasilas* the Patritian. And *John Maniaces* whom *Michael* had dismissed out of Custody from a Patritian was honoured with the Dignity of *Magister*, and with full Authority sent General of an Army into *Italy*.

117. Though matters were thus well ordered, yet the State seemed not settled except an Emperour was created, which all Men wished, and that should be lawfully married to *Zoe*. And the being as desirous of an Husband as they were of an Emperour had already cast her thoughts and affections upon several. The first was *Constantine Delafenus*, who was sent for to Court as upon some other occasion; but he spake so roughly and seemed so intractable that he was rejected. The next was one *Constantine Catapano* the Husband of another Woman, though her Paramour; but his Wife not enduring the thought that he should part with him in that manner chose rather by Poison to send him to another World, that neither of them might enjoy him. Being thus prevented as to him she resolved upon one *Constantine Monomachus*, whom *John* having banished to *Mytilena*, because a rumour was spread that he should Reign, he had recalled, and while the yet thought of Marrying the other *Constantine* had made Pretor or Judge of the *Greeks*. He was a Man both Noble as to his extraction and very handsome. His first Wife dying he married the Niece of *Romanus* the Emperour by his Brother, but by that Alliance got not any preferment; yet coming by that means often to Court he had opportunity to be in the Emperess's sight and became very familiar with her, and she was so kind to him (as to say truth her humour was ever free and generous) that from her bounty he received great summs of

Michael and the *Nobilissimus* have their Eyes put out and are banished.

Zoe and *Theodora* being Emperesses.

Theodora being Emperess.

Constantine Delafenus being sent for to Court.

of Money. This made some suspicious and credulous Persons talk hardly of them and *Michael* the Successor of *Romanus* out of mere jealousy though for some pretended Crimes confined the Man to *Lesbus* where he continued all his time, and found not the other *Michael* that followed more favourable to him. Being now sent for to the City he was stopped at the Church of St. *Michael* in *Damocrania* and *Stephen* of *Pergamenus* an Eunuch of the Chamber meeting him adorned him with Purple and brought him in a Pinace to *Constantinople* where he was Married to *Zoe* by one *Styres* a Priest of New Rome, as *Cedrenus* calls him, for *Alexius* the Patriarch refused to solemnize the Nuptials because of the third Marriage, so terrible a matter in those days, yet did he set the Crown on his Head the day following. Thus did *Constantine* surnamed *Monomachus* obtain the imperial Dignity on the eleventh day of June in the tenth Indiction. A. D. M. XLII. And the power of the two Sisters became extinct after it had continued scarcely three months which though it pleased the People, out of respect to the Nobility of their House and their hatred to *Michael*, yet to the prudent folk seemed very uncouth and indecent. For odd they thought it to see two Women sit together upon the Tribunal, to have all Royal Ceremonies performed to two of that sex at the same time, incircled with the usual Guards and attended by the Senators and principal Magistrates: to see causes debated before them, all affairs of State handled in their presence; to behold them giving audience to Ambassadors, presiding in the Senate and the other publick and solemn Assemblies of the Empire.

118. The general satisfaction for having an Emperor was no wit diminished by the first Observations made upon the Carriage and Demeanour of *Monomachus*. For the Senators he immediately obliged by preferring them to places of Dignity and profit, and the People by distribution of Money, as he thought he had Interest and Opportunity. For satisfaction of the Provinces he sent abroad his Edicts, by which giving notice of his Promotion, he promised all good Offices, and the removal of all Grievances whatsoever. *John* the Great Actour in the days of his Brother, he removed into *Lesbus*, *Michael* his Nephew, lately deposed, into *Chius*, and *Constantine Nobilissimus* into *Samus*, whereby he farther pleased the People. But Wife men and such as pried nearer into his Actions and the Methods of his Government observed, that without any Prudence or grave consideration he conferred Dignities, and bestowed Money, as well the unfit as fit, the unworthy as worthy receiving his Favours; and he never regarded whether there was Money or no Money in the Treasury. But this could not hinder him from being Popular, or not obvious to the eyes of the Vulgar, to whom other things did farther commend him. For he frankly and freely forgave such from whom he had received Injuries when a private man; and he was so wise as to give content at home, making himself acceptable to the two Women by a Pleasant and Debonnair Carriage, and he little cared to perplex himself and fouse his humour by much and difficult busines, but rather indulged his Pleasures and took his ease. He seemed to Countenance men of Ingenuity and Learning, though of the latter he scarcely had received any taste. But the Provinces were in no good condition, however matters stood at Court and in the City. On the sixth of October in the eleventh Indiction a Comet appeared traversing the Heavens from the East to the West, and kept on its Course as long as that Month continued, being afterward esteemed to foretell and predict those Calamities which shortly after happened. *Stephen Boihlslabus* who, as was said, escaped from *Constantinople*, had seized on the Mountains of *Illyricum*, of the *Triballi* and *Servi*, and thence like a Beast of Prey fell down upon the adjacent Territories of the Empire, and did very great mischief to the Inhabitants. Hereupon the Emperor sent Orders to *Michael* a Patritian the Son of *Anastafus* the *Logotheta*, and then Governour of *Dyrrachium*, to raise what force he could out of the adjoining Provinces, and hunt him out. But it's both the weakness and grievous punishment of the folly of a Prince, to chuse unfit Persons for the management of busines. This *Michael* had not the least skill in Martial Matters, was an Effeminate and Diffolute Person, brought up in Idleness and Luxury and now ordered his Affairs like such a General, with sixty thousand men he marched into the Territories of the *Triballi*, and that through such difficult, rough, steep, and narrow ways, that only two Horsemens could ride abreast. The *Servi* living at those Straits, observed his motion and suffered him without Interruption to pass them into the Champion Countrey, and there to burn and plunder at his pleasure, but watched his return and possessed themselves of all the Straits and difficult Passages. And when loaded with booty and without fear or wit he re-entred, they fell up-

Constantine Monomachus married to Zoe, and chosen Emperor.

He obliges his Subjects.

And acceptable to the Emperress.

He sends an Army against the Triballi.

Which is destroyed at its return through the Straits.

on him and his Army with Stones, Earth, Darts, and all other things convenient from the higher ground, that of the miserable Souldiers who could not in the least defend themselves nor stir any way forty thousand were slain. The rest passing the Holes and Valleys which were now filled up with the Carcasses of their Fellows got up to the Mountains as they could, and by Night together with their Prudent General escaped.

119. At the same time a great danger threatened the Emperor from *Italy*, where *George Maniaces* usurped the Sovereignty for these Causes and upon these occasions. When first this *George* was by *Michael* sent into *Italy* to assist *Apollaphar* the Prince of *Sicily* against his Brother and the *Africans*, he took to his assistance five hundred *Franks* Commanded by one *Arduin* the Lord of a certain Region subject to none other, and by their assistance did he obtain all his Trophies in that War. When he was removed from his Charge, *Michael Doceanus* the *Protospatharian*, a silly Man, omitted to pay these *Franks* their monthly Wages as he had been wont; and when their Captain came to him, and desired him to be more courteous to the Souldiers, and not defraud them of their Wages, he contumeliously beat him, which caused the *Franks* to Revolt. He to chastize and reduce them would not use all the Force he might, but engaged them with the *Opfician* Legion, and a part of that of the *Thracians* upon the River *Anfidus* at *Canna*, and there lost the greater part of his Army, where the *Romans* long before had been ignominiously beaten by *Hannibal*. Yet did not this experiment teach him any wisdom, so as sufficiently to furnish himself for another Engagement, but only rallying together such as had been lately beaten with some *Pisidian* and *Lycanian*, which made up the Legion of the *Phoberati*, he fell rashly upon the *Franks* again, now strengthened by considerable Supplies, and from them received a great Overthrow. *Michael* the Emperor having Information of his Conduct; sent one *Boioannes* to succeed him, a Man of much repute for matters of War, Descended from *Boioannes*, who under the Reign of *Basilius* reduced all *Italy* as far as *Rome* to his obedience. But he having none but beaten and discouraged Men to lead against the Enemy, was so far from driving them out, that he could not defend his own Posts, but was defeated at *Monopolis* and taken Prisoner; after which the *Franks* so bestirred themselves, that they brought under *Italy*, four Cities only remaining to the *Romans*, (our Authors mean the Emperor) viz. *Brundisium*, *Hidriis*, *Tarentum* and *Baris*.

Italy taken from the Emperor by the Franks except four Cities.

120. Now *Michael* the Emperor being dead, and *Calaphates* deposed, *Maniaces*, as we said, was sent into *Italy*, and there, though he laboured under the same difficulty of want of Men as those before him had done, yet so far exceeding them in the Art of a General, that he drove the *Franks* from *Capua*, *Beneventum* and *Naples*, and brought the Countrey into a reasonable good condition. Whilst he employed himself there in his Command, *Romanus Sclerus* who was his Neighbour where his Estate lay in the Eastern Parts, who bore him mortal hatred for an Injury he thought done to him, did him such mischief as forced him upon an Attempt, the Issue of which proved destructive to him. The Sister of this *Sclerus* was the Emperor *Monomachus* his Mistress, who on her so doted, that besides all other things she desired, he preferred her Brother to be *Magister* and *Protospathar*. Puffed up with this advancement, and now thinking he might do any thing, he both injured him in his Estate and Lands, and lay with his Wife very licentiously. *Maniaces* having notice hereof, boyled with Rage, and by no means could digest the Affront, but as he was thinking how to be revenged for these Injuries his thoughts were farther employed by another, for *Sclerus* procured him to be turn'd out of his Employment in *Italy*. This made him desperate, for he could not but expect still worse at Court where his Enemy had so great an Interest, and drove him into a Resolution of Usurping and taking Arms against the Emperor. He killed him that was sent to succeed him, one *Pardus* a *Protospatharian*, a Fellow not at all fit for such an Employment, but only because he was known to *Monomachus*, and then took the Diadem with other Ensigns of Majesty, and was by the Forces of *Italy* which he easily cajoled to this Service, saluted Emperor. Putting his Army Aboard he passed over into *Bulgaria*, with the News whereof they were so struck at *Constantinople*, that Letters were written to him in the Emperor's Name, which promised Pardon to him and his Followers for all that was past, besides good Rewards, if they would return to their former obedience. But he continuing fixt in his Resolution, an Army was got together, and committed to the Conduct of *Stephanus Sebastophorus*, who brought the tidings of his Promotion to *Monomachus* when he met him at *Damocranea*. At a

Maniaces usurps in Italy.

Entering Bulgaria.

Is met by Stephen the Emperor's General, and in Battle wounded, of which he dies.

place called *Ostrobos* they met, and then *Stephen* had the worth of it, *Maniaces* leading on his own Men, and fighting stoutly in the Head of them. And all now received and acknowledged him for Emperor in the Field, when suddenly he fell down dead from his Horse, having it seems received a mortal wound in his Breast, though not known from what Hand. Now was the Scene quite changed: they who a little before did him reverence as Emperor, now rallied at him as a Traitor, and his Head being cut off, his Men submitted to the present Power. *Stephen* for his great Conquest returned in triumph to the City, where for a few the Head of *Maniaces* was carried on the point of a Spear, and some of those whom the Death of their General, not the valour of *Stephen* had subdued, to encrease the Pageantry followed it as a Trophy upon Asses; the worthy Conquerour bringing up the Rere on a Milk-white Steed.

An account of
Constantine,
with *Sclerena*
his Doxy.

121. But into so great danger was *Monomachus* brought by his Mistress, a Lady so considerable, that *Zonaras* thinks it not a thing below the Dignity of an Historian to give an account of their Amours; he having Buried two Wives, had no mind to Marry a third, but it seems judging Fornication better than a breach of that humour so much applauded in those days, used the company of this Woman, being a Widow, and the Kinswoman of one of his Wives, at first privately, but afterwards without any dissimulation. She was Young, very Beautiful, and descended of the Noble Family of the *Scleri*, which attracted his Affections to her, but she was not at all in his debt; the testifications of her Love to him were full as large and significant. They could neither of them be at quiet if they were not together; and when he was banished the followed him, not able to live but in his company, where by all her Arts she endeavoured to make his condition as easy as might be, both with her society, advice and supply of his wants, so far as her Estate would allow, having a strange fancy all along that one day he would arrive at the Sovereignty. And when at the Sovereignty he arrived, at the height of his Prosperity he forgot not her that had been his chief comfort in his distress, but got the consent of the Empress that she might be sent for to Court and provided for, with which *Zoe* was well enough content, the greatness of her Age having now mortified Jealousie in her, together with her experience of the misfortunes which this life affords. Now was *Sclerena* removed from *Mitylena* to the City, where at first she was in no splendour either as to House or Attendance, but by degrees was served like an Empress, and her House turned as into a Court. For *Monomachus*, where she lay built very sumptuously both for her convenience, and chat under pretence of overseeing his Workmen he might have often occasions to make her Visits. At first he was shrewd cautious of being discovered in his Amours, but at length cast off all dissimulation, and used her not as a Concubine and Vice-wife, but as one to whom he had been lawfully Married. Now all the Treasury is at her Command, and not enduring her absence hardly for a moment, he obtains the consent of the Empress for bringing her into the Court, where by his endeavours a great friendship was contracted betwixt them, so as *Zoe* grudged her neither the Name nor Honours of an Empress, and contented her self with his company when she knew he was not with his Mistress. Thus lived he and his *Sclerena* together, hoping still for a nearer conjunction, at least which would more satisfy the World, when on a sudden death prevented it, snatching her away, to his great discontentment, a little before the Civil War of *Maniaces*, occasioned by his Power and Intercession for her Brother, as some write, though by a Sedition there happened upon her account it appears that she lived longer.

122. But the Civil War raised by *Maniaces* was not all the Difficulty where-with the Emperor struggled at the same time. *Theophilus Eroticus* the Governour of *Cyprus*, a man greedy of Novelty, when he heard of the Death of *Calaphates*, and the confusion which thereupon happened, thinking it a seasonable time for putting in practice what he had designed, put all the Inhabitants of the Island into a Tumult, and excited them to the Murder of *Theophylact a Protospatharius*, a Judge there, and the Chief Collector of the Tributes. But it succeeded well that *Constantine Chages* a Patritian being ready at Hand, without any more trouble to the Emperor or much ado, seduced the Island, and therein taking the Rebel brought him to *Constantinople*, where a Woman's Coat was put upon him, and therein he was shewn at the *Circensian Games*, which done, and his Estate confiscated, he was then dismissed. On the second of May following the Eyes of *John* the Brother and Great Minister of *Michael* the *Paphlagonian* were put out, some say by command of *Theodora*, but as most affirmed by order of *Monomachus* himself, out of revenge for his long Confinement, which misfortune he survived

The *Reffians*
break the
League with
the Empire.

lived but eleven days. In the month of July *Stephen Sabasophorus* was accused of Conspiring against the Emperor, to prefer *Leo* a Patritian to his Place, and make the Son of *Lampus* Governour of *Melitena*; for which *Stephen* was condemned to a Monastick life, having all his Estate seized, and *Lampus* was cruelly tortured, shewed up and down the Forum, and deprived of his Eyes, after which he soon died. At the same time, the same month the *Reffians* again took Arms, who had for a long time held so good correspondence with the Empire, that there was mutual commerce, and the Merchants went to and fro without the least Interruption. Now it happened that at *Constantinople* there was a quarrel amongst the Tradesmen, and it so fell out, that one of those *Scythian* Merchants was killed. The Prince of the Countrey, *Bladimer* by Name, a passionate Man and restless, took the matter so heinously, that without any delay he rallied all his Subjects that were fit to bear Arms, and besides procuring many Auxiliaries out of the Northern Nations, an Army of a hundred thousand Men he put into their usual Boats, whereof each was made of one Tree, and so proceeded against the City. The Emperor as soon as he knew of his Design sent to him, and offered all reasonable satisfaction if he would lay down Arms, and pressed him much not for slight causes to break that Peace which for so many years had been preserved inviolable betwixt the Nations; but he returning a fawcy Answer, and treating the Messengers with much disrespect, he then provided for his own security. All *Scythian* Merchants and others that were spread up and down the Empire he caused to be secured for fear of any Conspiracy. Then got he ready all the Gallies and Vessels he could compass, and putting aboard as many Forces as the time would permit him, he himself in a Pinnace led them against the Enemy, whom he found in the Straits about *Pharus*. Besides his Fleet a strong Party of Horse waited and attended his motions all along the Shore.

123. There the Fleets faced each other, but neither would begin the Fight; the *Scythians* keeping themselves within the Haven, and the *Romans* attending what course they would Steer. The time being spent, and Night approaching, the Emperor sent to *Bladimer* the second time to move him to Peace, but he as peremptorily and fawcily as ever, rejected his offer, declaring he would not lay down Arms except he should have paid down three Pounds of Gold for every Man he had with him. This Answer being so insolent and extravagant, *Monachus* prepared himself to Fight. He gave order to *Basilus Theodorocranus* a *Magister*, with three swift Gallies to make a gentle onset to skirmish with the *Reffians*, and provoke them to Fight, to see how they would order their matters. But he instead of skirmishing passed into the middle of them, burnt with Wild-fire seven of their Vessels, sunk other three with all the Men in them, and took another, having either killed or driven out all those that were aboard. Then did the Emperor make up to them with his whole Fleet, which perceiving, they concluded that if they could not sustain the violence of three Gallies, they should never be able to endure the whole shock, and therefore shifted for themselves as they could, ran upon the Rocks and Shelves, and lost most of their Vessels; and such as escaped to the Shore the Emperor's Horse fell upon and killed so many, that fifteen thousand of their dead Bodies were afterwards found upon the Shore. The *Scythians* being thus defeated, after a farther stay of two days the Emperor returned to *Constantinople*, leaving a sufficient Power under command of *Nicholas* one of the Chamber, and *Theodorocranus* with orders to look well to the Maritime Coast, not to suffer the Barbarians to land, and that the whole Fleet should be still in the Bay of *Pharus*. But however it happened, twenty four *Trimeres* separated from the rest of the Fleet, pursued the Enemy so far till they passed the Bay wherein they lay, and were driven beyond them. The *Scythians* perceiving this, and how Wind and all things served, resolved to intercept their passage, which they easily did in the Straits, by lying thick from one shore to the other. There being no way to escape, *Constantine Caballarius* a Patritian, the Captain of the *Cibyraeota* with his and other Gallies endeavoured to make a passage, but was killed as he manfully fought, and his Ship with four others, together with the Men fell into the Hands of the *Reffians*; the other Ships were split upon the Rocks or run ashore. The Men were some drowned, some killed or taken by the Enemy, and such as escaped came in much shame and consternation to their Friends. The *Reffians* having beyond all expectation done so much mischief, made the more comfortable Retreat. But being forced to return awell by Land as by Sea (so many of their Vessels had miscarried) they fell into the Territories of the Government of *Catacalo*, *Bessa Ambustus*, who then commanded the Coast about *Iffer*, and

But some of
the Gallies
pursuing too
far, are de-
stroyed by the
Enemy.

The Island
Cyprus reduced to obedi-
ence.

and were most of them killed and taken, of the later of which he sent five Hundred bound in Chains to the Emperor, having, to his great Commendation when first these *Scythians* arrived, been very watchfull in his Charge, so as to hinder their landing, and destroy many of them. And his Care and Industry, he continued to this very last.

124. In the twelfth Indiction the Month of *September*, the second year of *Monomachus*, so great a Tempest happened, that in a manner destroyed all the Grapes of that year. On the Ninth Day of *March* following, which was consecrated to the Memory of the forty Martyrs, the Emperor being about his Devotion, was stopped by a Sedition of the People. Going on Foot in Procession accompanied with his Guards, and followed by the Acclamations of the People, from the Palace to the Church, of our Saviour in *Chalce*, he there took Horse to pass on to the Church of the Martyrs, when from amongst the Multitude this Voice was heard. *We will not have Scleraxa be Emperress, nor our Sovereign Ladies Zoe and Theodora Porphyrogenita, to die upon her Account*, which cast all into Confusion and Tumults, wherein the Rabble demanded the Life of the Emperor, and they had taken it had not the two Emperresses shewed themselves to them from an high place, and by good words appeased them. But the Emperor was frighted from his Procession, and was glad in an whole Skin to escape into the Palace. The following year, he thought himself concerned in honour to make challenge of a City which he found belonged to the Empire upon this occasion. At such time as *George* Prince of the *Abasgians*, made War upon the *Romans*, he was assisted by one *Johannes*, the Lord of a City called *Anium*. But when *Basilus* the Emperor invaded *Iberia*, and was too hard for *George*, then *Johannes* fearing he should be punished for what he had done fed to the Emperor, and gave up himself with the Keys of the City into his Hands, which rendition *Basilus*, accepting, honoured him with the Dignity of a *Magister*, and made him Governour of *Anium* and *Armenia* the Great for his Life, with this caution of writing, that after his death it should revolve upon the Empire as Part thereof. But *Basilus* being dead, and many years after him *Johannes*, his Son *Cacicius* entred upon the Government, and it being not observed kept his Fathers Territories in good Peace and Friendship with the *Romans*. Now *Monomachus* finding the writing in the Archives, was resolved to make demand of the Restitution of *Anium*, and all the Great *Armenia* as the Heir of *Basilus*. *Cacicius* professed himself the Friend and Servant of the Emperor, but seeking for Excuses and Delays, *Monomachus* resolved to recover his Right by Force of Arms, and committed an Army to the Conduct of *Michael Belta*, *Jastis* newly designed Governour of *Iberia*, with order to make War upon *Cacicius*.

125. *Cacicius* considering into what straits he was brought, made all preparations he could for defence, and had rather the better of *Jastis*, to whose aid then was sent *Nicholas* Domestick of the Schools, formerly of the Chamber to *Constantine* the Emperor with a great Army, to suppress *Cacicius* by mere Numbers if nothing else will do it, and moreover the Emperor wrote Letters to *Aplepharius* the Governour of *Tibium*, and that *Perfarmania* which lies upon the River *Araxes*, to fall upon him on his side the Country. *Aplepharius* wrote back again, that on this Condition he would do it, if the Emperor would under his Hand make a grant to him of whatsoever he should take from *Cacicius*, which he did accordingly, an Instrument being written and confirmed by the Golden Bull. He having received this, applied himself to his work, and took many Castles and Forts belonging to *Cacicius*, who being thus beset on all sides, and despairing to extricate himself out of such difficulties, made Peace with *Nicholas*, and by him giving up himself and the City to the Emperor, afterward went to him, and from him receiving the Dignity of a *Magister*, with Ample Revenues from *Cappadocia*, and elsewhere, lived thenceforth a quiet and peaceable Life. Now did *Monomachus* demand the Castles and Forts, which *Aplepharius* had taken as part of the Dominion of *Anium*, which he refusing to surrender, and alledging the Golden Bull whereby they were granted to him, Command was sent to *Nicholas*, with the Roman and *Iberian* Forces, and those that had belonged to *Cacicius* to make War upon him, and recover them by Force. *Nicholas* accordingly sends *Jastis* to lay siege to *Tibium*. *Aplepharius* being a very good Soldier, and knowing himself not in a condition to grapple with the *Romans*, keeps himself within the Walls, and beforehand lays all the Ground adjoining under Water by Sluces made from the River, and he places in the Vineyards which were

A Tumult in the City of Constantinople concerning Zoe and Theodora.

Constantine challenges the City Anium and Armenia the Great as belonging to the Empire.

And sending thither an Army hath them delivered up.

Then they lay Siege to Tibium.

on higher Ground a Number of Archers, whom he bid expect the sign he should give them by Trumpet, and in this posture expect the coming of the Enemy. The Officers of the *Romans* finding him close in the Town, and the Grounds under Water, concluded it was out of fear and desperation, and hastened out order to get to the Walls by the ways that were left passable, and take possession of what was already their own. Then did *Aplepharius* give the sign to those he had placed in Ambush, who from the Vineyards with Arrows, Darts and Stones, made great slaughter of these unwary Men, who were so intangled in Thickets, Ditches and Water, that not able to defend themselves or fly, an innumerable Number of them there perished, and *Jastis* with some other Officers, escaped with the News of the Adventure and Success to *Nicholas*. The Emperor having notice of the Defeat, put both *Nicholas* and *Jastis* out of their Offices, and in place of the latter made *Ambulphus* Governour of *Iberia*. In the Room of *Nicholas* he made General one *Constantine* Captain of the great *Sodality*, as it was termed, an Eunuch descended from the *Saracens*, but most faithful to him, who had much served him when yet in a private Condition. These coming sufficiently furnished into the Province, thought not fit to lay siege to *Tibium* the principal Town, but took in several Forts belonging to *Anium*, very strong and situate on Craggy Rocks, which *Aplepharius* often attempted to relieve; but in vain. Thence they removed to a strong Castle near to *Tibium*, called *Chelidonium*, about which they drew a Trench, and had taken it or starved out the Defendants; but that the Usurpation of *Tornicius* in the West, obstructed both this and other Proceedings.

126. This *Leo Tornicius* being formerly Governour of *Iberia*, had upon a surmise of a Conspiracy for advancing himself been turn'd out of Command, been shaven and put into a Monastery, though the Emperor's near Kinsman by his Mother. His dwelling having been at *Adrianople* (formerly called *Orestias*, from *Orestes* the Son of *Agamemnon*) he had the *Macedonians* much at his Devotion, who exceedingly esteemed him, for he was a Man both beautiful and of excellent parts, and had a certain way peculiar to himself of gaining love from those with whom he conversed: but what got him most Reverence, a Report or Prophecy went about, that in time he should come to be Emperor. These and other things caused *Monomachus* his Kinsman much to dislike him. On the other side, *Eupropia* the Emperor's Sister used him with great respect: being a Woman indeed of a very generous mind, very noble and rich, but not at all acceptable to her Brother, who stood in awe of her, because of her eminent Wisdom. And to be even with him, the neither received any thing from, nor frequented the Court, but when he met him was wont to carry it very high towards him, would rebuke and chide him, and when he fell into passion for her so doing, would by silence contemn and dissemble it. He perceiving her great affection to *Tornicius*, on purpose to separate them made him Governour of *Iberia*, where all things prospering under him, and he flourishing in great repute, thence some took occasion of calumniating him to the Emperor, who caused him to be shaven and to take the Habit of a Monk. But the *Macedonians*, as was said, being much addicted to him, carried away by Night out of *Constantinople*, and at *Adrianople* saluted him *Emperor*, whither great Confluence there was made of Soldiers from all those Parts, either through desire of Plunder and Innovation, out of love to him or hatred to *Monomachus* who had much disliked, and as much distrustful of late the military Men. Thus encouraged, he resolved with all speed to march for *Constantinople*, which he had great hopes would instantly be put into his Hands by the Citizens, who for certain Causes bore neither at present any good will to the Emperor, and the Armies of the East had their Hands sufficiently full in those Quarters. With these hopes he incamped before the City, with intention to use violence if fair words would not prevail. The next Morning coming up with his Army to the Walls about *Blachernæ*, he summoned the Town, and by great promises invited those that kept the Gates to open them; but they not only refusing, but reviling him with ill Language, he then gave the Onset.

127. The Emperor all this while was very solicitous, not being (at least as he thought) sufficiently provided for so furprising a Mischief. In the first place he sent into *Iberia* to *Constantine*, to come to him with all the speed he could make, whatever his business at present should be. But for making effectual opposition against the Enemy now endeavouring to scale the Walls, he brought the Citizens and others together, not exceeding a thousand Men. Now as to the Management of this affair, accounts

Put by an Ambush are all cut off.

Leo Tornicius usurs.

Laying Siege to Constantinople.

Megasthenes 2129.

Zenar.

counts are very different. *Cedrenus* writes of his going out into the Field, with a contemptible Number in respect of the Enemy, and how his Men were beaten back, and driven into the Trench, he himself with difficulty escaping into the City, which might have been taken with the greatest ease, had the Usurper prosecuted his Victory; not only the Gates, but the Walls themselves about *Blachernæ*, being left desolate. On the other side *Zonaras* tells us, that the Emperor never went out of the City, but in his *Imperialibus* shewed himself upon the Wall, thinking thereby to strike some awe into the Rebels. But the *Macedonians* on the contrary, being accustomed to scurrility, with bitter Invectives reviled him, singing Songs, and using Gestures, chosen for such an occasion, and such as issued out with Loaths and Ignominy they beat in again, or else killed or drowned them in the Trench before they could there arrive. But this opportunity which now in a manner begged his acceptance, *Tornicius* did not improve, pursuing those that sallied to the Walls, but never considering whether he could goe any farther. *Monomachus* seeing this, laid hold of the Advantage to bring the Citizens upon the Wall again, and to re-inforce the City, having narrowly escaped the shot of an Arrow, which fell upon one of the under Servants of his Bedchamber, though without any hurt. The day following, *Tornicius* renewed the Assault, but had no more any such advantage, for he was both repulsed, and was nigh being killed by a Stone of a Talent weight, which was cast out of an Engine, by which danger he was so affrighted and discouraged for want of Success, and above all when he perceived, that his Men began to fall off from him to the Emperor, that fearing to be delivered up into his Hands, he raised his siege and retreated to *Arcadiopolis*, where he joined Forces with *John Batatzes*. All the Cities of *Macedonia* and *Thrace* had submitted to him, *Redestus* excepted, which now he sent several of his Captains and Kinsmen to besiege, and afterward followed with all his Army, but attacked it without Success. By this time the Eastern Forces were arrived, and the Emperor sent them directly into *Thrace* against him, under Command of *Michael Jasites* the *Magister*, who incamping himself against him at *Arcadiople*, would not suffer his Men to doe any Injury to the Countreymen, such of *Tornicius* his Souldiers as he took he used very civilly, and by good words and promise of Pardon, endeavoured to draw away all the rest. Now Winter was at hand, and the Arts of *Jasites* had such influence upon them, that they began to consider, that they could not undergo both the Inconmodities of the Season, the want of Provisions, and sustain the Violence of so powerfull an Enemy all together, by degrees they fell off to the *Magister*. For some time, notwithstanding, *Tornicius* would not quit his hopes, as long as obscure Persons only revolted. But when the great Commanders of his Army fell off, then with *Batatzes* who alone stuck by him, he consulted how to escape, and when that could not be they betook themselves into a Church, whence *Jasites* caused them to be fetched, and sent them bound to the Emperor. On Christmas-Eve by his Command their Eyes were put out, such as were most eminent in the Rebellion, were ignominiously led about the Forum, then banished, and their Estates confiscated. The ordinary fort were all sent away into their own Countries.

128. Thus was *Monomachus* happily delivered from this Civil War, but another from abroad now fell upon him, to the Empire the most mischievous of all others, because made upon it by the *Turks*, who in conclusion by their furious and victorious Arms put an end to it, and erected one of their own in its Place. The *Turks*, say our Authours, were an *Humish* Nation, inhabiting the Northern Parts of the Mountain *Caucasus*, most populous and free, as having never submitted the Neck to the Yoke of any Person or People, but laid one of their own upon several others by Degrees, and first upon this occasion. After such time as the *Saracens* had overturned the Kingdom of the *Persians*, and had not only subdued *Persia*, but *Media*, *Babylon*, *Assyria*, *Egypt*, *Africa*, and no small Part of *Europe* it self, they began to fall out among themselves, and their vast Empire was divided into several Portions, so that *Spain*, *Africa*, *Egypt*, *Babylon* and *Persia* had their several Princes, and these Wars one with another. At such time as *Basilius* was Emperor, *Muchmator Mahomet* the Son of *Imbrael*, was Prince of *Persia*, the *Chorasmis*, *Oretani* and *Media*, having War with the *Indians* and *Babylonians*, and put hard to it sent to the Prince of the *Turks* for assistance, desiring three thousand Men, which he accordingly sent him under Command of *Tagrelipax*, or *Tangrolipix Muscalet* the Son of *Michael*, hoping by this means to have a Passage opened into *Persia*, which was hitherto stopped by the several strong

strong Forts which stood upon the River *Araxes*. *Mahomet* making use of these Auxiliaries easily mastered *Pisaftrius* Prince of the *Arabians* whose Men could not endure the force of their Arrows. After this he would have used them against the *Indians*; but they desired to be dismissed and to have the Garrison removed from the Bridge of *Araxes* by which they must of necessity pass, and when he refused, and went to offer violence, they revolted and betook themselves to the Wilderness of *Carbonitis* and the Mountains, not daring to abide a Battle because they were so small a Number. Upon the *Saracens* they fell down continually, and did much mischief to the adjacent Parts, so that to destroy them *Muchmator* sent an Army of twenty Thousand Men commanded by ten of the most Noble of his Nation. The Captains thought it not safe to enter the Desert being not provided of necessaries for so desolate a place, but incamped themselves at the entrance, which *Tangrolipix* understanding fell upon them by night when they little expected it, easily defeated them, and finding in their Camp many Chariots and Horses with much Money, now would not like a Fugitive practise Robberies and make incursions by stealth, but openly shew himself as a fair Warriour. And all Malefactors and discontented Persons that could, now came in to him from the Neighbouring Countries, especially such as loved to maintain themselves by Rapine and Violence, so that in a short time his force was increased to fifty Thousand Men.

129. *Mahomet* enraged at the defeat put out the Eyes of the ten Commanders and threatened such Souldiers as had escaped to lead and shew them abroad in Womens Cloaths, which caused when now when he prepared to renew the War to run from him to *Tangrolipix*, who now came and offered *Mahomet* Battle. He notwithstanding the revolt of these Men had got another Army together of *Saracens*, *Persians*, *Cabarians* and *Arabians*, of about five hundred Thousand and with an hundred Elephants bearing Turrets on their backs gave Battle to his Enemy in a place called *Apachen*, which was fought with much vigour on both sides, but he riding about to animate his Souldiers chanced to fall from his Horse and broke his Neck, whereby the Quarrel was decided, for his Army then submitted and *Tangrolipix* by universal consent was declared King of *Persia* and all *Mahomet's* Dominions. *Tangrolipix* thus promoted presently cleared the Bridge of *Araxes*, and then his Countreymen in great multitudes flocked to him, wherewith having sufficiently strengthened himself he took the Title of *Sultan* (by which *Absolute Emperor or King of Kings* is meant) and invading the *Saracens* and *Persians* divided all the Countrey amongst the *Turks*. Having here settled his Affairs he resolved to make War upon the Neighbouring Princes and first overthrew in several Battels and killed him of *Babylon* whose Dominions he then seized into his hands. After this he sent *Cuthimufes* (his Brother's son) call him, others his Uncle's Son) against the *Arabians* from whom he received a notable defeat, and in his flight asked leave of *Stephen* a Patriarch the Emperor's Governour of *Media* (at that time called *Baspracan*) to pass through that Countrey, which he denying, he made his way by force and worshipping *Sephes* who opposed him took him Prisoner, and in his passage through *Trairezium* sold him to the Lord of the Place. Returning to the *Sultan* he excused himself of the blow received from the *Arabians*, whom he would undertake to subdue if he might but be sent the second time; and by the way he spake of *Baspracan*, how fertile a Countrey it was and easie to be Conquered being held by Women, as he termed those *Roman* Souldiers with whom he had fought.

130. But the *Sultan* was so enraged at him that he designed to put him to death for the loss in *Arabia*, and as for *Media*, he feared to make War against the *Romans* being awed by the fame which the Emperours *Nicephorus*, *Zimisces* and *Basilius* had obtained in the World, and concluding with himself that the valour and power of the Empire was still the same. But while he deliberated hereof *Cuthimufes* for fear, fled and seized on a City in the Countrey of the *Chorasmis* called *Pajar*, a very strong place. When now the *Sultan* was moving against the *Arabians* who had the same success against him, as his Kinsman, and he returned home with the like disgrace. This should have made him have better thoughts of *Cuthimufes*, but he besieged him in *Pajar*, whence he made many sallies, and did much damage to the *Sultan*, who now besides this Iron in the Fire made himself still more work by sending an Army of about twenty Thousand Men to Conquer *Media* under command of *Asan* the Deaf his Brother's Son. *Asan* entering the Countrey destroyed all things in his way, sparing neither Sex nor Age. The Countrey was then Governed by *Aaron Belsa* the Son of *Bladithlabu* and Brother of *Prufians*, who finding himself too weak to grapple with the *Turks* wrote

But not pursuing his Victory is forced to raise the Siege.

And retreat to Arcadiopolis.

There he is defeated by his Followers, and punished for his Rebellion.

The Turks make War upon the Empire.

Tangrolipix a Turk assists the Saracens against the Arabians.

But refusing to fight with the Indians. He revolts.

And defeating Mahomet he declared Sultan and King of all the Dominions of the Persians and Saracens.

Seizes on the Dominions of Babylon.

But is beaten by the Arabians.

Then he sends an Army into Media.

wrote to *Catacalo Belta*, Ambustus the Governour of *Axiom* and *Iberia* to come to his aid with all the speed he could make, which he accordingly did, using great expedition. When they came together and it was propounded whether they should fall upon the *Turks* by night or openly give them Battel by day, *Catacalo* was pleased with neither but advised to have the Camp left with the Baggage and carriage Beasts and to lie in Ambush till the *Turks* should be busie in the Plunder of it. The Device took so well that *Ajan* coming to give them Battel and perceiving there was no body left in their Camp, presumed they were fled out of fear, and boldly bad his men enter and seize on the Booty. Then did the *Romans* about vening rifle from their Ambush and taking them in so much disorder killed most of them with their Captain, very few escaping through the Mountains into the Cities of *Perfermania*.

131. The *Sultan* was grievously perplexed at the News yet to repair his loss by better success he got together of an Army an hundred Thousand Men consisting of *Turks*, *Caberi* and *Limnita*, which he committed to *Abram Alim* his half Brother for a second attempt upon *Media*. Upon notice of their coming *Aaron* and *Ambustus* again united their forces and Councils. *Catacalo*'s advice was to fight them e'er they came into the *Roman* Territories while they were weary, a great part of them wanted Horses, and such Horses as wanted shoes whereas the *Roman* Souldier was full of courage animated by his late success. On the contrary *Aaron* affirmed that they ought by no means to hazard a Battel against such a multitude, but that all the strong places were to be fortified, and all they had was to be put within the Walls till they could send to the Emperor, and from him receive orders what to do in so difficult a case. This course was taken, and having put all the Women and Children and all their best things into the strong places they two went to the Emperor, and withdrew into a plain of *Iberia* by the Natives called *Ofurtra*. The Emperor wrote back to them that they should attempt nothing till *Liparites* Prince of part of *Iberia* should joyn with them, to whom he sent as he was a Friend and Ally of the Empire not to fail it at this time. *Liparites* at his Leisure raised his Men when in the mean time *Abram* having entred *Media*, and perceiving that the *Roman* forces had out of fear withdrawn themselves into *Iberia* resolved to march after them with all speed, and fight them e'er they should be increased by Accession of new supplies. The Captains having notice hereof, left they should be surprized before the coming of *Liparites* wrote to him to hasten, and betook themselves to a place, very difficult of Access. *Alim* not being able to come at them, went to *Atze* a Village of great capacity wherein lived a great Number of Merchants and Tradsmen not onely of the Countrey, but *Syrians* also, and *Armenians*, and of other Nations, and the inhabitants trusting to their Numbers though they had no Walls stoutly defended themselves, by stopping up the Passages, and from their Houses casting down Stones, Wood and Darts upon the *Turks*, whom thus they held in play for six days together. This coming to the Ears of *Ambustus* in the *Roman* Camp he most earnestly urged that they might not stay for the Loitering *Liparites*, but take this advantage while the *Turks* were thus busied at the Village, and fall upon them; but *Aaron* refused to joyn with him affirming he would do nothing but what he was warranted by the Emperor.

132. *Abram* finding what he did not expect, so great resistance, and that he could not by force of Arms Conquer one Village, the Wealth of which he most vehemently thirsted after, resolved to consume all he could not get and set it on fire, by which the inhabitants being forced out; (though an hundred and fifty Thousand are said to have perished partly slain by the Sword and partly burnt in the fire, into which many it's reported cast themselves) he found much Silver and other things that were not combustible. Besides he got many Horses and other Cattel, and so led away his Army well enriched in quest of the *Romans*. *Liparites* being by this time come to them, they were come down into the Plain, and had pitched at the Foot of an Hill on which stood a Castle called *Capetrum*. The *Turks* now marching in no order but running in Herds together, *Ambustus* moved that in this condition they might fall upon them; but now *Liparites* refused to fight out of a superstitious humour, because it was Saturday which he reckoned amongst unlucky days, being the eighteenth of September and the second Indiction, in the seventh year of *Monomachus*. But *Abram* understanding by his Scouts where, and in what condition the Enemy lay, marched up to them in due order of Battel, which they perceiving, put themselves how unwillingly soever into the like posture to receive them: *Ambustus* led the Right and *Aaron* the

the Left Wing; the middle of the Battel being left to the Conduct of *Liparites*. To *Ambustus* was opposite *Abram* himself, to *Aaron* another of the *Turkish* Commanders called *Chorofanites*, and to *Liparites* one *Aspam Selarius* the half Brother of *Abram*. The fight began a little before Sunset, and both *Ambustus* and *Aaron* defeated their Opposites, and pursued them till Cocks crew. But *Liparites* enraged for the loss of a Kinsman, to be revenged engaged more desperately than prudently and was taken Prisoner, being much expected by his Friends who returning from the pursuit and lighting from their Horses gave God thanks for the Victory in these words, singings, *What God is so great as our God?* Expecting with great longing to hear what was become of *Liparites* whom at first they concluded to be in pursuit of the Enemy they were at length put out of all doubt by the coming of one that had served under him who affirmed him taken and led away bound to such place as he that took him pleased. The *Roman* Captains notwithstanding their Victory were so struck with the News, that passing that night without sleep, in the Morning they consulted what was to be done; and all resolved to depart home. Thereupon *Aaron* with his Men returned to *Ibana* the Metropolis of *Baspracan* or *Media*, and *Catacalo* with his went back to *Anium*. But *Abram* overjoyed that he had taken *Liparites*, and thereupon thinking himself the most happy Man alive, omitting all other business conveyed him himself five days Journey, and then sent him away to the *Sultan* who made a shew of joy for the taking of so considerable a Man; but envying his Brother the good fortune, as he had formerly Stomached *Cutlumus* for his bad, resolved to make him also away, and for that watched his opportunity.

133. The Emperor having News of the Captivity of *Liparites* desired above measure to have him freed, and for that purpose sent one to the *Sultan* with Presents of the value of his Ransom offering also to make a Peace and Alliance with him. The *Sultan* that he might seem a generous Prince rather than a Man of violence and Robbery sent him *Liparites* Gratis, receiving the Presents that were sent him, but he gave them all to his Prisoner, advising him to have him in his mind, and no more to bear Arms against the *Turks*. And he sent in Ambassage to the Emperor their *Scrip*, who had the same Relation to their *Caliph*, as the *Synclerus* at *Constantinople* in old time had to the Patriarch, succeeding him in ordinary course when he died. The *Scrip* at his audience speaking many things arrogantly and boasting according to their fashion required, that the *Romans* should become Tributaries to his Master, and when the Emperor would hear of no such matter returned home. This Hint caused *Monomachus* in expectation of War to provide for the security of the Provinces, when violence was offered to them by an Enemy in another Quarter, the *Patzinace* a People of *Scythia*. This People being of that sort of *Scythians* then termed Royal, the most powerful of them all was divided into thirteen Tribes, which though they all made up one Nation, yet each received Denomination from its own Prince. They possessed beyond *Iller* the Champion extending from *Borythenes* to *Pannonia*, not being any where fixt but wandering from place to place, and always dwelling in Tents. Their Prince at this time was *Tyrach* the Son of *Kilter* a Man of Noble extract, but very Lazy and heavy. But there was one *Kegenes* the Son of *Baltzar*, by Birth obscure, but of great fame for Arms which he had obtained in his Conduct against the *Uzzian* Hunnish Nation whom making incursions he had often repulsed with great loss, *Tyrach* not daring to shew his Head, but lurking in the Fens about *Iller*. The People reverencing *Tyrach* for his extraction, but much more admiring the other for his valour, he grew so jealous of him that he resolved to take his Life, which often attempting secretly without success, at length he openly sent a Company to seize, and kill him. But *Kegenes* having timely notice of their coming made his escape into the Fens of *Borythenes* whence he sent and procured his Friends and his own Tribe called the Tribe of *Belemarne* with another which had the name of *Paguman* to revolt from *Tyrach*.

134. With these two Tribes he Engaged and Fought *Tyrach*, assisted by eleven, being oppressed with multitudes and being defeated, resolved the onely means of his safety, was to go over to the Emperor. He went to *Dorofolus*, and there passing into a River Island with his Men to the Number of twenty Thousand, sent to *Michael* the Son of *Anastafus* Governour of the Countrey to let him know who he was, and the reason of his coming, which was to put himself into the Emperor's protection, whose interest he doubted not very much to promote. The Governour having communicated his desires to the Emperor received orders to receive him courteously with his Men, to provide them of all necessities and send him to *Constantinople*

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where

Which is cut off by the Romans.

Another Expedition into Media.

Laying Siege to Atze.

Which is burnt and Sack'd by the Turks.

They meet and engage the Roman Army are defeated.

But take Captive Liparites one of the Roman Generals.

Sending him to the Sultan.

But by presents is redeemed and sent home, and with him an Ambassador from the Turks to the Emperor.

Tyrach Prince of the Patzinace.

From whom Kegenes Revolt.

Putting himself under the Protection of the Emperor.

where he was entertained with all the kindness he could expect. He promised to be Baptized and to persuade his Countrymen also to turn Christians, and was Honoured with the Dignity of Patritian: then were assigned to him three Castles with large Grounds on the Bank of *Ister* and he and all his Men received Baptism. When he was conveniently settled he made frequent inroads into the Territories of *Tyrach*, where he killed all the Men, and sold the Women and Children to the Romans for slaves. Hereupon *Tyrach* sent the Emperour to expostulate for that being a Friend and Ally of the *Patzinace* he had received their Enemy and Fugitive, and required that he would not any more afford him any assistance for the invasion of their Country; otherwise he denounced War against him. Of this message the Emperour made very light, and laughd at it as unreasonable, whereupon the Messengers departed as they came. He wrote to *Michael* and *Kegenes* to look narrowly to the Bank of *Ister*, and to send him word in case any considerable Army made any attempt to pass that River, to prevent which he sent an hundred Gallies to hover about those Coasts. But to render these Gallies useless, *Tyrach* expected the coming of Winter and a Frost, which having cruised over the River to the thickness of fifteen Cubits, he then passed over with all the Power he could make, and with his Numbers, which amounted to eight hundred thousand Men, overwhelmed, as it were, the Roman Provinces. The Emperour having speedily notice hereof, as speedily sent away to *Constantine Arianites* the *Magister* and Governour of *Adrianople*, and to *Basilus Monachus* the General of *Bulgaria*, with the Forces of *Macedonia* and *Bulgaria* to join themselves with *Michael* and *Kegenes*, which accordingly they did. The Roman Armies being united, *Kegenes* as he saw his advantages, being better acquainted than any other with the humour of his Country Men, made many Assaults upon them, who having on this side the River light upon Wine and Drinks made with Honey, of which before they had never tasted, thereof drank so intemperately, that great multitudes of them died every day. This being made known to *Kegenes*, he prevailed with the other Captains to fall upon them now when they were distressed by Cold and Sickness; though with some Reluctancy, to engage in Fight with so great Multitudes.

135. A sudden and fierce onset being made upon them, they were so much terrified with affrighted that this added to their other distress, they threw down their Arms, and yielded awell *Tyrach* and the most Noble, as the rest of the multitude. *Kegenes* very vehemently urged that they should all be put to Death, which he executed on many upon whom he light, with this saying, that *A Snake is to be killed in Winter while he cannot move his Tail, lest when Summer comes (animated afresh by the heat of the Sun) he do more mischief*. But the Roman Captains abhorring to great cruelty, thought fit they should be bestowed in the Desert places of *Bulgaria*, a Tribute put upon them, by which a good Revenue would accrue to the Emperour, and he might be furnishd with Souldiers against the *Turks* or other Enemies. They prevailed against *Kegenes*, who yet to do what lay in his power, killed all he had taken except such as he could make Money of, and went his way. The rest of the multitude *Basilus* the Governour of *Bulgaria* dispersed through the Plains of *Sardica*, *Naisus* and *Eutapelus*, taking from them all their Weapons, lest they should afterward attempt any thing. *Tyrach* and an hundred and forty others were sent up to *Constantinople*, where they were kindly entertained by the Emperour, Baptized, had Honours and Wealth conferred on them, and lived with greater content and pleasure than formerly. But by this time the *Sultan* displeased by the Answer to his Message, had gathered Forces out of *Persia* and *Babylonia*, and renewed the War: *Monomachus* upon notice, besides other preparations caused fifteen thousand of the lately Conquered *Patzinace* to be Armed, and giving them four Commanders of those who abode at *Constantinople*, whom he richly presented and adorned with costly Armour, sent them into *Iberia* under Conduct of *Constantine Hadrobalanus* a Patritian. They went on their way as far as *Melitena*, but drawing near to *Damatrys*, and consulting what to do with themselves, they abhorred so much the thoughts of going into *Iberia*, by the Advice of *Catalane* one of their Officers they resolved to return back to their Countrymen, and following his example in taking the Sea with his Horse, sworn over it being narrow, for they had no Boats, and by a prodigious adventure got back to *Traditza*. There arming their Companions as they could they did much mischief to the Roman Territories, and some of them

The *Sultan* renews the War upon the Emperours who sending fifteen thousand *Patzinace* against him, they return back into their own Country.

After which a Truce with them for thirty years.

removing to the River *Ofmus*, and the Country lying about *Ister*, thence they made excursions into *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, having the better of such Captains as opposed them, till at length they made a Truce with the Romans for thirty years.

136. In

136. In the mean time the *Sultan* was with all his Force entred into *Iberia*, where the Inhabitants had shut up themselves and their Wealth in the strong Towns, so that being come as far as *Comium*, and there understanding that the Roman Army was to Rendevouz at *Casfarea*, he would not venture to proceed, but returned in great wrath because he could perform no greater things. Passing into *Basfpracan* or *Media*, and there finding all in the same posture, in Indignation he was resolved to attacke some of the Garrisons, and fell upon a City called *Mantzikierre*, situate in a Champion Soil, fortified by a triple Wall, and furnished largely with Water and all other necessaries, of which the Inhabitants had timely provided themselves. Thinking because of its situation with ease to become Master of it, he attacked it with all sorts of Engines for thirty days without intermission; but nothing could he gain upon it, the valour and industry of *Basilus* a Patritian the Governour, a very prudent Person frustrating all his Attempts. Wearied with the frequent Repulses he received, he purposed to raise his Siege, when *Alcan* the Captain of the *Corasmii* begged of him but to continue it one day longer, and commit it to his management, which was readily granted. By break of day *Alcan* having his men and all things in readines, placed the *Sultan* and the most eminent Persons about him on an Hill near the Eastern Gate to be Spectators of what should follow; and then to that Gate applied all his Engines and Devices, because in that place the Wall ferner lowered, and the place where he should stand somewhat higher, so that it afforded advantage to doe execution upon those within the Walls. The Army he divided into two parts, whereof the one he ordered to stand upon that Ground to shoot into the Town, the other with Forks and other rustical Instruments to bear up a sort of Engine called *Lassa*, and bear it to the Walls. This *Lassa* was a kind of Hurdle or Tent made of boughs, and above covered with an Ox Hide, born with Feet or Pillars which stood upon Wheels. This they were to thrust to the Walls, which under covert of it they were to demolish; for he concluded that all Arrows or Darts would be kept off by the Hide above, and they might work at the Walls as he pleased, especially seeing his Archers placed upon that advantageous Ground would not permit any to appear upon the Battlements. But *Basilus* perceiving what he aim'd at, gave order to such as were to defend the Walls not to appear nor shew themselves, but to have in readines great Stones, Arrows and Darts, and expect the sign, which was, *Christ help us*; and he had prepared some very great Beams which were sharpened at one end. Now *Alcan* seemed to himself by his showers of Arrows, to have driven all from the Battlements, and therefore the *Lasse* were put to the Walls, which being come so near that they could not go back, *Basilus* gave the watch-word, and out came they that had the guidance of the Beams, and let them fall upon the *Lasse*: then did others pleye them with great Stones and other things, whereby the Tops of them were quite broken, and they within were exposed to all Arrows, Darts and other things that came to Hand, and all perished, amongst whom *Alcan* himself: he being known by the goodness of his Armour, two Young Men issued out and by his Hair drew him in at the Gate, which done, *Basilus* caused his Head to be cut off and shot amongst the *Turks*. At the sight of it the *Sultan* was much troubled, and broke up his Siege, pretending he was called away by more urgent Affairs, and threatening the next spring with greater Forces to make another Journey into the Roman Territories.

137. The Emperour being solicitous about his return, and desirous to be Revenged of *Aplephar*, who having broken the League made with *Constantine*, had invaded his Dominions, gathered all the Forces of the East together, and over them appointed for Commander one *Nicephorus* an Eunuch, and formerly his Chaplain when a private Man, but who since had for love of the World renounced his Orders. Him he now graced with the Title of Governour and General of the Camp, and sent him into the East, not because of any valour or skill he had, but because he knew him faithful to him. This *Nicephorus* proceeding as far as the Iron Bridges, as they were called, and *Cantacizum*, light not upon the *Turks* (for they upon hearing what Preparations were made against them under Command of *Abimilech* the Brother of *Cutlamsus*, were returned Home) but forced *Aplephar* within the Walls, and waisting the Country, compelled him again to make Peace, and renew the League, for confirmation whereof he gave up as Hostage *Arasfars* the Son of *Pharlam* his Brother, Prince of the Region of *Cantacizum*, whom having received, *Nicephorus* as having performed enough, returned to *Constantinople*. In the mean time the *Patzinace*, as we hinted, passing over *Hæmus*, and viewing the Plain which lay betwixt it and *Ister*, and extends it self as far as the Sea; and perceiving how

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well

The *Patzinacæ* make fresh incursions into the Empire, upon which *Kegenes* is sent for to Constantinople.

well it was Wooded and Watered, there fate down (the Inhabitants called it, *An hundred Hills*) and thence made Incursions into the Dominions of the Empire, the Subjects of which they not a little molested. Upon this occasion *Kegenes* was sent for by the Emperour to Consult, and lying with his Forces in a Field near to the City, while as yet he knew not wherefore he was sent, three of the *Patzinacæ* his Countreymen made an attempt upon his life, and wounded him by Night though not mortally, for some of his Guard coming timely in, they struck not courageously, but endeavouring to escape, as much more Affluence came in with *Baltzar* the Son of *Kegenes*, they were taken. They appealed to the Emperour; whereupon *Baltzar* put his Father into a Chariot with four Wheels, and after him drew them bound, and so with all his Horse, he himself, together with his Brother *Gulin* followed on Foot, and entered the City till they came to the Cirque, then leaving there the rest, he himself went to the Emperour. At sight of him the Emperour demanded why he had not at first put to Death the Assassins, to which he answered, because they had appealed unto him. Hereupon *Monomachus* grew suspicious, and sent immediately for the Men, who being asked the cause of the Attempt, affirmed they did it for his sake, and for the Empire and City, to which *Kegenes* was a Traitor, having a design by break of Day to have entered, killed all, and with the Plunder to return to his own Countreymen.

And is there kept Prisoner.

138. Now whereas the Emperour should have made strict Inquisition, and sifted out the matter, he gave credit to the improbable and ill coherent tales of these Fellows, and causing *Kegenes* to be brought to Court, under pretence of Cure and Physick, kept him close up, separated his Sons the one from the other, and pretending great kindness to his Men, and flattering them with large allowance of Meat and Drink, endeavoured by degrees, and as he could to disarm them, and commit the principal of them to custody, giving free leave in the mean time to the Assassins to go where ever they pleased. Yet thought he for all this to cover his design, though the *Patzinacæ* proved far more cunning, and deceived the Deceiver as he thought himself. They took very thankfully what he sent them, and made shew of much contentment and obedience; but considering all these particulars they were well satisfied as to their Inclinations, and by Night got them away from the Camp, and travelling hard on the third Day by great Journeys passed the *Hæmus*, and joined themselves with their Countreymen. Now being all united and having Arms sufficient, they came over the Mountain to a Castle called *Aula*, not far from *Adrianople*, and thence waited the Countries adjacent, which as soon as *Constantine Arrianites* the Magister and General of the West understood, he drew out some Forces against them, and lighting upon some Stragglers and Parties had at first the better of them, but engaging their main Body near a Fort called *Dampolis*, there he was defeated, with the loss of many men; and returning to *Adrianople* gave notice thereof to the Emperour, signifying that there was necessity of bringing another Army into the Field, and that no good could be expected from those who had been already beaten against so resolute and numerous an Enemy. The Emperour had had notice of the defeat before his Letters arrived, and had sent to *Tyrach* and the other Noblemen of the *Patzinacæ*, then residing at *Constantinople*, whom having richly presented they engaged by Oath to pacify and quiet their Nation. He sent also for all the Forces of the East, which having passed over from *Alydus* and *Chrysopolis*, he then assigned them *Nicephorus* the Rectour for their Captain, to whom he joynted *Catalaco* the General of the East, and *Erbebius* a Frank Captain of his Countreymen, yet so as to be obedient to his Orders. *Constantine* marching with his Army over *Hæmus*, came to a place called *Diacene*, and there incamped and fortified himself, purposing the day following to leave all his Baggage there, and so with the Army disentangled from all Incumbrances to Fight the Enemy, whom he so contemned as not fearing to have the better of them, it only perplexed him how to prevent their running away, and escaping his Victorious Arms. Nay the Souldiers being as confident as their Captain; some of them had prepared Ropes and Thongs wherewith to lead away their Prisoners.

Upon which an Army is sent against them.

139. In the mean time *Tyrach* and the rest of the Nobility whom the Emperour had dismissed were come to the *Patzinacæ*, and conspired with the rest for the best promotion of the Affairs of their Countrey, so far were they from accomplishing what they had sworn at their departure. *Constantine* consulting what was fittest to be done, *Ambustus* was for falling on them while they were yet dispersed and out of order, which the General out of Gallantry refused, saying that

*Ingens Cedre-
m Lacuna ex
Hiberna Scy-
thice Carpas-
sata Suppletur.*

They

But is put to Flight.

So that more Forces are raised.

Which are also defeated.

A Conspiracy at home, but discovered and punished.

Kegenes released out of Prison.

The whole Force of the Empire engaged against the *Patzinacæ*.

Who had the boldness to come near to *Constantinople* but pay for it.

They would run away into the Woods, and for his part he had no Dogs to Hunt them out. But this fault was quickly amended, for the *Patzinacæ* drew up in order towards him, and then the next Morning he prepared to give them Battel. He himself led the middle Battel, *Ambustus* the Right, and *Francopolus* the Left Wing; but without much labour they lost the day, the Romans ignominiously bethaking themselves to their Heels, only *Ambustus* and those about him fighting manfully were slain: the *Patzinacæ* durst not make any considerable pursuit for fear of Ambushes, hardly imagining they could be earnest in running upon so little provocation. The Emperour at the News was much needed, but not able to recall what he had done in the choice of a General, resolved if possible to repair the loss the following year. In the third Indiction, and the eighth year of his Reign he sent for his Army out of the Eastern Parts, which he committed to the Conduct of *Constantine* Captain of the Friends or Associates, and commanded him to joyn with the Forces still in *Thrace*, and chastise (if possible) the obstinate *Patzinacæ*. He went to *Adrianople*, and there uniting his Forces, incamped himself within a Rampart; and the *Patzinacæ* hearing of his coming, shortly after came up to him on the eighth day of June. While he was in a Council of War consulting what to do, *Samuel Burtzes* one of his Officers without any orders led the Foot he Commanded, he set upon the Enemy, who far exceeding him in numbers fore distressed him, so that he sent several Messengers to the General for Assistance, who though he could have wished him punished for his rashness, yet considering it was the Emperour's business, concluded he must not neglect it, and so was constrained to give the Signal for Battel.

140. He went in to the Succour of *Burtzes*, but could not prevail against the obstinate Enemy, who much animated by vanquishing the Foot already, easily discouraged the Horse, so that Horse and Foot both ran ignominiously within the Rampart, and there secured themselves, after the Loss of many Men and several Persons of Eminence, as *Michael Docianus* a Patriitian, and *Constantinus Arrianus* the Magister, who died on the third Day after of his Wounds. The *Patzinacæ* besieged them in the Rampart, and had certainly taken it, but that they were discouraged by an accident, an arrow out of an Engine killing one *Saltus*, and his Horse under him, when at the same time it chanced, that *Glabas Nicetas* drew near with some Succours from *Adrianople*, which they imagining to be *Basilus* with the Forces of *Bulgaria*, would not abide his coming, but dispersed themselves. While matters went thus abroad, at home in the City, a Conspiracy was discovered against the Emperour, whereof were Authors, *Nicephorus* and *Michael* the Sons of *Nicephorus*, with others of their Relations. Inquisition was made after all Offenders, but none were punished, but *Nicephorus* whose Estate was seized, and then he sent into Banishment. *Monomachus* rid of this Danger, set himself wholly to vindicate the Honour of the Empire against the *Patzinacæ*. *Kegenes* he took out of Prison and sent him to them, he engaging to take them off from their outrageous Courses. All the Forces he could raise out of his own Subjects, and his Allies he caused to be got together, in particular the *Franks* and *Barangi*, over every Nation he appointed for Commander some Eminent Person of their own, and over all made General *Nicephorus Bryennius* a Patriitian, whom upon this occasion he called *Ermarich*, and sent him against the *Patzinacæ*, who now very much despising the Romans, freely and without any fear laid all waste they could come at in *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. Their Cruelty they exercised more than ever, not sparing the Infants that hung at the Breast, and some of them were so bold as to come as far as *Catalystice*, not far distant from *Constantinople*, and were paid well for their boldness. For the Emperour set out a Party against them, collected out of his own Guards, and others under Command of *John*, surnamed *Philosophus* a Patriitian, one of the Eunuchs belonging to the Chamber of *Zoe* the Empress, which falling on them by Night when drunk and sleepy, made an end of them all, and sent up Cart-loads of their Heads to *Monomachus*.

141. But in the mean time *Kegenes* to perform his promise made to the Emperour, came near to his Countreymen and sent to them to let them know his mind, to which they returning this Answer, and confirming it by Oath that they would be governed by him, he trusted and went to them, but was no sooner come, but they cut him to pieces, and those very small ones. *Bryennius* coming to *Adrianople*, took care for preservation of the Countrey; for the Emperour thinking not yet enough done, sent after him *Michael* a Patriitian, and *Acoulbus*, or Captain of his Guards, with a new supply, and to have the chief Command,

but

Several of their Parties being cutoff they maketh their Incursions so openly as heretofore.

but with Order to be carefull how he engaged in Battel, and in the first place to repress the Incursions of the Enemy, into the poor harassed Countries. He accordingly, having joined with *Bryennius*, set upon them as they ranged in Parties. One he cut off at a Place called *Golaa*, and another near a Castle named *Toplitus*, which so discouraged them, that they dared no more to appear in the Country, lying at the Foot of *Hemus*, but transferred all their Power and Rage into *Macedonia*, which they wasted with a select Party, able if need were to refill all opposers they could expect from thence. *Bryennius* and *Michael* having notice of this their Cunning, by Night disamped, and keeping their Design very close, by great Marches came to *Chariopolis* which they entered, and as the *Patzinacæ* merrily returned home in the Evening from their Plunder, to their Camp not far from the City, in which they did not think any Army at all could be, fell upon them as they lay sleeping and secure, and easily put them to the Sword. This defeat so awed them, that for the two following years they did not range about so licenciously as formerly, but very cautiously and as it were by stealth.

142. The Emperour was in some measure freed from his apprehensions of them, but in the mean time perceived not what danger he was in from a Snake he had taken into his bosome. There was one *Romanus Boilas*, who being an obscure man served in the Wars, of a ready Tongue, *Cedrenus* tells us, but *Zonaras* will have him a Stammerer, not able to speak plain, which defect having received partly from Nature, he had increased by affectation and custome, thinking it seems it would make the more notice to be taken of him. With this man the Emperour, as soon as he came to the Knowledge of him, was wonderfully taken, pleasing himself exceedingly with his trifling and insignificant Wit, so as he had constant access both to him and to the Women when he pleased, and was not wanting to himself, but made use of his time and opportunities to hoard up much Wealth. This so far imboldened him, as from a mean Condition to procure the Dignity of a Senator. But his ambition disdained such moderate bounds; mean when got into Power usually carry their Heads and Noses high, and snuffing up much of the upper Air, cannot once be brought to think of their former Friends or Condition, till an Ebb of Fortune discover their Folly to them again as well as their Original and Principles. Being Senator he was never quiet till he became the most inward Councillour, and chief Minister of the Emperour, to which having arrived, what wanted there now but to be Emperour himself, and for this vast preferment as he wanted no opportunity, (having continual access both into the Bedchamber, and other the most secret retiring Rooms) by the death of the present Prince to bring his ends about, so he thought himself abundantly meriting the Dignity, and had a Conscience large enough to bear any thing that might make for that purpose. Being then possessed with a vehement desire of reigning, he cunningly attempted all he knew to be dissatisfied with the Emperour. To such as abhorred the thought of making him away, he pretended abundance of Love, as having only tried their Loyalty and good Affection to their Prince, to whom he would not fail to make it known. But such as approved of the thing he encouraged to the utmost, nay obliged them to it by Oath, and watched for a convenient opportunity to put it in Execution. And to Execution he had put it, but that he was detected by one of the Conspirators, as he had the very Sword in his Hand, which should have done the deed. Hereupon much Inquisition was used for conviction of his complices, whose Estates were confiscated, and their Persons banished; but no other punishment was inflicted upon himself, but that the Emperour for some time shewed some averfence or dissatisfaction in his Company, which in a little time wore off again, and he returned to his wonted Trust and Familiarity.

143. In the mean time (to return a little into the East) the *Sultan* as we said bearing a mortal Spight to his Brother *Abram*, continually sought occasion to take away his Life, which he perceiving fled to *Cutlumus* his Kinsman, with whom he joined Forces and Interest to make War upon the *Sultan*. They gave him Battel at a Place called *Pasfar*, but there *Abram* was taken Prisoner and put to death. *Cutlumus* with six thousand Men, and *Melech Abram*'s son sent to the Emperour, desiring to be received into his Protection, and in the mean time till an answer should be returned, laid siege to a Town in *Perfermaria* called *Carfe*, which he took, the Castle excepted. But the *Sultan* with an Army pursuing him came into *Iberia*, whom to avoid he fled as far as *Saba* and *Arabia* the *Happy*. In *Iberia* the *Sultan* laid all waste before him, to stop whose progress the

A Conspiracy at home but discovered and punished.

Civil Wars among the Turk.

Em-

Emperour recalled *Michael Acoluthus* out of the West, and sent him into that Province, who there in *Chaldia* gathering together the dispersed *Franks* and *Barangis*, used his endeavours to repress his Motions and Hostilities. The *Sultan* having News of his sudden Arrival, concluded with himself that he meant to fight, and considered that should he engage and overcome the Emperour's Servant and Officer, it would not at all redound to his Honour, and should he be beaten by him it would tend exceeding much to his disrepute, whereupon he departed with all his Forces to *Tabresium*. At the same time *Michael* the Son of *Stephen*, and his Successeur in his Principality over the *Triballi* and *Serbi*, entered into the League with the Emperour, and receiving from him the Office and Dignity of *Protospatharius*, was admitted a Friend and Ally of the *Roman* Empire. At the same time the Prince of *Egypt* courted him with Presents. But nothing gave him or could give him satisfaction, so long as the *Patzinacæ* still went unpunished, to chastise whom he now again raised, and got together all the Force he could make both out of East and West, over which he appointed General *Michael Acoluthus*, and besides this he commanded *Basilus Syncellus*, with the *Bulgarian* Army, to join with him in the Expedition. The *Patzinacæ* having notice of the Contrivance, incamped themselves at a Place called *Great Prifchlava*, which they fortified by a deep Trench and a Bulwark, resolving therein to endure a Siege. And the *Romans* besieged them till they were weary, and began to be in distress for Necessaries, which drove them into a Consultation what was to be done. It was resolved that the Siege should be raised, and accordingly a deep silence being enjoined late at Night they departed. This was not unknown to *Tyrach*, who sent out a great Number to stop the ways through which they must pass, and then did he set upon them as they went at their backs whereby great Multitudes were killed, when she fled from him the other receiving, and killing them in the narrow or unknown Passages. Amongst others fell *Syncellus*; those that escaped got with *Michael* to *Adrianople*. The Emperour exceedingly afflicted for the perpetual Loss and Disgrace received from this People, made yet once again Preparations so great, that he resolved if possible to root them out of the Earth, making new Levies, and hiring Souldiers wherever he could. They from a Fugitive understanding his Resolutions, to divert so great a storm as was gathering, sent and desired Peace. And he condescended to a Truce for thirty Years.

144. The Truce was very seasonable, considering into what condition his great Expence had brought him. Whereas the great Charge of his Wars should have made him frugal and circumspect in other matters, it was so far from it, that the more he expended out of the Necessity, the more he would profusely and vainly cast away, the certain Argument of a weak and easie Prince. He had an ambition to appear bountifull and liberal, but in it was not the least Skill or Discretion, not being able to distinguish betwixt Magnificence and Prodigality. In bestowing the publick Treasure, he never observed any Rules of to whom, when, or how much, and so plunged himself into so great Necessities, that by honourable or dishonourable means, by right or wrong he must have Supplies. That which was taken notice of most to beggar him, was the building of a Monastery to *St. George* in *Mangana*, as it was thought chiefly, that under pretence of visiting and overseeing the Workmen, he might have opportunity more frequently to visit his *Sclerana*, who followed several Games, and particularly that of Hunting in these Parts. Hereby and by his other Courses, the Treasury was quite drained, to recruit which he invented several mean, fordid and unjust Courses, employing most rapacious Fellows in the gathering the Revenue, who exacted it without any respect had to Right or Equity. And one thing there is, which makes him guilty of the Decay and Ruine of the Empire; to be sure the East was lost through his Misfortune in this profuse way. For whereas certain Provinces, those upon the Borders especially, were free from Tribute and Impositions for this Reason, because they maintained so many Souldiers to keep the Straits, to watch the *Roman* Pale, and secure it from the Incursions of Barbarians, he disbanded these Souldiers, and dissolved the Garrisons of such Parts, particularly the Army of *Iberia*, so necessary for resistance of the *Turks*, consisting of fifty thousand Men, they were disbanded by *Leo Serblus*, on purpose to raise a Revenue out of that Country: an Act of most pernicious and infamous Consequence, which sets a Mark upon him to all Posterity, as a dreadful warning to all profuse Princes. *Zoe* the Empress dying at Seventy Years of Age, he howled and roared for her, and behaved himself much unlike a Man, compared her with Angels, and when

Another Expedition against the *Patzinacæ*.

But with great Loss to the Empire.

At last a truce for 30 years is concluded.

Constantine the Emperour is very profuse.

He disbanded the Souldiers upon the Frontiers to the Ruine of the Empire.

Zoe the Empress dies.

out

out of the moisture of her Tomb a Mithrome sprung up he affirmed it an evidence sent from Heaven that she was there received amongst the intelligent Powers. But his love was so great to her that presently after her Death he made choice of another object enamoured of the Daughter of a certain Alan Prince, which then lay as an Hostage at Constantinople, that he brought her into the Palace; called her *Augusta*, gave her Royal maintenance, and had it not been for the Awe and respect he bore to *Theodora*, or especially for the Infamy of a fourth Marriage he had made her Empress and given her a Diadem. But the Domination of this new Lady was not long lived. For after his death, she was reduced into the State and condition she was in before, except she made use of her time and saved any thing, the short space that her Beauty ruled.

145. For now *Monomachus* grew towards his end, being almost quite spent by the Gout, which presently after his advancement so seized on his Limbs that he could neither stand nor go, but was held up or carried when ever he had occasion to stir. Afterward his intemperance toward Women increasing the distemper, the humour fell also into his Hands and upon his Shoulders, and at length tormented him throughout both in all his Joynts, and inwardly in his side, so that he could not but with great pain and trouble fetch his Breath. His case now seeming desperate both to himself and others, those that were about him consulted about a Successor. The chief Man now in favour and power was one *John* the Principal *Logotheta*, an Eunuch and otherwise a pityfull fellow, of obscure Original, and as despicable as to his parts, utterly as unfit for business as to write or speak according to true Grammar; but him the Emperour intrusted with all and designed him Prince of the Senate, having removed from the place of chief Minister one *Littrudes* a Person of quite different Qualifications because he was wont to deal plainly with him, and oppose any thing he knew contrary to reason. This *John* together with *Constantine* the *Protonotarius Dromi*, *Basilus* the *Canicels Præfatus* and others, perceiving him drawing on, put him in mind of settling matters and recommended to him *Nicephorus* the *Prorexon* (or *Primate*), as one might call him, but that this Title is appropriate to Ecclesiasticks as the most fit Person to succeed him, to which he assenting they sent notice to him then being at his Government in *Bulgaria* secretly as they thought and without the knowledge of *Theodora*. But she wanted not Friends to let her know their contrivance how private soever, and leaving *Monomachus* dying in this new Monastery she entered a Pinace and accompanied with several that were faithful to her went to the great Palace in Constantinople where she was published, declared and owned Empress by all, as right Heir to her Ancestours. This News thereof brought to *Monomachus* increased his distemper and he lived little longer than to testify his sorrow by a sigh, with which he ended his days after he had Reigned twelve years and eight months. That we may not dismiss him without his due commendations as well as tax him for his faults, the provision he made for the Poor, for the Aged and Strangers in his Monastery is applauded by our Writers. And whereas the Revenues of the great Church were so lost and diminished that Service was there only said on the Lord's day, he so provided for it that Mass was there every day celebrated, and for the Communion he largely supplied the Altar with Plate, adorned with Gems and Pearl very richly. Yet his Reign is ill spoken of for the reasons above alleged, and was more taken notice of by the People for some ill Accidents that happened toward the end thereof. For in the seventh and eighth Indictions so great a Plague there raged in the City that the quick could scarcely Bury the Dead. And in the Summer of the seventh so great Tempests, that they killed both much Cattel and some Men.

146. *Theodora Porphyrogenita* having got possession of what the People granted to be her Inheritance, first punished those that had been for the promotion of *Nicephorus*, by the Confiscation of their Estates and Banishment. Then to her Eunuchs did she distribute the greatest Places and Offices in the Empire. *Theodorus* she makes Domestick of the Schools of the East, and sends him thither to restrain the inroads of the *Turks*, taking away from the Magister *Isaacus Comnenus* the Mastership of the Camp. For *Monomachus* had Transferred all the *Macedonian* forces into the East under *Macedonian* Captains, amongst which was also *Bryennius*, a certain Rumour or Prophecy running abroad, that the *Turks* should be suppressed by such an Army as Alexander the Great used in Conquering the Persians. She made *Nicetas* the *Logotheta Dromi*, *Manuel* the *Drungarius Bigles*, and for his great abilities she employed *Leo Strabo* pondylus as her Master of State, who had formerly served the Emperour *Michael*. Assisted by these and other Officers though she was

very;

very old, yet would she govern her self, and refused to make any Emperour. To *Leo* she committed the chief management of all affairs; but her self would sit upon the judgment seat, give Audience and answer to Ambassadors, create Magistrates, pronounce Laws, and interpose her Opinion and Resolution both in publick and private matters: and her Government succeeded well enough. For against her no man opposed himself, nor disobeyed her, and she maintained her Authority seizing the Estate and banishing *Bryennius* because upon hearing of the Death of *Monomachus* he had with the *Macedonians* under his command removed to *Chrysopolis* without her orders. No Nation made War upon her, neither did any publick Calamity happen in her time, the seasons of the year being all good and natural. Though old as she was yet being of a strong constitution and able enough for business, she promised her self many years. But though herein she flattered her self and was flattered into this belief, it's said, by a Monk, yet e'er two years came to an end she found she was deceived, being seized with the *Iliac Pafson*, a disease always dangerous, and which caused the Physicians to despair of her recovery. Then did those about her consider whom to prefer to the Government by whom these happy days might be continued. They pitched upon *Michael Stratioticus* one of Constantinople, innocent and harmless, but utterly unfit for such an employment both in respect of his ignorance, for from his youth he had only been used to War; and his great Age, for he was very Decrepit. But the Eunuchs and *Leo* judging him fit for their turn because they could govern him at their pleasure, they persuaded *Theodora* to make him Emperour, which she did by adorning him with a Diadem, after he had given his Oath to do nothing without their knowledge and consent. These matters finished *Theodora* ended her Life when she had Reigned one year and nine months about the end of August.

Naming Michael Stratioticus for her Successor dies.

Michael Emperour.

Against whom Theodorus the President sets up.

But is punished for his folly.

147. *Michael Stratioticus* by her death became Emperour and Monarch, and was for such declared on the last day of August in the ninth Indiction, A. D. M. LVI. As soon as the News of his promotion came to the Ears of *Theodorus* the President, the Cousin German of *Monomachus* he was thereby so much disturbed as not considering the difficulty of the thing he undertook nor what danger he incurred, he got together his dependants, Servants and such of his Friends laid things little to heart, and in the Evening with that Train at his Heels passed up the Streets from his House toward the Palace, crying out that he was injured, and that the Empire of right defended upon him as being next in Blood to the late Emperour. Coming to the *Prætorium* he broke open the Prison, and let out the Malefactors to assist him, which he did also at *Chalce*. In the mean time the Eunuchs in the Palace having received the Alarm made what Preparations they could to suppress him, both by Land and Water, which he understanding turned from the way leading thither and went to the great Church where he hoped to be received and owned by the Patriarch and Clergy. But things fell out quite otherwise; for when he came to the Church, they shut the Doors upon him; and though upon occasions of Innovation many people used to flock and run together, yet none now appeared, and on the contrary such as had appeared for him began by degrees to desert him and fall off. So that at length being by all deserted he betook himself with his Son to the Church, not as a Prince but a suppliant, and was thence taken away very speedily and confined to *Pergamus* as a place of Banishment. After which sort the chiefest of those who had taken part with him were punished. And for his folly he became a Song to the ordinary sort.

148. *Stratioticus* thus freed from this rash Adventurer was Emperour without the contradictions of any. To shew that he was govern'd by those that rais'd him, such things as they understood he did very well, but in such matters as he himself had been continually versed none did ever worse. The Senators as they were Men of interest and influence he promoted, such generally as were not fit for so great Employments as those to which he preferred them; using the same course and method to Men of more ordinary Rank. But as to military Men, he acted quite otherwise, his own Companions, nay his equals once, Men of considerable commands in the Armies. To these Officers when they came into the City he did not shew the least respect either by act or deed, and the two principal he much disgusted, Men both of them of great Nobility, bearing the Title of Magister, and by their skill and actions having as much Reputation as their places were usually capable of. These were *Isaacus Comnenus* and *Ambustus Catacalo*, the latter of which in a meeting of Officers in *Easter* (when the Emperour's bounty was wont to appear towards Men of this quality and Employment) he deprived of his Government of *Antioch*, and into his place immediately put *Micha-*

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Constantine Monomachus dies, Theodora is declared rightfull Empress.

She settles her Government.

el his Kinsman whom at the same time he preferred to the Dignity of a *Magister*, giving to him the surname of *Vranus* that he might seem to derive his Descent from that Noble Family. *Catacalo* he accused as having very badly discharged his Office, in that the Numbers of Souldiers were diminished in his time, and he gave no content to those that had business with him; and when the most Ancient and most eminent Officers of the Army stood up in his Defence he fell into opprobrious Language both against him and them, wherein he did not spare *Comenus*. This carriage very much discouraged some and provoked others of the Army, who could hear of the Liberality of this new Emperour unto others but not receive so much as one good word from him themselves, though Men of his own Profession; yet did they not thence conceive so great Indignation as to Plot or design any thing against him till another Tryal. So Writes *Zonaras*, from whom *Cadrenus* differs in this that he gave *Comenus* and *Catacalo* ill Language, for he Writes that he gave them two good words, but would not gratifie them in any thing they desired. And he farther instances in others he disoblged. *Bryennius* he recalled out of Banishment, gave him the command of the *Cappadocians*, and with the *Macedonian* Legions sent him against the *Turks*, a Commander of whom *Samuch* by name, now much infested the Borders of the Empire. But when he earnestly desired him to have his Estate restored which *Theodora* had taken from him he refused, and when still more importunately he urged him to it, he put him off with that Common saying, *that Wages are not to be required till the work be done*, whereby he so exasperated him that he expected but an opportunity to be revenged.

149. Imprudent also was his carriage to *Francopolus Erbebius* who had done very good service under *Maniaces* in *Sicily*, and studied the Interest of the Empire. He desired of him to be Honoured with the Dignity of a *Magister*, which he not only refused to confer on him, but with Scoffs and much scorn rejected him, which Affront being a Barbarian (saith our Writer) and impatient in his nature, he took so heinously that not thinking what others were attempting, to be revenged he got him Home into *Armenia*, and drawing over to him three hundred of those *Franks* that served the Emperour went into *Media* and joyned himself with *Samuch* the *Turk* to make War upon the *Romans*. For some time they accorded, but at length as commonly it happens differences arose, and were multiplied betwixt the two several Nations, and they began to Plot, and contrive means how to affront and at last to destroy each other. *Samuch* seemed to carry it fair, but *Erbebius* never trusted him, but daily expected the *Turks* would make some attempt upon him and his Men, whom he charged ever to look to themselves, not so much as to Sleep or Eat but with their Weapons at Hand. At length the thing broke out and the *Turks* set upon the *Franks* as they were at Dinner who aware of their coming and having their Horfes ready, instantly mounted, fought with and defeated them, killing the greater part; the rest escaped into a Town not far off called *Chlear*. *Erbebius* after the pursuit was earnest for returning to their Camp, but it happening that there being a League and friendship betwixt him and the *Ameras* of that Town, his Men would needs go thither to refresh themselves. He most vehemently endeavoured to dissuade them, urging that they were by no means to trust those that were of a different Religion and Nation, who would make no difficulty at all of breaking their Oath, they counting it a matter of Piety and Merit to kill as many Christians as they could. But there was no good to be done, they continued obstinate, and he was forced to go with them into the Town, all he could do was to beg of them to be vigilant and careful, always to be upon their Guard. But they once got in till to their Baths and Cups which invited *Aponasar* the *Ameras* to take the advantage offered him, so that Communicating his Design with *Samuch* and the *Saracens* living thereabouts, he gave secret orders to those that lodged the *Franks* to lay hold on and bind fast their Guests, or if that could not be done to kill them. The sign being given, some accordingly they make fast and others they kill; the rest escaping by leaping down from the Walls. *Erbebius* was taken and kept as a Prisoner. This advantage the *Ameras* made of what he had done to curry favour with the Emperour. He sent him word he wasat his service and in Testimony of the Reality thereof, had destroyed those that had been Traitors to him, and at present had their Captain fast in Prison.

150. But *Stratoticus* his rough and crabbed Carriage produced such effects in a short space that he had but small cause to rejoice at the Calamity of the *Franks*. The Eastern Officers being rejected by him as was said now betook themselves to *Leo Strabopondylus* the *Protosyncellus* and chief manager of affairs under

under him desiring his mediation in their behalf that they might not be the only Men that must be neglected, and not taste of his Liberality, which they could not but take notice was very large towards others, who had neither watch nor fought as they had done, and endured all manner of hardships from their very Childhood. *Leo* heard them and had so much of the Courtier as to commend every Man a part and speak of his valour and Merits; but did nothing of their business, submitting to the Emperour's humour who would neither allow them good deeds nor good words, which at a small expence he might have done. This made them outrageous so as first to revile *Stratoticus* one to another, and from reproachfull words to pass to exhortations to stand by one another, and revenge so great Injustice, which Combination they confirmed by Oath secretly in the Church. By the advice of *Ambulus* they Communicated their Design to *Bryennius* as one who could assist them with a numerous Army, and easily gained his concurrence. When they consulted whom to prefer to be Emperour, *Ambulus* had all their suffrages, as one who by his Age, valour and experience excelled all others, but he really adverse to the burthen; named *Iscarius Comenus* as the fittest Person they could chuse, and to him they all assented; which done and confirmed by Oath they received Provisions from the Emperour and departed each to his Quarters as was imagined. Amongst the rest *Bryennius* went to his charge and with him was sent *John Opsaras* a Patritian with Gold to pay his Souldiers, which *Bryennius* at the Murther required so much to be given to every Souldier, which *John* refused, affirming he would fully obey the Emperour's Orders, and contending to gether about this matter *Bryennius* grew so Angry that he fell upon him and pulling him down to the Ground by his Hair and Beard soundly buffeted him, which done he committed him to Custody and afterward distributed the Gold to his Souldiers as he pleased. At that time it happened that *Lycanthes* a Patritian who commanded the *Licanians* and *Pythians* was near at hand with his Forces, and hearing what had happened, concluded with himself that none but one who Aimed at the Sovereignty it self would have committed such an Arbitrary and Insolent Act, and being utterly Ignorant of what the other Commanders of the East had resolved, with a sufficient power fell upon the Camp of *Bryennius*, took him and delivered him into the Hands of *Opsaras* whom he had set at liberty, who colouring his Revenge with a pretence of Loyalty put out his Eyes and sent him to the Emperour together with the Relation of what had passed.

151. But the chief Officers of the Eastern Parts, such as *Romanus Sclerus*, *Burtzes*, *Batanaiates*, the Sons of *Basilus Argyrus* and the rest understanding what had passed, having hitherto concealed their Inclinations, and expected the time when to stir, when they heard what had befallen *Bryennius* concluded that upon Examination he would reveal the conspiracy, and therefore thought it safest to prevent such a discovery by a timely rising. They all went into *Paphlagonia* to *Caesaro* the House of *Comenus*, and compelled him to go along with them to a spacious Plain called *Guauria*, whither from all parts adjacent they sent for the Souldiery, and then by universal consent saluted him Emperour on the eighth day of *June* in the tenth Indiction. Having taken the Title he incamped himself as strongly as he could in the place, expecting the forces of the rest of the Conspirators, especially of *Ambulus*, at whose slowness he conceived some diffidence, which was shortly changed into a supposed certainty by a Message he received that he had changed his mind, broken his (unlawfull) Oath, and resolving to adhere to *Stratoticus* was gathering together an Army for suppression of the Confederates. This mightily perplexed *Comenus* when he considered how dangerous an Enemy he should have at his Back, and therefore fortifying himself in his Camp he resolved not to stir till he heard farther. But *Ambulus* had not changed his mind, but mistakes caused disorder on both sides. For *Ambulus* in his way from *Constantinople* meeting one of the Emperour's Messengers had sent a blunt message by him to *Nicetas* the *Logotheta Dromi* which sufficiently discovered the Design; and when he came into the East and found not *Comenus* stirring or as it seemed at all concerned, he imagined that he and the rest had changed their Resolutions and would declare nothing, so that he should be left to shift for himself alone, and be condemned out of his own Mouth. Therefore he was much concerned how to avoid the Danger; for he neither had any Army in readines, those Forts he had being unable to grapple with the Emperour, neither had he had any Communication as yet with the other Souldiers of the Eastern parts that lay about his Government, therefore not knowing how to trust them he had been very flow and wary in Preparations, and this was the cause of his Delay. Besides, there lay near him in their Winter

The Turks
infest the Borders
of the
Empire

Erbebius
Revolts to the
Turks.

But is sup-
pressed and
taken by the
Ameras of
Chlear.

Michael's un-
kindness to
the Souldiers
makes them
conspire a-
gainst him.

Saluting *Iscarius*
Comenus
Empe-
rour.

Quarters, two Regiments of *Franks* and one of *Rossians*, of which he stood in great fear, left upon discovery of his Design they should seize him, and send him to the Emperour. But when by Degrees he thought he had secured himself, then first he broke his mind to his Servants and Dependants, and having got about him about a thousand Men, then he try'd the Inclinations of such as he could less trust, first to bring over the Officers and Governours, and then the ordinary fort. He counterfeited Letters as from the Emperour, by which he was ordered with three Regiments of the Associates, and two of the *Colonienfes* and *Chaldeans*, to go against *Samuel*. Those with their Officers, he either by Promises or Threats procured to take the Military oath to him, and having furnished himself with an Army of several Nations, then march towards *Comnenus*, having sent to let him know he was on his way.

152. *Comnenus* distrustfull and much out of heart before, was much elevated by this Message, and having joined his Forces with his, now set about his Work as being out of Danger. Yet did he commit his Wife and his Treasure, to his Brother *John* to be kept in a Castle called *Pemolissa*, seated on a Rock near the River *Alys*. He having taken order for raising of Money throughout the East, and appointed his Receivers, passed the River *Sangarius*, and being every where received with applause and acclamations by slow Journeys moved toward *Nice*, which he desired to get into his Hands to be a Receptacle for him upon occasion, and therefore he gave time to those that had adhered to the Emperour to remove from it, which they did as soon as they heard of his coming, the Souldiers to their particular Homes to look to the Safety of their Houses, Wives and Children, and the Officers to the Emperour with News of what happened, amongst whom the most eminent was *Lycanthes*, Captain of the Eastern Troops, *Theopylus*, *Maniaces* and *Pnemiens Iberus*, Captains of the Troops of the *Charfians*. *Stratoticus* having Intelligence of the Revolt made by almost the whole Force of the Empire, yet refused to offer any Conditions of Peace, but prepared for a vigorous resistance. All the Western Regiments he sent for, and gave the Command of them to *Macedonians*, Persons of greatest Quality and Experience in matters relating to War, and now most wisely he Courted both Officers and Souldiers, presenting them with good Gifts. In the same manner he treated the *Charfians*, and such of the Eastern Forces as had not revolted, of whom he appointed Commander *Theodorus* the Domestick of the East, the Eunuch of *Theodora* the Empress, joining with him *Aaron* *Ducas* the Magister, Brother to *Comnenus* his Wife, a Man of a very great experience. These being sent against the Revolters came to *Nicomedia*, and thence sent some to break down the Bridge of *Sangarius*, that *Comnenus* being forced to go about, they might be sure not to mislead him. From *Nicomedia* they removed to the Mountain *Sopho*, and there incamped themselves, and prepared for Fight. *Comnenus* having notice hereof immediately got into *Nice*, and there left all his Baggage and Carriages, and having strongly fortified the City, removed and incamped himself some twelve Furlongs distant from it towards the North. The Armies being near together, several Parties of them knowing one another used Arguments on both sides to draw off their opposites, these of the Emperour's side reviling *Comnenus* as a Traitor, and they of his Party despising the Emperour, as a despicable doting old Man, ruled by Eunuchs.

153. The Captains on both sides at first encouraged this Discourse, but when *Comnenus* found that it did no good, he would not permit his Men so freely to go abroad, which the Domestick and the *Macedonians* especially judged to proceed from fear, and therefore resolved to give him Battel. The rest assenting, they removed and pitched at a Place called *Petroa*, some fifteen Furlongs distant from the Enemy. *Comnenus* his Men now calling for Battel as well as they he led out, and prepared to fight. The left Wing he committed to *Ambustus*, the right to *Romanus Sclerus*, and he himself led the middle Battel. The Domestick and *Aaron* in forming their *Battalia* committed their left Wing to *Basilus Trachanites*, then Captain of the West, and the most eminent of all the *Macedonians*, and the right Wing *Aaron* led himself assisted by these Officers, *Lycanthes*, *Pnemiens* and *Rauldolph* the Patriian a *Frank*. They fought in a Place called *Ades* by the Inhabitants, and at first *Aaron* seemed to have gotten the Day, for he beat the opposite Wing, took *Romanus Sclerus* Prisoner, and drove them back as far as their Camp, which he might have taken, and obtained a full Victory had he not been too cautious, for *Comnenus* had also the worst of it, and had thoughts of flying back to *Nice*. But *Ambustus* bore down all opposite to him where he fought, and

Who marching towards *Nice*.

Caufeth Michael the Emperour to send for the Western Forces to engage him.

Whom a Battel ensued.

In which *Comnenus* had the better.

The Emperour offering Conditions to him.

But not intending to perform them.

But is forced to it by the Revolters and the Patriarch.

and pursuing them to their Camp broke into it, and having plundered their Tents cut them down, which fight so animated *Comnenus* and his Souldiers, and on the contrary discouraged the Souldiers of *Aaron*, that the Emperour's Party was defeated, a great Multitude falling in the Fight, and especially of *Macedonians* both Officers and Souldiers; and not a few were taken Prisoners. This ill Success so perplexed *Michael*, that he had sent to *Comnenus* and offered to lay down, if those about him had not kept him from it, and urged him rather to dye than quit the Supreme Dignity. However certain of the chiefest Senators, and Men of the greatest Wisdom were sent to treat with him, viz. *Constantine Leichudes*, *Theodorus Alupus* who had both the Title of *Proedri* or Presidents, and *Constantine Pselus* chief of the Philosophers, who offered him to be adopted *Cesar*, and Pardon and Indemnity to all his Followers. The Souldiers would not hear of this, nor permit as they said, that their General should be seen in an Habit inferior to what he wore at present, which yet they were thought to speak more out of Flattery than Design. However *Comnenus* took the Messengers aside and told them as a secret, that he should very willingly admit of their Proposals, provided the Emperour would indulge him some of his Power, so as to be able to reward those that had served him.

154. And *Zonaras* reports, that to deceive his Souldiers he gave them two several Answers in Writing, of which that which was made known, with Scorn rejected the Conditions, but the other accepted them. The old Man was overjoyed to hear of his Acceptance, and returned, that it should not be long before he took him to be his Colleague in the Empire, though for some Reasons at first he must defer it. With which Message he sent the Senators back together with Promise of Confirmation of what had been granted before, and of establishing the Officers of *Comnenus* in their present Employments. *Comnenus* and all the rest liked well enough of it, and required a Confirmation by a Golden Ball; only *Ambustus* opposed, who would by all means have the old Man deposed, and contended that whom they had already deprived by Oath, they could not without Perjury re-admit to the Throne, and he urged that if they laid down their Arms, the Issue would be that *Comnenus* would be payor'd, and they for their shares should have their Eyes pull'd out of their Heads. And to this *Cedrenus* adds, that the Senators themselves did prevaricate and perwade *Ambustus*, that he should thus oppose the Articles of the Treaty, and afterwards made *Comnenus* to believe, that the People at *Constantinople* did greatly affect him, where should he but once shew his Face, the old Man would quickly be deposed, and he be put into his place with universal satisfaction and applause. While thus the Negotiation was disturbed, the Emperour himself by his false and underhand dealing, went about to prevent what he had so readily promised, and by endeavouring to keep by deceitful means lost all. By gifts as well as good words and promises, he now endeavoured to oblige all the People, and having so made his way caused both Senators, and the Citizens to subscribe a Writing, and take an Oath with direful Imprecations, that they would never give to *Comnenus* the Title of Emperour, nor own him for their Sovereign Lord, which they took being overpowered, and *Comnenus* far distant as yet from the City. But he being now come nearer, and lodging at *Damatrys* within less than a Days Journey, by break of day several Senators and others came to the great Church, and required the Patriarch to come to them to consult of an important Affair. The Patriarch shut his Doors, and refused to come to them, but sent two of his Kinsmen to know their business, on whom the Company by this time much increased laid hands, and threatened to strangle them except he would come down. Hereat he came down in *Pontification*, as he pretended unwillingly, though some were of opinion that he did but counterfeit, and they compassing him about required him to go from them to the Emperour, and demand back again the Writing which they had subscribed, for seeing he had declared *Comnenus* should be his Successor, they must either incur Perjury or very much danger by opposing him. The Patriarch bid them be of good cheer, and gave them good words, and this appeared also to be a pretended and feigned business. For omitting this they shortly after declared by Common consent, *Comnenus* to be Emperour, and all that opposed him should lose their Estates, and be accounted Enemies of the Roman Empire. This the Patriarch procured and decreed in the Church, and sent Messengers both to *Comnenus* and *Stratoticus*, to the one that he would haste to the City, and to the other that he would resign, and depart from the Palace which did not belong to him; whereby he shewed that he had been

the Authour and Principal cause of the Revolt. The Bishops or Metropolitans, as *Cedrenus* calls them, that went to *Stratoticus*, delivering their Message, he demanded what the Patriarch would give him in exchange for the Empire, to which they replied *The Kingdom of Heaven*, whereupon he put off the Purple and Violet shoes, and took the Habit of a private Man; although *Cedrenus* idly thinks the Patriarch's promise to have been scarcely valid, except he had returned to a private Life at the beginning of the Defection, and thereby prevented the effusion of so much Blood as had been shed before his constrained Resignation; as if a lawful Prince was bound to give way to an Usurper. *Stratoticus* being departed to his own House in the Castle, after he had Reigned one year, *Ambulius Curopalates* by order of *Comnenus*, the next Day being the last of *August*, A. D. M.LVII. together with many Noblemen took possession of the Palace. At Evening *Comnenus* himself made his Entry, and the next Day being the first of *September*, in the Eleventh Indiction, going in a solemn Procession to the great Church, and there being on a Scaffold crowned by the Patriarch, was declared Emperour of the Romans. Here the History of *Cedrenus* leaves him and us.

155. *Isaacus Comnenus* having obtained the Empire, is said to have ascribed it not to Almighty God but himself, and his military skill, which they thence gather, because he immediately caused Money to be stamped with his Image, holding a drawn Sword. But such Men as had assisted him he largely rewarded, and took care when they had their Money that they departed home, lest being together in the City they should devise some new thing, and make any Commotion amongst the People. The Patriarch he exceedingly Reverenced, and highly preferred his Nephews. Whereas the provision of things for the Church formerly belonged to the *Oeconomus*, and Keeper of the Vessels, whom the Emperour was wont to Name; for his sake left the Disposition of these matters absolutely to the Patriarch. His Wife he now named Empress, and to his Brother *John* gave the Offices of *Curopalates* and *Grand Domestick*. Whereas he took notice that his Predecessours ever since the time of *Basilius Porphyrogenitus*, had ill distributed and employed the Revenue, making odd Assignments, as of some to Monasteries and the rest to the gratifying of their pleasures and Appetites whereby the Treasury was ever kept empty, he would do this not by degrees, as a good States-man imitates a skillful Physician, but on a sudden and all at once, as if he had stamped the Sword in his Hand upon the Coin, not so much to signify what a Fighter, but a Reformer and Cutter of ill Members and Distempers from the Commonwealth he meant to be. The Acts of *Stratoticus* he abrogated without distinction, took away all he had given, and not only his, but the Acts of other Emperours he rescinded, therein sparing neither the Senator, if concerned nor those of the Common sort. Daily in those courses he grew more severe, and at length fell upon the Monasteries to which he assigned only Necessaries, and took the rest of their Revenues to his own use. By these means he incurred the *Odium* of all sorts, and forgetting on what Rock his Predecessour had split of Soldiers as well as of the rest, no advice, reprehension, fear or hatred being of power sufficient to restrain him. As for reprehensions he wanted them not, the Patriarch being very insolent in that Point, that if he had not what he asked he would not only upbraid him, but threaten as he had yet him up to pull him down again, which he not brooking, and to prevent mischief Banished the Prelate together with his Nephews, whom yet he restored to their former Dignities again, when shortly after their Uncle died. He preferred to be Patriarch *Constantine Lichudes* the President and *Protoprocurator*, but not till such times as he had wrung out of his Hands the Charter of Privileges and Immunities granted by *Monomachus*, to his Monastery of *Manganas*.

156. He had some Bickerings with the *Hungarians* and *Patzinacæ*, both of whom without much trouble asked Peace. But as he lay at the end of *September* at *Lobrius*, so great a quantity of Rain and Snow fell, that he and his Army were both in danger to miscarry, and he was just but removed from under a great Oak when the Tree fell, for which to testify his Deliverance he built a Church to St. *Thekla*, on whose Day he escaped the Danger, but such a Building as testified the meanness of his Spirit, which his Cousin and Successour *John* the Son of *Alexius* afterward repaired most Magnificently, in the Name of our Saviour *Jesús Christ*. Not long after *Comnenus* devalled himself of the Empire, which how it came about, Writers do not agree. Most said that as he was Hunting, he was blasted with a Wind or with Lightning, and thence contracted such a

Distemper,

Comnenus lays down, and chafes *Constantine Ducas* for his Successour.

Distemper, that despairing of Recovery, and sensible how he came by his Power, to Obliterate his Offence in some manner, he laid down what he had unjustly taken up. And in the choice of a Successour he would not be swayed by any carnal report, neither making choice of *John* his Kinsman, *Theodorus Doctianus* his Sister's Son, nor his Daughter's Husband, but pitched upon *Constantine Ducas* the President, whom he thought very fit and able for the discharge of so great a Place, and then retired into a Monastery, where he discharged all the meanest Offices, and lived the remainder of his Days, after he had Reigned two years and three months. A Man, to speak of his good as well as bad qualities, very Stout, arrogant in his Disposition, very quick in dispatch of Business, and most skillful in Military matters; not Learned himself, but a lover and encourager of Learned Men. A Man exceeding Chast, inasmuch as being from Home falling ill, and told by Physicians that the Company of a Woman would relieve him, he refused utterly to meddle with any other than his own Wife, whose Name was *Acatharina*, a Lady very Vertuous and Religious. When his Ambitions affecting the Empire was objected to him, he said, that, *He could not bear the Reign of a Fellow-Servant who denied him his just Reward*.

Constantine Ducas Emperour.

157. *Constantine (Ducas)* the Twelfth of that Name, thus without any trouble became Emperour of *Constantinople*, in the thirteenth Indiction, A. D. M.LX. He began his Reign with a Promotion of several Persons, and Restitution of those whom *Comnenus* had spoiled of their Dignities. Yet was his Life presently laid at by some Conspirators, who to make him come by Boat out of the Countrey where he was diverting himself, made a story be told him that there was an Insurrection in the City; and then had corrupted the Masters of his Gally, called *Protocorabi* to Drown him. He hearing of the Tumult hastened to *Constantinople*; but it happened that his Gally was not then at Hand, so as he took another Boat, and the Conspirators meeting it resolved to run over his Boat, and so to sink him, which they were attempting, when those in the Vessel with him by their loud cries and warning so frightened the Rowers, that they had no power but to obey. Yet upon Discovery of the Treason, he contented himself only by confiscating the Estates of the Traitors. He boasted himself to be Defended of the Family of the Ancient *Ducas*, *Andronicus Pantheus* and *Constantine*, but that Family when *Constantine* affected the Empire, was subverted in the Reign of *Constantine* the Son of *Leo* the Philosopher, yet under Age, no Heirs Male being left; so that his Ancestours were said to claim from a Woman, and he was thought no Genuine and true *Ducas*, but as it were such by adulteration, and therefore by most was by way of Diminution not called *Ducas* but *Ducicæ*. But he was a Man Pious towards God, of good Morals, and a lover of Justice: of none of the quickest Wits, but a lover of plain dealing and sincere Men, but loved Money exceedingly; and it was his care how to invent ways of encreasing his Treasury. Two things therefore he especially employed himself in: in encreasing the Publick Revenue, by selling Places, and new farming out the Customs: and in hearing of Causes and deciding Controversies, wherein he did not always observe the Prefcript of Laws, but sometime used his Will for Law, and otherwhiles had respect to Persons. And as he was hard and tenacious, this was his Maxim, "By no means to make War, but by fair means to take off all Nations from their Hostilities, both to save the great expence of Expeditions, and that he might not be diverted from attending the Trade of getting Money. This caused him to neglect his Musters, and even to Disband the most Valiant and fit for Service, as it happened, whereby the Barbarous Nations grew more bold, and got Ground of this Roman Empire."

158. In the East some of the Provinces were harassed, and some subdued by the Neighbouring Nations: neither were those of the West in a good condition, because the Soldiers were both few and lazy. The *Uzi* a *Scythian* People having Beaten and taken Prisoners *Magister Nicephorus* *Batanates* and *Magister Basilus Apocopes* passed the River *Ister*, and having wasted all the Countrey near to it, proceeded into *Macedonia*, and thence into *Greece*, making havock of all things, which though it much troubled the Emperour, yet that he might not spend any thing would he not raise any Forces, saying, that *The Enemy could not be Beaten back*, but endeavoured by Gifts to take off their Captains. But being reviled for suffering the Empire out of his misbenefits to miscarry, he marched out of the City against the Enemy, but as is reported, with no more than an hundred and fifty Men, and for getting more, and Conquering the Barbarians, betook himself rather to his Prayers than any other means, and they so well succeeded, that

The *Uzi* inflicted the Empire.

Upon which *Michael Stratoticus* resigns, and *Isaacus Comnenus* assumes the Government.

He is very severe.

He is exceedingly Covetous even to the almost ruin of the Empire.

He had some skirmishes with the *Hungarians* and *Patzinacæ*.

But are de-
stroyed by the
Pazginata
and Bulgari-
an.

Constantine
being Sickly
appoints his
three Sons,
Constantine,
Michael and
Andronicus
under the tu-
tion of their
Mother Eudo-
cia to succeed
him.

And dies, A.D.
M. LXVII.

that when he was considering how to raise an Army, News was brought, that there was no Enemy left against which to fend it; for the *Patzinaca* and *Bulgarians* had fallen upon the *Viz*, wearied and weakened, and had utterly cut them off, their Captains hardly escaping over *Ister*. This happened in the sixth year of his Reign, preceded by a great Earthquake which happened on the twenty third of September, by which many Churches and Houses were overturned. In the month of May, the fourth Indiction appeared a Comet, following the Sun, at first of the bigness of the full Moon, but as its Tail encreased, so the Body of it seemed to diminish: it was seen for forty days with its Tail turned toward the East. By this time the Emperour had contracted a Disease, which made him despair of life, and to apply himself to settle matters relating to the Government and Succession. By *Eudocia* his Wife he had three Sons, whereof *Michael* and *Andronicus* when a private Man, but *Constantine* after he was Emperour, who upon this account was the only *Porphyrogenitus*, and for that cause was first adorned with Ensigns of Empire. Afterwards he named Emperours the other two, and left the Empire to them all, but Named his Wife their Empress and Lady, and left the management of Affairs to her, for which she seemed to him fit, as well as for the Education of her Children: but first he took an Oath from her committed to Writing, and left with the Patriarch, that she would not Marry again: as he exacted the like from the Senators, that they would admit none but his Sons for Emperours. He had made his Brother *Cesar*, and used him as his Councillour and Assistant in his most important and secret business. Though he himself was unlearned, yet he revered Learned Men, being wont to say, that *He had rather been enabled by Learning than Sovereignty*. For such as conspired against him he said he would use them no worse than to use them for Slaves, the Laws having deprived them of Liberty. Dying after a Reign of seven years and six months, leaving (as we said) the Administration to his Wife, so that as we began the Second Part of our History with a *Constantine*, we conclude this with one; and as we began this Part with a Woman, at the Time of *Charles* the Great, so now we end at one in the Year M. LXVII. the year following the Conquest of *England* by Duke *William* the Norman.

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